THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

Edward Hyde, at length Earl of Clarendon, in the opinion of the Writer, so far as he can judge, a hack Lawyer of commendam, of working, but not first-rate abilities; a wordy, partial Historian.

See the Prose-works of his opposite, the man, who, [redacted] would subscribe SLAVE, the matchless John Milton.

T. H



Edward Earle of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England,
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Anno Dñi 1667.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME THE FIRST.



OXFORD,
Printed at the THEATER, *An. Dom.* MDCCII.

4471.5
Bv1820.170F*

Imprimatur,

RO. MANDER

Vice-Can. OXON.

Apr. 29. 1702.

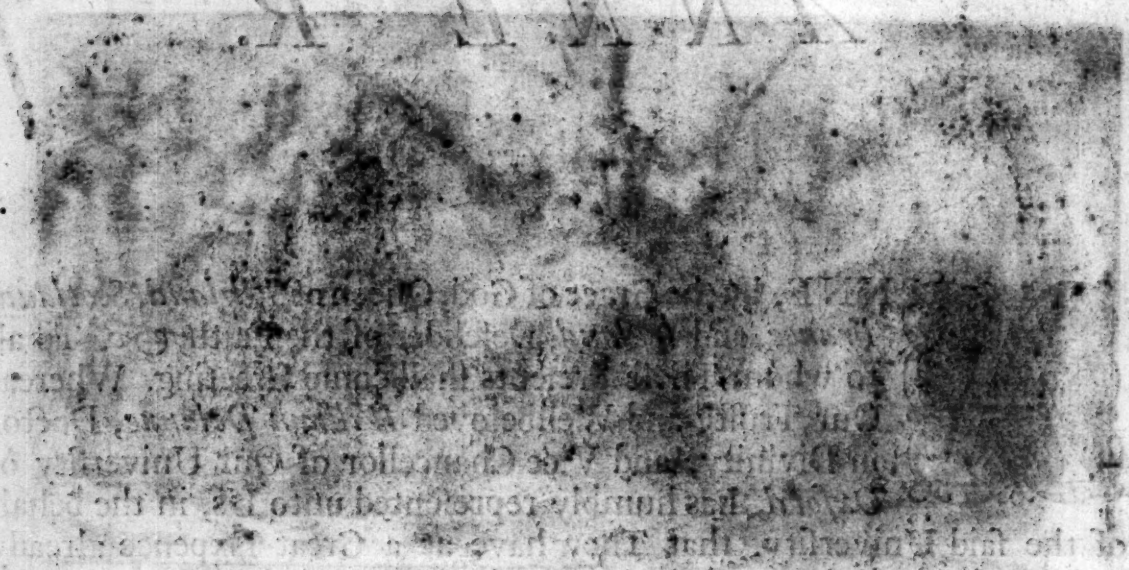


ANNE R.

ANNE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all to whom Theſe Preſents ſhall come Greeting. Whereas Our Truſty and Wellbeloved *William Delaune*, Doctor in Divinity, and Vice-Chancellor of Our Univerſity of *Oxford*, has humbly repreſented unto Us, in the behalf of the ſaid Univerſity, that They have at a Great Expence already Publiſhed One Volume of the late Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and intend in a ſhort time to Publiſh the Second and Third Volumes for Compleating the Work; and the ſole Right of the Copy of the ſaid Work being Veſted in Our Univerſity of *Oxford*, and They having humbly beſought Us to Grant Them Our Royal Priviledge and Licence for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing the ſame for the Term of Fourteen Years; We being Graciouſly enclined to encourage the ſaid Undertaking, are pleaſed to condeſcend to their Requeſt; and do therefore hereby Give and Grant unto Our ſaid Univerſity of *Oxford*, Our Royal Licence and Priviledge, for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing the ſaid Three Volumes of the late Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, for and during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Day of the Date hereof; ſtrictly Charging, Prohibiting, and Forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint or Abridge the ſaid Hiſtory, or any Part of it, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter, or Diſtribute any Copies of the ſame, or any Part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the ſaid Term, without the Conſent and Approbation of Our ſaid Univerſity firſt had and Obtained, as They and every of them Offending herein will Anſwer the Contrary at their Peril, and ſuch other Penalties as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm may be inflicted; Whereof the Maſter, Wardens, and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commiſſioners and Officers of our Cuſtoms, and all other Our Officers and Miniſters whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified. Given at Our Court at *Hampton*-Court the 24th day of *June* 1703. In the Second Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majeſties Command.

C. Hedges.





THE PREFACE.



T length comes into the world, The firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars in England, begun in the Year 1641, with the precedent Paſſages and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the Happy End and Concluſion thereof, by the King's bleſſed Reſtoration, and Return, upon the 29th of May in the Year 1660; *Written by* Edward Earl of Clarendon, *once Lord High Chancellor of* England, *and Chancellor of the Famous Univerſity of* Oxford. *The firſt of theſe great Dignities King* Charles *the ſecond had conferr'd on him, whilſt he was yet in Baniſhment with him; which he held, after the Reſtoration, above ſeven Years, with the Univerſal Approbation of the whole Kingdom, and the General Applauſe of all good Men, for his Juſtice, Integrity, ſound Judgement, and Eminent Sufficiency in the diſcharge of that Office; a Praiſe, which none of his Enemies ever denied him, in any Time:*

The other he received from the Choire of the Univerſity; who, upon the Vacancy of that Place, by the death of the Marquis of Hertford, *then Duke of* Somerſet, *judged they could not better manifeſt their ſtedfaſtneſs in the Cauſe, for which they had ſuffer'd, and their Reſolutions of adhering to their old Principles, in ſupport of the Church of* England, *and the Ancient Monarchical Government of this Kingdom, than in chooſing to place the Protection of their Intereſt in both, under the care of one, who had ſo early diſtinguiſhed himſelf, even from the firſt Approaches of the Civil War, in aſſerting and maintaining the diſtreſſed Rights of the Church and Crown.*

This Hiſtory was firſt begun by the expreſs Command of King Charles *the firſt; who, having a deſire, that an account of the Calamities, God was pleaſed to inflict on the Unhappy part of his Reign, ſhould be reported to Poſterity by ſome worthy, honeſt, and knowing Man, thought he could not appoint any one, more adorn'd with ſuch Qualifications, than this Author.*

It is a difficult Province to write the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of a great and powerful Nation, where the King was engaged with one Part of his Subjects againſt the other, and both ſides were ſufficiently inflamed: And the Neceſſity of ſpeaking the Truth of ſeveral Great Men, that were engaged in the Quarrel on either ſide, who may ſtill have very conſiderable Relations, deſcended from them, now alive, makes the Task Invidious, as well as Difficult.

We are not ignorant that there are Accounts, contained in this following Hiſtory, of ſome Eminent Perſons in thoſe times, that do not agree with the relations we have met with of the ſame Perſons, publiſhed in other Authors. But, beſides that they who put forth this Hiſtory, dare not take upon them to make any Alterations in a work of this kind, ſolemnly left with them to be publiſhed, when ever it ſhould be publiſhed, as it was delivered to them; they cannot but think the world will generally be of opinion, that others may as likely have been miſtaken in the grounds, and informations they have gone upon, as our Author; who will be eſteem'd to have had opportunities, equal at leaſt with any others, of knowing the truth; and, by the candor, and impartiality of

what he relates, may be believed not to have made any wilful mistakes.

However, all things of this Nature must be submitted, as this is, with great deference to the judgement of the equal Reader; who will meet, in his progress through this work, with many Passages that, he will judge, may disoblige the Posterity of even well meaning Men in those days; much more then of such as were crafty, cunning, and wicked enough to design the mischiefs that ensued: But he shall meet with none of Malice, nor any but such as the Author, upon his best information, took to be Impartially true. He could not be ignorant of the Rules of a good Historian (which, Cicero *says*, are such foundations, that they are known to every body) That he should Not dare to speak any Falsehood; and should dare to speak any Truth. *And We doubt not, but through the whole progress of this History, he will be found to have given no occasion of suspecting his writings* guilty of partial favour, or unjust enmity; *and we hope, that the representing the Truth, without any mixture of private Passion or Animosity, will be so far from giving offence to any Ingenuous Man of this time, that it will be received rather as an Instruction to the present Age, than a Reproach upon the last.*

Moreover, the Tenderness that might seem due, out of Charity, good Manners, and good Nature, to our Country Men, our Neighbours, or our Relations, hath been indulged a long space of time; and might possibly be abused, if it should not give way, at last, to the usefulness of making this work publick, in an Age, when so many Memoirs, Narratives, and pieces of History come out, as it were on purpose to justify the taking up Armes against that King, and to blacken, revile, and ridicule the sacred Majesty of an Anointed head in distress; and when so much of the Sense of Religion to God, and of Allegiance and Duty to the Crown, is so defaced, that it is already, within little more than fifty Years since the Murther committed on that Pious Prince, by some Men made a Mystery to judge, on whose side was the Right, and on which the Rebellion is to be charged.

We hope therefore it will be judged necessary as well as useful,

that an impartial Account of the moſt material Paſſages of thoſe unhappy times ſhould at laſt come out; and that We ſhall have the general Approbation, for having contributed thus far to Awaken Men to that Honeſty, Juſtice, Loyalty, and Piety, which formerly Engliſh Men have been valuable for, and without which it is impoſſible any Government, Diſcipline, or Authority can be long maintain'd.

There is no doubt, but this good King had ſome Infirmities, and Imperfections; and might thereby be miſled into ſome miſtakes in Government, which the Nation, in Parliament repreſented, might have reformed by moderate and peaceful Counſels. But the Reformation loſt it's Name, and it's Nature too, when ſo many Acts, paſſed by him in Parliament, that did reſtrain the Prerogative of the Crown from doing the Miſchiefs it had been taxed with, had not the effect they ought to have met with, of reſtraining the People too from farther demands; and when the inordinate Ambition, Anger, and Revenge of ſome of the great Leaders could not be limited within any Bounds, till they had involved the Nation in Blood, deſtroyed many Thouſands of their own Country Men, and fellow Citizens, and brought at laſt their own Soveraign to loſe his Head on a Scaffold, under a pretended form of an High Court of Juſtice, unprecedented from the Beginning of the World; and, to finiſh their work, had overthrown all the Laws of their own Country, in the defence of which, they would have had it thought, they had been obliged to draw their Swords.

Without queſtion, every body, that ſhall duly conſider the whole Account of theſe Tranſactions, will be able to impute miſtakes, miſcarriages, and faults enough to both ſides: And we ſhall leave them to their own ſedate and compoſed Reflections. But We cannot omit making this one Obſervation, that where any King by ill Judgement, or ill Fortune, of his own, or thoſe entruſted by him in the chief adminiſtration of his Government, happens to fall into an Intereſt contrary to that of his People, and will purſue that miſtake, that Prince muſt have terrible conflicts in the courſe of his Reign, which way ſoever the Controverſy ends: On the other hand, that People, who, tho' invaded and oppreſſed in their juſt Rights and

Liberties, ſhall not reſt ſatisfied with reaſonable reparations and ſecurities, but, having got power into their hands, will make unjuſtifiable Uſe of it, to the utter Subverſion of that Government they are bound in Duty and Allegiance to ſupport, as but juſt make Rods for their own Backs, and very often bring upon themſelves, from other hands, a more ſevere Bondage than that they had ſhook off.

To demonſtrate this General Obſervation, let it be conſider'd in Particular, what was the Advantage this poor Nation gain'd from all the Victories obtain'd over King Charles in the Field, and, afterwards, in the impriſoning, and proſecuting him to death: What amends did it make for the Infringement and Prejudice, they complain'd of, in their Rights and Liberties, to ſet up the Protector Cromwell, *who, under a thouſand Artifices and Cruelties, intended no other Reformation, but, inſtead of Whips, to chaſtiſe the poor People with Scorpions; and, inſtead of their Idol Commonwealth, which ſome had vainly imagined to themſelves, to make himſelf that very hated thing, a King, which had been ſo abominable in his own ſight? And after him, what did all the other ſeveral ſorts of Government, ſet up ſometimes to gratify the Ambition of one Party, and ſometimes of another, end in, but ſo many ſeveral ways of Oppreſſion; which, after many Years ſpent in exhauſting the Blood and Treaſure of their Country, at length made way for the happy Reſtoration of the Son, and Family of that King (whom they had ſo barbarouſly brought to an untimely end) with the utmoſt ſcorn and deriſion of all that had pretended to Rule in his ſtead?*

Here We might deſcend into Particulars, to make out the other part of our Obſervation, by giving Inſtances, how ſome of our own Kings have, unhappily, been led into very dangerous miſtakes in their Government; and how many Years have paſſed almoſt in one perpetual Strife, and unfortunate contention between the Prince and the People, in Points of the higheſt conſequence; and eſpecially thoſe, which have brought the Prince, ſometimes, under the diſadvantageous ſuſpicion of being inclined to the love of Arbitrary Power, and favouring the Popiſh Religion, which the moſt

mortal Enemys to the Crown of England *cannot poſſibly contrive, or wiſh, more miſerable circumſtances for it to be involved in. But We are rather deſirous to draw a Veil over all the Calamities, that have proceeded from this Cauſe; as well becauſe the impreſſions thoſe miſtakes have made, and the marks they have left behind them, will not eaſily be worn out; as that it might look like inſulting over Their misfortunes, who have been the Chief Loſers by them; which We have, in no kind, the Inclination, or the Heart to do: Neither would we be thought to give Countenance, by what We write, to the opinions of thoſe, who would Juſtify the riſing up in Armes of Subjects, to do themſelves Right in any Controverſy between them and their King.*

Non hæc in fœdera ——

The Nature of our excellent Government hath provided, in the Conſtitution of it, other remedies, in a Parliamentary way; wherein both the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the People may be better ſecured: And beſides, we know to whom Vengeance peculiarly belongs, and that he who challenges that power to Himſelf, will not ſuffer it to be communicated to any other.

But We ſhould think our ſelves very fortunate, if, in the Reflections we have been making on this Subject, We have repreſented the truth, on both ſides, with that fairneſs and Impartiality, in the perplex'd condition of our own affairs, that all Princes may ſee and judge, that it can never turn to their advantage, to be in an Intereſt contrary to that of their People, nor to give their Subjects unreaſonable Provocations. For (as in other Caſes, where the Laws both of God and Man are too often broken, tho' very ſtrict and poſitive, ſo in this point too) the People may not always be reſtrained from attempting by force to do themſelves Right, tho' they Ought not.

And we hope no leſs, that the People will be convinced, that it were wiſer, and better for them, to obtain the redreſs of their grievances by ſuch ways, as the ancient Laws of this Kingdom have provided: And that the Conſtitution of King, Lords, and Commons, is the happieſt Compoſition of Government in the world;

and ſo ſuited to the Nature of Engliſh men generally, that tho it be expelled for a time, yet it will return.

We would therefore heartily wiſh both for Prince and People, if either of them ſhould be guilty of any irregular Deviations from their own Channels, that they who are injured would content themſelves with gentle Applications, and moderate Remedies; leſt the laſt error be worſe than the firſt: And above all, that whoſoever may have a thought of Ruling in this Land, may be throughly convinced in his own judgement, that it is a Crown of Briers and Thorns that muſt be ſet on his head, without he can ſatisfy all reaſonable Men, that it is his fixed Principle and Reſolution, inviolably to defend our Religion, and preſerve our Laws.

Upon the whole matter, We have often wonder'd, and reſt ſtill amazed, that any Prince ſhould care to govern a People againſt their Nature, their Inclinations, and their Laws. What Glory can it be to a Prince of a great Spirit, to ſubdue, and break the hearts of his own Subjects, with whom he ſhould live properly as a Shepherd with his Flock? If two Lovers, who ſhould paſs their time in renewing, repeating, and returning all the Offices of Friendſhip, kindneſs, tenderneſs, and love, were, inſtead of that, unluckily contriving always to croſs, oppoſe, and torment one another, what could be the effect of ſuch a Converſation, but Vexation and Anguiſh in the beginning, a ſhort lived Correſpondence, and Hatred and Contempt in the Concluſion?

Our Conſtitution is the main Point ever to be regarded; which, God be praiſed, hath been preſerved through ſo many Ages. For tho' there have been ſome Men often found, and of great parts too, who, for their private advantages, are aiding, ſometimes the Monarch, and ſometimes the Party that would be a Common-wealth, under ſpecious Pretences for the Publick Good, to exceed the Limits the Conſtitution hath preſcribed in this Country; yet the Nation ſtill finds, in all Ages, ſome truly Publick Spirits, that preſerve it from being long impoſed upon. There is a craft and a perpetual ſubtilty, that Men of private intereſt muſt work with to ſupport their own deſigns: But the true Intereſt of the Kingdom is the plaineſt thing in the world: It is what every Body in England

finds and feels, and knows to be Right, and they are not long a finding it neither. This is that Intereſt, that is ſupported Non tam fama, quam ſua vi; *it's own weight ſtill keeps it ſteddy againſt all the Storms, that can be brought to beat upon it, either from the Ignorance of Strangers to our Conſtitution, or the Violence of any, that project to themſelves wild Notions of appealing to the People out of Parliament (a Parliament ſitting) as it were to a fourth Eſtate of the Realm; and calling upon them to come and take their ſhare in the direction of the publick, and moſt important Conſultations. This We conceive to be another way of undermining the ancient and true Conſtitution, but not like to be more effectual than ſome others, that have been tried before; ſince We have the experience that no violence, nor almoſt ruin, hath, hitherto, hinder'd it from ſettling again upon it's old foundation.*

There hath been, within the compaſs of few years, much Talk, and, God knows, too many ill Effects too, of Factions in this Kingdom; and We have lived, in our days, to ſee the two great Parties, of late known by the Names of Whig *and* Tory, *directly change their ground; and thoſe, who were formerly the Anti-Courtiers, become as pliant and obſequious, as ever They were, who had been the moſt found fault with on that ſcore. But We are humbly of opinion, that, at this time of day, neither of thoſe Parties have the Game in their hands, as they have formerly perhaps fancied to themſelves. But they, who ſhall be ſo honeſt, and ſo wiſe, conſtantly to prefer the true Intereſt of* England *to that of any other Country or People, preſerve the Religion and the Laws, protect and promote the Trade of the Nation, thriftily and providently adminiſter the publick Treaſure, and ſtudy to maintain the Soveraignty of our Seas, ſo naturally, ſo anciently, and ſo juſtly the true defence of this Kingdom; that Body, whomſoever it ſhall be compoſed of, ſhall have the Weight of* England *on it's ſide; and if there can be any of another frame, they muſt, in the end, prove ſo many miſerable rotten Reeds.*

Well may other Princes, and States, whoſe Situation requires it for their own Security, find it their Intereſt, for the preſervation of their Credit and Reputation amongſt their Neighbours, to

keep constantly in pay great Numbers of Land Forces, in which they are still vying one with the other, and boasting who can raise his Thousands, and who his ten Thousands? but they will be found but young States-men for Our Government, who can think it adviseable, that the Strength of this Island should be measured by Proportions so unsuitable to it's true Glory, and Greatness. As well might David *have thought it requisite, when he was to encounter the great Giant of the* Philistines, *that He likewise must have had a Staff to his Spear like a Weaver's Beam. But that* Man after Gods own heart *thought it more expedient to his advantage over the Enemy, he was to contend with, to come against him with Armes that he had tried, and that he could weild. When* Saul *arm'd him with his own Armour*, and put an Helmet of Brass on his head, and arm'd him with a Coat of Mail, *David himself says*, He could not go with these, for he had not proved them. *Which makes us a little reflect on the circumstances of our own Nation, That, whereas the Fleet of* England *hath been renown'd, through so many Ages, for the honour and security of this Kingdom, in these latter days, by an unaccountable improvidence, our care has been more industriously applied to the raising great Numbers of Land Forces, than in maintaining, and supporting the glorious ancient Bulwarks of our Country; and when We have to do with an Enemy, whom We so far excel in strength at Sea, that, with a little more than ordinary application, We might hope to restrain his exorbitant power by our Naval Expeditions, We have imploied our greatest industry, and a vast Expence, to attack him by Land in that part, where, by the strength of his numerous Garrisons, he must be, for many years, at least, invulnerable.*

But it is to be hoped the Great Allies themselves, to whom, We doubt not, the English Nation wishes all happiness and prosperity, as being bound up with them in the same Interest, will at last be sensible, that this Kingdom cannot be useful to the Common Cause in any other way, so much as at Sea. *The Situation of this Country adapts it for Advantages by* Sea: *The Trade of it enables it to go on with a War by* Sea: *And neither of them*

can long bear a great Expence of a War in a Forreign Land: The experience of former Succeſſes at Sea *makes the Nation ever fond of imploying it's Vigour* there: *and the perpetual jealouſy that, ſome time or other, Endeavours may be uſed, by the encreaſe of Land Forces, to advance another Greatneſs, and another Intereſt, will fix the genius of the Nation ſtill to depend on it's Greatneſs, and it's Security by* Sea.

Suadere Principi quod oporteat, magni laboris; aſſentatio erga Principem quemcunque ſine affectu peragitur, *was a ſaying of* Tacitus, *and one of thoſe that is perpetually verified. For We ſee, in all times, how Compliance and Flattery gets the better of honeſty, and plain dealing. All Men indeed love beſt thoſe that diſpute not with them; a misfortune, whilſt it is amongſt private Perſons, that is not ſo much taken notice of; but it becomes remarkable, and grows a publick Calamity, when this uncomely obſequiouſneſs is practiced towards great Princes, who are apt to miſtake it for Duty, and to prefer it before ſuch Advice as is really good for their Service; at leaſt till the folly, and vanity of ſuch proceedings comes to be ſeen through; and then the reward of their unſeaſonable Courtſhip frequently overtakes the miſerable Authors, tho' the diſcovery come too late to preſerve from ruin the Maſter, who hath been deluded.*

An Eminent Poet of our own Nation calls this Flattery the food of Fools; and yet it is a plant ſo guarded and fenced about, ſo cheriſhed and preſerved in all Courts, that it never fails of bringing forth much wretched fruit; and will ever do ſo, till God Almighty ſhall ſend ſuch a diſcerning Spirit into the hearts of Princes, as may enable them to diſtinguiſh between thoſe, that ſerve to obtain their own ends, and thoſe, who have only in their View the true Intereſt, and Honour of their Maſters; and to puniſh, inſtead of encouraging, thoſe bold Corrupters of all right Judgement, Juſtice, Honeſty, and Truth.

If at any time it might be hoped this dangerous generation of Men ſhould be diſcountenanced, one might be allowed to look for it in an Age, when a Revolution hath been thought neceſſary to make a Reformation: For where the Foundations of the Earth

were taken to be out of Course, more ſteddineſs, a ſtricter Virtue, and a more unblameable Adminiſtration will be expected to come in the Room of it.

If Princes would bear it, it would be an Advantage to Them, as well as Happineſs to their Subjects, to hear plain and bold Truths, when delivered with Duty and Decency and Privacy, from their faithful Servants, in their own life time; whilſt they might yet redreſs, and correct any miſtakes of their Judgement, or Will. But becauſe they generally defend themſelves from thoſe Approaches by their Greatneſs, and the Awe they uſually ſtrike on thoſe that come near them, the next beſt way to incline them to reflect duly upon themſelves, is to get them to read the Memorials of Times paſt: Where They will ſee how thoſe, who have once govern'd the World, are treated, when they are dead and gone; and that it is the Priviledge, and Practice of all preſent Ages, to ſpeak without reſtraint of thoſe that are paſt: As, We may be confident, the next that comes after this We live in, will not forget to put their Stamp, and their Cenſure, on what they ſhall judge good, or bad, in any part of it. And this truth will be allowed in all times, that a great King, who is known to govern in his own Perſon, who is not managed by his Miniſters, but does Himſelf give the direction, the life, and determination to all his Commands, as he ought to have the Glory, and the Merit of his Conduct and Skill, brought to his own Account without a Rival, ſo he will have the misfortune of having the errors of his Reign, if any there be, imputed likewiſe to Himſelf.

We have been led, from one ſtep to another, farther than the ſcope of a Preface to this Hiſtory might properly have drawn Us, were it not that the obſervation of the miſcarriages in former times, continued down by degrees, as we conceive, from the like miſtake, and the like root of animoſity and diſcontent, had engaged us to make ſome remarks on the moſt eminent of them, and to lay them together in one view, for every Man's calm Judgement and Animadverſion, as the beſt means, in our opinion, to prevent any ſuch for the future. Which makes Us hope the Reader will not be offended with ſome Excurſions, upon publiſhing ſuch a Work, that

hath ſo much of Information and Inſtruction in it, that it muſt furniſh to every one great variety of Reflections; and, amongſt others, the obſervation of this particular, and almoſt continual Misfortune to all Princes, who are apt to think that, out of the great Numbers of their Subjects, and the Crowd of their Courtiers and Flatterers, they can never want a ſupply of juſt and faithful Servants; which makes them ſo little value, and ſo often throw away their beſt and ableſt Miniſters; whereas there is in truth nothing ſo difficult for a Prince, as to find a good, honeſt, juſt, well temper'd, and impartial Servant; and it is almoſt impoſſible to preſerve him long. For whoſoever comes to the Yoke of true painful drudgery in his Maſters Service, from that moment creates to himſelf ſo many induſtrious Enemies, as he cannot gratify in all their ſeveral wild pretenſions, to diſplace and deſtroy him. So that ſuch a Man's Station muſt be extreme ſlippery, and his favour oftentimes ſhort lived, whoſe whole time being taken up in promoting the ſolid greatneſs of his Maſter, and the good of his Country, he cannot have leiſure to take care of Himſelf. For whilſt he is watching the Enemies of the State, and laying Foundations for the happineſs of future Times, as well as for the ſecurity of the preſent, and looking after all the Parts of the Adminiſtration; that the Religion of the Land may be reverenced; the Juſtice of the Nation Unblemiſhed; the Revenues of the Crown carefully and honeſtly collected, and diſtributed with an equal hand of generoſity and good huſbandry, according to the ſeveral occaſions that may require either; How can ſuch a Miniſter be watching the ſecret Machinations of the Envyers, and Underminers of his Credit and Honeſty? And therefore he may be forgiven, if, being conſcious to himſelf of his own Integrity towards the Publick, he contemns the little Arts of ill deſigning Men; by which however, from the firſt hour of his entering into the Service of his Maſter, he is continually purſued, till he is at length hunted down, and unavoidably deſtroyed at Court.

We do not intend here to write the particulars of the Life of this Author; but We may ſay in ſhort, that ſuch a Figure as is here deſcribed of a great and Superiour Miniſter, and, in ſome

degree,

degree, of a Favourite too, this excellent Man made, for about two years after the Reſtoration of the King his Maſter, who, during that time, relied entirely on his Advice, and Conduct. There were indeed ſome other Great and Wiſe Men, whom the King, for ſome conſiderable time, conſulted in his weightieſt Affairs. There was the Earl of Southampton, *then Lord High Treaſurer of* England, *with whom our Author had always an entire and faſt Friendſhip, and whom all Men, that knew him, honour'd for his great Abilities, and eminent Integrity. There was the Duke of* Albemarle, *then Lord General, who had the honour, and good Fortune of bringing moſt things, and Men at that time to bear together, for the Reſtoration of that King, and the Royal Family to the Seat of their Anceſtors. There was the then Marquis of* Ormond, *ſoon after his Majeſty's Return made Lord Steward of the Houſe-hold, and Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland; *who had, not only followed, but even graced his Maſter's Fortunes, in all the time of his Exile, with the Attendance of ſo eminent, and meritorious a Subject; who had often ventured his Perſon, and loſt all his Large Eſtate in the ſteady purſuit of Loyalty and Duty to the Crown, and Zeal for the true Religion. There was the Earl of* Sandwich, *who had, when Admiral, and General at Sea, to his ſhare the glorious part of bringing the Fleet of* England, *and the Body of the Engliſh Sea-men, to concur in the King's Reſtoration; and had, before that time, been very meritorious towards his Majeſty, as is mention'd at large in the enſuing parts of this Hiſtory. Theſe were the principal; and beſides theſe, there was one more, who, tho' in a different rank, was admitted, at that time, into the moſt intimate Truſt and Confidence, Old Secretary* Nicholas; *who had ſerved his two Maſters, King* Charles *the firſt and ſecond, with ſo much Faithfulneſs and Integrity, as to be juſtly entitled to a part in the moſt important Adminiſtration. But, without the leaſt deſign of detracting from the Credit or Intereſt of theſe great, and honourable Perſons, We may truly ſay, our Author had the preference of them all in the King's Favour and Eſteem; and by his prudence, knowledge, and experience, in which he ſhared with the others, and his*

Indefatigable Labour and Pains, wherein, it is moſt certain, they did not ſhare with Him, he had the Happineſs, without their Envy, and with their Concurrence, to have the greateſt ſhare in diſpoſing the minds of the People, and the King too, to agree then on ſuch meaſures in Parliament, as laid the foundation of that Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity this Nation hath enjoyed ſince.

He had the happineſs to have the greateſt ſhare in preſerving the Conſtitution of our Government entire, when the Then preſent Temper of the People, was but too ready to have gone into any undue complyance with the Crown.

He had the happineſs, amongſt ſeveral other good Acts of Parliament, to have the greateſt ſhare in compaſſing and perfecting the Act of Oblivion, and Indemnity; the Act for confirming Judicial Proceedings; and the Act of Uniformity; by which the People of England *were quieted in their Minds, and ſettled in their Poſſeſſions; and the Church of* England *redeem'd from the oppreſſions it had lain under, and eſtabliſhed and ſet up by the Law of the Land, as it was alſo by our bleſſed Saviours promiſe to all thoſe, that ſerve him in Holineſs and Truth, on that Rock, againſt which the Gates of Hell were not to prevail. This is that Church, which deſires to have her Doctrine underſtood, as well as obeyed; and which depends on the Infallibility of Scripture for her Guide, but never could be drawn to allow it to any Mortal Men, whether in a ſingle Perſon, or a greater Number; and which, of all the Churches in the World, does moſt rationally inform her Members in the Practice of pure Religion and undefiled towards God, with Decency in Worſhip, without Affectation, Superſtition, or Oſtentation; and Obedience to the King, with due Regard to the Conſtitution, and the Laws of the Land. By Gods bleſſing on theſe means, our Author had the happineſs to leave laſting Monuments of his Judgement, and his Piety; of his Loyalty to his Prince; and his entire Love to his Country.*

It was during the Miniſtry of this Perſon, and whilſt he was in his greateſt Credit, that memorable Expreſſion was uſed, in one of

King Charles *the ſeconds Speeches to both Houſes. That in all his Deliberations and Actions, his principal Conſideration ſhould be, What will a Parliament think of them?*

Every Body then knew, by whoſe Advice that King was inclined to make that wiſe Declaration. And certainly it had been happy for him, if he had always practiſed it; and all England *hath Reaſon to wiſh, that all Miniſters had continued, to this day, to give the like wholeſome Counſel.*

Hæ tibi erunt Artes,

ſaid our Author, to a King of England: *Keep always well with your Parliaments. Let no vain whimſey of the Example of other Countries, but utterly impracticable in This, delude you. Keep always in the true Intereſt of the Nation; and a King of* England *is the greateſt, and happieſt Prince in the World.*

How this Perſon came firſt to leſſen in his Credit, and afterwards, in the ſpace of about five years, to fall quite out of that Kings favour, to be Diſgraced, as the Language at Court is, and Baniſhed, muſt be a little touched; and We ſhall make an end. They who were then moſt concern'd in his Misfortunes, and felt the moſt ſenſible ſtrokes of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure in their Family, have it not in their hearts to lay any thing hard at the Door of that King, once a moſt gracious, and indulgent Maſter to our Author, and who was certainly not of a Diſpoſition to do harſh things to any Body; and who, as We have Reaſon to believe, out of the ſenſe of unkind Uſage to the Father, did afterwards, by his own ſingular goodneſs and favour, much againſt the mind of ſome in Credit with him, draw his two Sons, who yet Survive, into a very great degree of Truſt, and Confidence near him; and particularly beſtowed on the ſecond, extraordinary marks of Honour and Bounty, that are to deſcend to his Poſterity.

We take them both to be men of ſo much Piety to their Father, and ſo much Spirit in themſelves, that they would, by no means, be bribed to omit any thing upon this occaſion, that might be of Uſe or

Advantage to the honour of one they owe ſo much Duty to; if they could conceive, that there was need, at this time of day, to contribute to the Juſtification of his Innocency. The world hath laſted long enough, ſince the Misfortunes of this honourable Perſon, to be throughly convinced, that there was nothing in all thoſe Articles exhibited againſt him in Parliament, that did in the leaſt touch or concern him. One of his Sons, then of the Houſe of Commons, offer'd in that Houſe, that if they, who accuſed him, would but take the Pains to prove to the Houſe any one of the Articles, and take which they would, if they made out but any one of them all, Himſelf, and all his Friends, would acknowledge him guilty of all.

But there is no need now of the vindication of ſuch a Man, whom every Body, in their conſciences, do not only acquit of any crime, but all Good Men ſpeak of with honour; and who ſtill lives in the opinion of all true Engliſh Men, in as high a Reputation as any Man to this day.

Yet, altho' We intend to decline all manner of Reflection on the Memory of that King, We may be allow'd to ſay, That that excellently well natured Prince, who did very few ill natured things in his Reign, was prevailed upon, in this caſe, not only to put out of his Service one of the moſt Faithful and Ancient Servants then alive to his Father, or Himſelf (which is not to be ſo much complain'd of; for it would be a hard Tie indeed for a Prince to be, as it were, Married to his Servants for better, for worſe) but to conſent to an Act of Parliament, that obliged this his poor Servant to end his days in Baniſhment, with old Age and Infirmities to attend him: This might be thought a little hard-hearted to inflict upon a Man, who had the honour and happineſs, in the more vigorous part of his Life, to have led the King himſelf through his own Exile, with Credit and Dignity, and in more Honour and Reputation, than uſually attends Unfortunate Princes, that are deprived of their own Dominions; and at laſt, in the fulneſs of Gods own Time, had the happineſs to have ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the Conduct of his Reſtoration. For it was by this Author principally, that the continual correſpondence was kept up with

the Loyal Party in England, *in order to cultivate good thoughts of his Majesty in the minds of his People, and to bring them, in some sort, acquainted with his Temper and Disposition, before they could know his Person. This Author likewise framed, disposed, and drew those Letters and Declarations from* Breda, *which had so wonderful an Effect all over* England, *and were so generally approved here, that they were, almost all, turn'd into Acts of Parliament.*

Many perhaps may not unreasonably believe, that the Marriage of the then Duke of York *with the Daughter of this Author might have been one great occasion, if not the Foundation of his Fall; and tho' it be most undoubtedly true, that this very unequal Allyance was brought to pass entirely without the knowledge, or Privity of this Author, but so much the contrary, that when the King, at that time, made him more than ordinary expressions of his Grace to him, with Assurances that this Accident should not lessen the Esteem, and Favour his Majesty had for him; yet his own good Judgement made him immediately sensible, and declare it too, to those he was intimate with, that this must certainly be the occasion of the diminution of his Credit.*

The continual dropping of Water does not more infallibly make an hollow in a Stone, than the perpetual Whispers of ill Men must make impression in the heart of any Prince, that will always lie open to hear them; nor can any Man's mind be sufficiently guarded from the influence of continued Calumny, and Back-biting.

When the Duke of York *had made this Marriage, it was not unnatural to those ill minded Men to suggest, that, for the time to come, that Minister would be contriving Advantages for the good of his own Posterity, to the prejudice of his Soveraign, and Master. What their wickedness, possibly, would have allow'd Them to practice, was ground enough to them for an Accusation of His Innocency.*

It was true that the Duke of York *was become the Chancellor's Son in Law; and therefore they hoped to be believed,*

when they ſaid, that to ſatisfy his Ambition, he would forfeit his Integrity; which, God knows, was Not true.

Thus what Tacitus *obſerves in the time of* Tiberius, *of* Granius Marcellus, *who was inform'd againſt to have ſpoken ill words of that Emperour, was here, in ſome ſort, verified on our Author:*

Inevitabile crimen, *ſays* Tacitus *concerning thoſe words,* nam, quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur.

The Allyance was undeniable; there were Children born of it; and the King was not bleſſed with any from his Marriage. An inevitable crime laid on our Author. For, becauſe it was true, that there were Children from one Marriage, and not from the other, it was ſuggeſted, that both Marriages had been ſo contrived by the Chancellor: tho' the King knew very well, that his own Marriage had not been firſt projected, or propoſed by this Author; and that he had often told his Majeſty, what ſuſpicions there were in the world, that that great and virtuous Princeſs might prove unfruitful.

Another inevitable Misfortune, which was then laid as a Crime too on our Author, was a Report very falſely, but very induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, that firſt begat a Coldneſs, and, by degrees, very much diſinclined a great many of the Royal Party to him; a Report, that he ſhould have inſtilled into the King's mind a Principle, that he muſt prefer his Enemies, and advance Them, to gain them to be his Friends; and for his Old Friends, it was no matter how he uſed Them, for They would be ſo ſtill. To which very ſcandalous miſrepreſentation We muſt give this true Anſwer:

It fell out indeed, that every Man's Expectation, that had laboured all the heat of the day in the Vine-yard, who had received wounds in their Perſons in the day of Battle, or ſuffer'd in their Fortunes or Liberties, for the preſervation of a good conſcience during the Uſurpation of Tyranny and Anarchy, was not, and, alas! could not, be recompenced immediately according to their Merit, or the Hopes they had entertained: And becauſe it was true that they were diſappointed, it was believed

by

by ſome of them, that our Author, being Meniſter at that time, had inſtilled this damnable Doctrine and Poſition, that it was no matter how the King uſed his Old Friends: and becauſe it was true that they were not conſidered as they deſerved, it muſt be believed, as they would have it, that He was the Author of that Advice.

It was true that the King, who was ſo wonderfully reſtored with all that Glory and Peace, more perhaps upon the confidence of his Declarations and Promiſes from Breda, *than any other Humane means, and who had thought it neceſſary to recommend, in his moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes, upon the paſſing the Act of Indemnity, that all marks of diſtinction and diviſion amongſt his Subjects, ſhould be for ever buried and forgotten, did not think it for his Honour, and true Intereſt, to Reign over a Party only of his Subjects; and therefore, immediately after his Reſtoration, in order to the Settlement of his Court, and Family, the then Earl of* Manchester, *whoſe part every body remember'd to have been very eminent, in the time of the Rebellion, againſt King* Charles *the firſt, but who had induſtriouſly applied himſelf ſeveral years to the King, to make reparation for his former Errors, and had been conſiderably ſerviceable to him in ſeveral occaſions, was honoured with the Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Houſe-hold; to let the Kingdom ſee, how the King Himſelf began with practiſing what he exhorted his Subjects to, that admirable Art of Forgetfulneſs, when he put Such a perſon into ſo eminent a Station in the Government, near his own Perſon. And it was certainly of Advantage to the King, in the beginning of his ſettlement here, as well as a Mark of Juſtice in his Nature, to let his Subjects know and feel, that every one of them might capacitate himſelf, by his future behaviour, for any Dignity and Preferment.*

But it could never be in the Heart of a Man, who had been all along on the ſuffering ſide, to do his own Party ſo baſe an Office with the King, as this falſe Report did inſinuate. He might be of opinion that the fatted Calf was to be killed, for the

entertainment of the Prodigal Son, whenever he returned; that there might be no distinction of Parties kept up among st Us; but he could never forget the Birthright of the Eldest Son, who had served the King so many years, and had not at any time transgressed his commandment, and so well deserved that praise, and that reward, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine. *And yet this Calumny, false as it was, was another inevitable Crime, or at least Misfortune. For without that opinion, which some of the Royal Party had sucked in, that the Chancellor had abandon'd their Interest, it had been impossible to have engaged a Majority in that Parliament, to have consented to that Act of Banishment.*

God forgive the Inventors and Contrivers of that foul Calumny: But, by his Almighty Providence, who from Heaven reveals Secrets, it was not long before that Party was disabused. For, tho' the Chancellor, for some time, bore the blame, that they had not been more considered, it was quickly found, that it was not from Him, but from the mistaken Politicks of the new Statesmen, that they were design'd to be neglected. Nor did they at all find themselves more taken notice of, after his Removal; nor have the several other Parties in the Kingdom, that have been cherished, and countenanced in opposition to this, much declined, as We conceive, to this day.

But after all, We are humbly of opinion, that it was neither of these above mention'd unavoidable Misfortunes, nor both together, that gave the fatal, and last decisive blow to the fortune of this good Man. The King had too good a Judgement, and was too well natured, to have been imposed upon barely by such Attacks as these; which he knew very well himself, as to our Authors guilt in them, were Frivolous and Unjust.

But there are always in Courts secret Engines, that Actually consummate the Mischiefs, that others, in a more publick way, have been long in bringing to pass: And in this case there were two principal ones:

The One, the Interest of some of the Zealots of the Popish Party, who knew this Minister had too much Credit in the Nation, tho'

he ſhould loſe it with the King, to ſuffer the Projects, they perpetually had, of propagating their Religion, to take effect, whilſt he ſhould be in the Kingdom:

The Other, the Faction of the Ladys, too prevalent at that time with the King, who were afraid of ſuch a Mans being near him, as durſt talk to him, as he had ſeveral times taken the Liberty to do, of the ſcandal of their lives, and reprove both the Maſter and the Miſtreſſes, for their publick unlawful Converſations.

Thus theſe two Intereſts, joyning their Forces, were ſo powerful, that there was no reſiſting them, by a Man, who could not make Court to Either. And ſo he fell a Sacrifice to the Ambition, and Malice of all ſorts of Enemies, who were deſirous of getting new places to themſelves in the Court, and of trying new Inventions in the State.

And yet it is to be obſerved, that that King, who was, almoſt all his Reign, ever labouring, with much pains to get a little Eaſe, which he might perhaps have attained with leſs trouble, and, no doubt, hoped, by getting rid of this old importunate Counſellor, to terrify any Man from preſuming afterwards to tell him ſuch bold Truths, had ſcarce ever after any Serenity in his whole Reign: But thoſe very Women, or others in their places, and the Factions he himſelf had given countenance to, grew too hard for him, and tore him almoſt to pieces, ſometimes in the favouring of one Party, and ſometimes of another, without ſteadyneſs of his own, or confidence enough in any of his Servants, to guide him through thoſe perplexities, that could not have been brought upon him, but by his own conſent.

We dare ſay, there were ſome hours in his life, that he wiſh'd he had had his old Chancellor again; who, he knew, was a more skilful Pilot than any of his new Sates-men;

(Tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum)

And that he had not, by his too much eageneſs to get rid of one old Servant, given too great an handle to have new Meaſures,

Thus We have finished our Preface, which We thought incumbent on us to make, who had lived to be acquainted with this Author, and to have known his merit, that it might attend the publishing this History, to give the present Age some information of the Character of him, they are to read. And as we desired to perform it with respect to his Memory, so, We hope, We have not exceeded the bounds of truth, and modesty, which he himself would have taken unkindly from those, that are doing this Office to him. Whatever Misfortunes he might have in his life; whatever Enemies he might have had; or whatever Errors he might have committed (which few Men in his high Stations escape quite clear of) We presume to think he deserves, from all impartial Men, the praise of an honest, just, and able Servant to the Church and Crown, and to be ranked amongst the great and good Ministers of State.

And now We will conclude all, with a thanksgiving to God in Saint Luke, Glory be to God on high, and on Earth peace, good will, towards Men.

For Gods name ought ever to be glorified in all his dispensations; whether they be attended with the Prosperities, or Adversities of this present World. We speak it knowingly, that our Noble Author did so throughout the Course of his Misfortunes, and that he did adore, and magnify Gods holy Name, for all his Mercies so plentifully bestowed upon him; and particularly for giving him the Courage, and Virtue, constantly to act and suffer honourably through all the considerable Employments of his life; and, more especially, to endeavour to keep things even between the King and the People (the everlasting labour of a faithful Servant) rather than advance his own favour, by unreasonably advancing the Prerogative on the one hand, or his credit, by courting the Popular Interest, on the other; which We heartily wish, all Men, in the highest Authority under a King of England, *may ever remember to practice.*

And whoever are acquainted with the Sons of this Noble Author,

Author, must do them this Justice to say, they have openly declared, that they have found themselves as well as Christians, as the better Men, for the unfeigned Love and Respect to parts of their Father's Life, which hath taught them to be less surprised with the various turns, they have met with in the Course of their own. With Saint Paul, they have learnt to know how to be exalted, and how to be abased. *This as Christians: And with* Horace, *who attributes more to Fortune, they have learnt to have always in their minds,*

Laudo manentem, si celeres quatit
Pennas, Resigno quæ dedit.

And having thus glorified God on high, that they may do all in them lies, towards promoting Peace on Earth, they do very heartily declare, and profess good Will towards all Men; and bear no unkindness to any, that were the Contrivers of the undeserved Misfortunes of their Noble Father.





THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May* in the Year 1660.

THE FIRST BOOK.

ENGLAND

IN THE

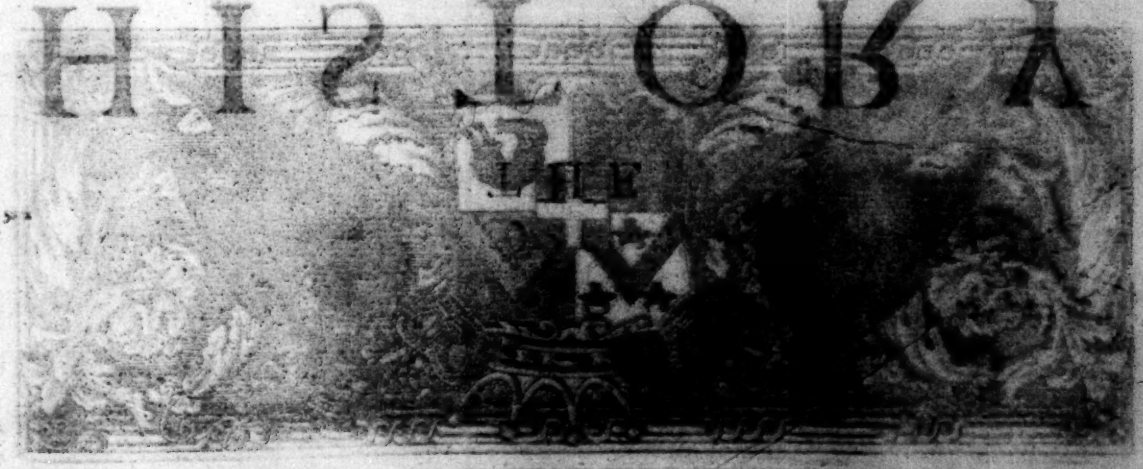
CIVIL WARS

AND

REBELLION

OF THE

HISTORY





THE History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK I.

Deut. IV. 7, 8, 9.

For what Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?

And what Nation is there so great that hath Statutes, and Judgments so righteous as all this Law, which I set before you this day?

Only take heed to thy self, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen.



THAT Posterity may not be Deceived by the prosperous Wickedness of those times of which I write, into an Opinion, that nothing less than a general Combination, and universal Apostacy in the whole Nation from their Religion, and Allegiance, could, in so short a time, have produced such a total and prodigious Alteration, and Confusion over the whole Kingdom; And that the Memory of those, who, out of Duty and Conscience, have opposed that Torrent, which did overwhelm them, may not loose the recompence due to their Virtue, but having undergone the injuries and reproaches of This, may find a vindication in a better age: It will not be unuseful, for the information of the Judgement and Conscience of men, to present to the world a full and clear Narration of the Grounds, Circumstances, and Artifices of this Rebellion; not only from the time since the flame hath been visible in a Civil war, but, looking farther back, from those former passages and accidents, by which the Seed-plots were made and framed, from whence those mischiefs have successively grown to the height they have since arrived at. *The Preface of the Author.*

AND in this ensuing History, though the hand and judgement of God will be very visible, in infatuating a People (as ripe and prepared for Destruction) into all the perverse actions of folly and madness, making

the Weak to contribute to the designs of the Wicked, and suffering even those, by degrees, out of a confidence of their guilt, to grow more wicked than they intended to be; leaving the Wise to be imposed upon by men of small understanding; and permitting the Innocent to be possessed with laziness and sleep in the most visible article of danger; uniting the Ill, though of the most different opinions, opposite interests, and distant affections, in a firm and constant league of Mischiefs; and dividing those, whose opinions and interests are the same, into Faction and Emulation, more pernicious to the publick than the Treason of the others: whilst the poor People, under pretence of Zeal to Religion, Law, Liberty, and Parliaments (words of pretious esteem in their just signification) are furiously hurried into actions introducing Atheism, and dissolving all the Elements of Christian Religion; cancelling all obligations, and destroying all foundations of Law and Liberty; and rendring, not only the Privileges, but the very Being of Parliaments desperate and impracticable: I say, though the immediate finger and wrath of God must be acknowledged in these perplexities and distractions; yet he who shall diligently observe the distempers and conjunctures of Time, the ambition, pride and folly of Persons, and the suddain growth of Wickedness, from want of care and circumspection in the first impressions, will find all these miseries to have proceeded, and to have been brought upon us from the same natural causes, and means, which have usually attended Kingdoms swoln with long plenty, pride, and excess, towards some signal mortification, and castigation of Heaven. And it may be, upon the consideration how impossible it was to foresee many things that have happen'd, and of the necessity of overlooking many other things, we may not yet find the cure so desperate, but that, by Gods mercy, the wounds may be again bound up; and then this prospect may not make the future Peace less pleasant and durable.

I HAVE the more willingly induced my self to this unequal task, out of the hope of contributing somewhat to that blessed end: and though a peice of this nature (wherein the infirmities of some, and the malice of others must be boldly look'd upon and mention'd) is not likely to be published in the age, in which it is writ, yet it may serve to inform my self, and some others, what we ought to do, as well as to comfort us in what we have done. For which work, as I may not be thought altogether an incompetent person, having been present as a Member of Parliament in those Councils before, and till the breaking out of the Rebellion, and having since had the Honour to be near two great Kings in some Trust, so I shall perform the same with all faithfulness, and ingenuity; with an equal observation of the faults and infirmities of both sides, with their defects and oversights in pursuing their own ends; and shall no otherwise mention small and light Occurrences, than as they have been Introductions to matters of the greatest Moment, nor speak of Persons otherwise, than as the mention of their Virtues or Vices is essential to the work in hand: In which I shall, with truth, preserve my self from the least sharpness, that may proceed from private provocation, and in the whole, observe the rules, that a man should, who deserves to be believed.

I SHALL not then lead any man farther back in this journey for the discovery of the entrance into those dark ways, than the beginning of this King's reign. For I am not so sharp-sighted as those, who have discerned this Rebellion contriving, from (if not before) the death of

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth*, and fomented by ſeveral Princes, and great Miniſters of State in *Chriſtendom*, to the time that it brake out. Whether do I look ſo far back as I do, becauſe I believe the deſign to have been ſo long ſince formed, but that by viewing the Temper, Diſpoſition, and Intereſt that time of the Court and of the Country, we may diſcern the minds of men prepared, of ſome to Act, and of others to Suffer all that hath ſince happened; the Pride of this man, and the Popularity of that; the Levity of one, and the Moroſity of another; the Exceſs of the Court in the greateſt Want, and the Parſimony and Retention of the Country in the greateſt Plenty; the ſpirit of Craft and Subtility in ſome, and the Unpoliſhed Integrity of others, too much deſpiſing craft or art; all contributing joyntly to this maſs of Confuſion now before us.

A View of the beginning of K. Charles I^a his Reign.

KING *James* in the end of March 1625 died, leaving his Majeſty that now is, engaged in a War with *Spain*, but unprovided with money to manage it; though it was undertaken by the conſent and advice of Parliament: the People being naturally enough inclined to the War (having ſurfeited with the uninterrupted pleaſures and plenty of 22 years Peace) and ſufficiently inflamed againſt the Spaniard; but quickly weary of the charge of it: And therefore, after an unproſperous and chargeable attempt in a voyage by Sea upon *Cadiz*, and as unſucceſsfull, and more unfortunate one upon *France* at the Ile of *Ree* (for ſome difference had likewiſe about the ſame time begotten a War with that Prince) a general Peace was ſhortly concluded with both Kingdoms; the Exchequer being ſo exhauſted with the debts of King *James*, the bounty of his Majeſty that now is (who upon his firſt acceſs to the Crown gave many coſtly inſtances of his favour to perſons near him) and the charge of the War upon *Spain*, and *France*, that both the known, and caſual Revenue being anticipated, the neceſſary Subſiſtence of the houſehold was unprovided for; and the King on the ſuddain driven to thoſe ſtreights for his own Support, that many ways were reſorted to, and inconveniencies ſubmitted to for Supply; as ſelling the Crown-Lands, creating Peers for money, and many other particulars, which no acceſs of power, or plenty ſince could repair.

PARLIAMENTS were Summoned, and again Diſſolved in diſpleaſure: and that in the fourth year (after the diſſolution of the two former) was determined with a Profeſſion, and Declaration, that, "ſince for ſeveral "ill ends the calling again of a Parliament was divulged, however his "Majeſty had ſhewed, by his frequent meeting with his People, his love "to the uſe of Parliaments, yet the late abuſe having, for the preſent, "driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of that courſe, he ſhall account it "preſumption for any to preſcribe any time to his Majeſty for Parlia-"ments. Which words were generally interpreted, as if no more Aſſemblies of that nature were to be expected, and that all ſuch were prohibited upon the penalty of cenſure, ſo much as to ſpeak of a Parliament. And here I cannot but let my ſelf looſe to ſay, that no man can ſhew me a Source, from whence thoſe waters of bitterneſs, we now taſte, have more probably flowed, than from theſe unreaſonable, unadviſed, and precipitate Diſſolutions of Parliaments; in which, by an unjuſt ſurvey of the Paſſion, Inſolence, and Ambition of particular perſons, they have meaſured the Temper and Affection of the Country; and by the falſe

ſtandard the People conſider'd the Honour, Juſtice, and Piety of the Court; and ſo uſually parted, at thoſe ſad ſeaſons, with no other reſpect, and charity one toward the other, than accompanies perſons who never meant to meet but in their own defence. In which the King had always the diſadvantage to harbour Perſons about him, who with their utmoſt Induſtry, falſe Information, and Malice, improved the faults, and infirmities of the Court to the People; and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the People ſuſpected if not odious to the King.

I AM not alltogether a ſtranger to the paſſages of thoſe Parliaments (though I was not a Member of them) having carefully peruſed the Journals of both Houſes, and familiarly converſed with many, who had principal parts in them. And I cannot but wonder at thoſe Counſels, which perſwaded the courſes then taken; the habit and temper of mens minds, at that time, being, no queſtion, very applicable to the Publick ends; and thoſe ends being only diſcredited by the Jealouſies, the People entertain'd from the manner of the proſecution, that they were other, and worſe than in truth they were. It is not to be denied, that there were, in all thoſe Parliaments, eſpecially in that of the fourth year, ſeveral Paſſages, and diſtempered Speeches of particular perſons, not fit for the dignity, and honour of thoſe places, and unſuitable to the Reverence due to his Majeſty and his Councils. But I do not know any formed Act of either Houſe (for neither the Remonſtrance, nor Votes of the laſt day were ſuch) that was not agreeable to the Wiſdome, and Juſtice of great Courts upon thoſe extraordinary occaſions. And whoever conſiders the Acts of power, and injuſtice of ſome of the Miniſters, in thoſe intervals of Parliament, will not be much ſcandalized at the warmth, and vivacity of thoſe meetings.

IN the Second Parliament there was a mention, and intention declared of granting five Subſidies, a proportion (how contemptible ſoever in reſpect of the preſſures now every day impoſed) ſcarce ever before heard of in Parliament. And that Meeting being, upon very unpopular, and unplauſible reaſons, immediately Diſſolved, thoſe five Subſidies were exacted, throughout the whole Kingdom, with the ſame rigour, as if, in truth, an Act had paſſed to that purpoſe: Divers Gentlemen of prime quality, in ſeveral Countys of *England*, were, for refuſing to pay the ſame, committed to Priſon, with great rigour and extraordinary circumſtances. And could it be imagined, that thoſe men would meet again in a free convention of Parliament, without a ſharp, and ſevere expoſtulation, and inquiſition into their own Right, and the power that had impoſed upon that Right? And yet all theſe Provocations, and many other, allmoſt of as large an extent, produced no other Reſentment than the Petition of Right (of no prejudice to the Crown) which was likewiſe purchaſed at the price of five Subſidies more, and, in a very ſhort time after that Supply granted, that Parliament was likewiſe, with ſtrange circumſtances of paſſion on all ſides, Diſſolved.

THE abrupt, and unkind breaking off the Two firſt Parliaments was wholely imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*; and of the Third principally to the Lord *Weſton*, then Lord high Treaſurer of *England*; both in reſpect of the great power, and intereſt they then had in the affections of his Majeſty, and for that the time of the Diſſolutions happened to be when ſome Charges, and Accuſations were preparing, and ready to be produced againſt thoſe two great Perſons. And therefore the Envy, and Hatred that attended them thereupon, was Inſupportable, and was viſibly

viſibly the cauſe of the Murther of the firſt (ſtabbed to the heart by the hand of a Villain, upon the meer impious pretence of his being odious to the Parliament) and made, no doubt, ſo great an impreſſion upon the Underſtanding, and Nature of the other, that, by degrees, he loſt that temper, and ſerenity of mind, he had been before maſter of, and which was moſt fit to have accompanied him in his weighty imployments: inſomuch, as, out of indignation to find himſelf worſe uſed than he deſerved, he cared leſs to deſerve well, than he had done, and inſenſibly grew into that Publick hatred, that render'd him leſs uſeful to the Service, that he only intended.

I WONDER leſs at the Errors of this nature, in the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, having had a moſt generous Education in Courts, was utterly Ignorant of the Ebbs, and Floods of Popular Councils, and of the Winds that move thoſe Waters; and could not, without the ſpirit of Indignation, find himſelf, in the ſpace of a few weeks, without any viſible cauſe intervening, from the greateſt height of popular Eſtimation, that any perſon hath aſcended to (inſomuch as Sr *Edward Coke* blaſphemouſly call'd him our Saviour) by the ſame Breath thrown down to the depth of Calumny, and Reproach. I ſay, it is no Marvail (beſides that he was naturally to follow ſuch Counſels as were given him) that He could think of no better way, to be freed of theſe inconveniences, and troubles, the Paſſions of thoſe Meetings gave him, than to Diſſolve them, and prevent their coming together: and that when they ſeemed to neglect the Publick Peace, out of Animoſity to him, he intended his own Eaſe and Security in the firſt place, and eaſily beleived, the Publick might be otherwiſe provided for, by more Intent, and Diſpaſſionate Counſels. But that the other, the Lord *Weſton*, who had been very much, and very Popularly converſant in thoſe Conventions, who exactly knew the Frame, and Conſtitution of the Kingdom, the temper of the People, the Extents of the Courts of Law, and the Juriſdiction of Parliaments, which at that time had ſeldom, or never committed any Exceſs of juriſdiction (Modeſty and Moderation in Words never was, nor ever will be obſerved in Popular Councils, whoſe foundation is Liberty of Speech) that He ſhould beleive, that the Union, Peace, and Plenty of the Kingdom could be preſerved without Parliaments, or that the Paſſion, and Diſtemper gotten, and received into Parliaments, could be removed, and reformed by the more paſſionate Breaking and Diſſolving them; or that that Courſe would not inevitably prove the moſt Pernicious to himſelf, is as much my Wonder, as any thing that hath ſince happened.

THERE is a Protection very gracious, and juſt, which Princes owe to their Servants, when, in obedience to their juſt Commands, upon extraordinary and neceſſary Occaſions, in the execution of their Truſts, they ſwerve from the ſtrict letter of the Law, which, without that Mercy, would be Penal to them. In any ſuch Caſe, it is as Legal (the Law preſuming it will allways be done upon great Reaſon) for the King to pardon, as for the Party to accuſe, and the Judge to condemn. But for the Soveraign Power to interpoſe, and ſhelter an Accuſed Servant from anſwering, do's not only ſeem an obſtruction of Juſtice, and lay an imputation upon the Prince of being privy to the Offence, but leaves ſo great a Scandal upon the Party himſelf, that he is generally concluded Guilty of whatſoever he is charged with; which is commonly more than the Worſt man ever deſerved. And it is worthy the Obſervation, that, as no Innocent man, who made his Defence, ever Suffer'd in thoſe times

by Judgement of Parliament, ſo many Guilty perſons, and againſt whom the Spirit of the times went as high, by the wiſe managing their Defence, have been Freed from their Accuſers, not only without Cenſure, but without Reproach; as the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper, Sr *H. Marten*, and Sr *H. Spiller*; Men, in their ſeveral degrees, as little beholden to the Charity of that time, as any men ſince. Whereas ſcarce a man, who, with Induſtry and Skill, laboured to keep himſelf from being Accuſed, or by Power to ſtop or divert the Courſe of Proceeding, ſcaped without ſome Signal Mark of Infamy, or Prejudice. And the Reaſon is clear, for beſides that, after the firſt Storm, there is ſome Compaſſion naturally attends Men like to be in Miſery; and beſides the latitude of Judging in thoſe places, whereby there is room for Kindneſs and Affection, and collateral Conſiderations to interpoſe; the truth is, thoſe Accuſations (to which this man contributes his Malice, another his Wit, all men what they Pleaſe, and moſt upon Hear-ſay, with a kind of Uncharitable Delight of making the Charge as Heavy as may be) are commonly ſtuffed with many odious Generals, that the Proofs ſeldom make good: and then a man is no ſooner found leſs Guilty than he is expected, but he is concluded more Innocent than he is; and it is thought but a juſt Reparation for the Reproach that he deſerved not, to Free him from the Cenſure he deſerved. So that, very probably, thoſe two noble Perſons had been happy, if they had ſtoutly ſubmitted to the Proceedings were deſigned againſt them; and, without queſtion, it had been of ſoveraign Uſe to the King, if, in thoſe Peaceable times, Parliaments had been Taught to know their own Bounds, by being ſuffer'd to Proceed as far as they could go; by which the Extent of their Power would quickly have been Manifeſted: from whence no Inconvenience of moment could have Proceeded; the Houſe of Commons never then Pretending to the leaſt part of Judicature, or Exceeding the known verge of their own Privileges; the Houſe of Peers obſerving the Rules of the Law and Equity in their Judgements, and proceeding Deliberately upon clear Teſtimony and Evidence of matter of fact; and the King retaining the ſole power of Pardoning, and receiving the whole profit of all Penalties and Judgements; and indeed having ſo great an Influence upon the Body of the Peerage, that it was ſcarce known, that any Perſon of Honour was ſeverely Cenſured in that Houſe (before this preſent Parliament) who was not either immediately Proſecuted by the Court, or in evident Diſfavour there; by which, it may be (as it uſually falls out) ſome Doors were opened, at which Inconveniencies to the Crown have got in, that were not then enough Weighed and Conſidered.

BUT the Courſe of Exempting Men from Proſecution, by Diſſolving of Parliaments, made the power of Parliaments much more Formidable, as conceived to be without Limit; ſince the Soveraign Power ſeemed to be compelled (as unable otherwiſe to ſet Bounds to their Proceedings) to that rough Cure, and to determine their Beings, becauſe it could not determine their Juriſdiction. Whereas if they had been frequently Summoned, and ſeaſonably Diſſolved, after their wiſdom in applying Medicines and Cures, as well as their induſtry in diſcovering Diſeaſes, had been diſcerned, they would eaſily have been applied to the Uſes for which they were firſt Inſtituted; and been of no leſs Eſteem with the Crown, than of Veneration with the People. And ſo I ſhall conclude this Digreſſion, which, I conceived, was not unſeaſonable for this Place nor upon this Occaſion, and return to the Time, when that briſk, and improvident

Reſolution

Reſolution was taken of declining thoſe Conventions; all men being Inhibited (as I ſaid before they generally took themſelves to be) by the Proclamation at the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the Fourth year, ſo much as to mention or ſpeak as if a Parliament ſhould be called.

AND here it will give much Light to that which follows, if we take a View of the State of the Court, and of the Council at that time; by which we may beſt ſee the Face of that time, and the Affections and Temper of the People in general. *The State of the Court about that time.*

FOR the better taking this Proſpect, we will begin with a ſurvey of the Perſon of that great man, the Duke of *Buckingham* (who was ſo barbarouſly murdered about this time) whoſe Influence had been unfortunate in the Publick affairs, and whoſe Death produced a change in all the Counſels. The Duke was indeed a very extraordinary Perſon, and never any Man, in any Age, nor, I believe, in any Country, or Nation, roſe, in ſo ſhort a time, to ſo much greatneſs of Honour, Fame, and Fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation, than of the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon. I have not the leaſt purpoſe of undervaluing his good Parts and Qualities (of which there will be occaſion ſhortly to give ſome teſtimony) when I ſay, that his firſt introduction into Favour was purely from the Handſomneſs of his Perſon. *The Riſe of the Duke of Buckingham.*

HE was a younger Son of Sr *George Villiers*, of *Brookesby* in the County of *Leiceſter*; a Family of an ancient extraction, even from the time of the Conqueſt, and Tranſported then with the Conqueror out of *Normandy*, where the Family hath ſtill remained, and ſtill continues with Luſtre. After Sr *George*'s firſt marriage, in which he had two or three Sons, and ſome Daughters, who ſhared an ample Inheritance from him; by a ſecond marriage with a Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*, he had this Gentleman, and two other Sons and a Daughter, who all came afterwards to be raiſed to great Titles and Dignities. *George*, the eldeſt Son of this ſecond bed, was, after the death of his Father, by the ſingular affection and care of his Mother, who enjoyed a good Joynture, in the account of that age, well brought up; and, for the improvement of his Education, and giving an ornament to his hopeful Perſon, he was by Her ſent into *France*; where he ſpent two or three years in attaining the Language, and in learning the exerciſes of Riding and Dancing; in the laſt of which he excelled moſt men, and returned into *England* by the time he was 21 years old.

KING *James* reigned at that time, and though he was a Prince of more Learning and Knowledge than any other of that age, and really delighted more in Books, and in the converſation of Learned men, yet, of all Wiſe men living, he was the moſt delighted and taken with Handſome Perſons, and with Fine Cloaths. He begun to be weary of his Favourite, the Earl of *Somerſet*, who was the only Favourite that kept that Poſt ſo long, without any publick reproach from the People. But, by the inſtigation and wickedneſs of his Wife, he became, at leaſt Privy to a horrible murder, that expoſed him to the utmoſt ſeverity of the Law (the Poyſoning of Sr *Thomas Overbury*) upon which both He, and his Wife were condemned to dy, after a Tryal by their Peers, and many Perſons of Quality were executed for the ſame.

WHILST this was in agitation, and before the utmoſt diſcovery was made, Mr *Villiers* appeared in Court, and drew the Kings eyes upon him. There were enough in the Court, ſufficiently angry, and incenſed againſt *Somerſet*, for being what themſelves deſired to be, and

eſpecially for being a *Scots*-man, and aſcending, in ſo ſhort a time, from being a Page, to the Height he was then at, to contribute all they could to promote the One, that they might throw out the Other: which being eaſily brought to paſs, by the proceeding of the Law upon his aforeſaid Crime, the Other found very little difficulty in rendring himſelf Gracious to the King, whoſe Nature and Diſpoſition was very flowing in affection towards perſons ſo adorned. Inſomuch that, in few days after his firſt appearance in Court, he was made Cup-bearer to the King, by which he was, of courſe, to be much in his Preſence, and ſo admitted to that converſation and diſcourſe, with which that Prince always abounded at his meals.

HIS Inclinations to his new Cup-bearer diſpoſed him to adminiſter frequent occaſions of diſcourſing of the Court of *France*, and the tranſactions there, with which he had been ſo lately acquainted, that he could pertinently enlarge upon that Subject, to the Kings great delight, and to the gaining the eſteem and value of all the ſtanders by to Himſelf: which was a thing the King was well pleaſed with. He acted very few weeks upon this Stage, when he mounted Higher, and, being Knighted, without any other Qualification, he was at the ſame time made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Knight of the Order of the Garter, and in a ſhort time (very ſhort for ſuch a prodigious aſcent) he was made a Baron, a Viſcount, an Earl, a Marquis, and became Lord high Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Maſter of the Horſe, and entirely diſpoſed of all the Graces of the King, in conferring all the Honours and all the Offices of three Kingdoms without a Rival; in diſpenſing whereof, he was guided more by the rules of Appetite, than of Judgement, and ſo, exalted allmoſt all of his own numerous Family, and Dependants; whoſe greateſt Merit was their Alliance to Him; which equally offended the ancient Nobility, and the People of all conditions, who ſaw the Flowers of the Crown every day fading, and withered; whilſt the Demeaſnes, and Revenue thereof were ſacrificed to the enriching a private Family (how well ſoever originally extracted) ſcarce ever heard of before to the Nation, and the expences of the Court ſo vaſt and unlimited, that they had a ſad proſpect of that Poverty, and Neceſſity which afterwards befell the Crown, allmoſt to the ruin of it.

MANY were of opinion, that King *James* before his death, grew weary of this Favourite, and that, if he had lived, he would have deprived him at leaſt of his large, and unlimited Power. And this imagination ſo prevailed with ſome men, as the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, and other Gentlemen of Name, though not in ſo high Stations, that they had the courage to withdraw from their abſolute dependance upon the Duke, and to make ſome other Eſſays, which proved to the Ruin of every one of them; there appearing no mark or evidence, that the King did really leſſen his affection to Him, to the hour of his death. On the contrary, as he created him Duke of *Buckingham* in his Abſence, whilſt he was with the Prince in *Spain*, ſo, after their Return, the Duke executed the ſame Authority in conferring all Favours and Graces, and in revenging himſelf upon thoſe, who had manifeſted any unkindneſs towards him. And yet notwithſtanding all this, if that Kings nature had equally diſpoſed him to pull down, as to build and erect; and if his courage and ſeverity in puniſhing and reforming, had been as great, as his gene-

roſity

rosity and inclination was to oblige, it is not to be doubted, but that he would have withdrawn his affection from the Duke entirely, before his death; which those Persons, who were admitted to any Privacy with Him, and were not in the Confidence of the Other (for before Those he knew well how to dissemble) had reason enough to expect.

An Account of Pr. Charles's Journey into Spain.

FOR it is certain, that the King was never well pleased with the Duke, after the Prince's going into *Spain*, which was infinitely against his Will, and contrived wholely by the Duke: Who, out of Envy, that the Earl of *Bristol* should have the sole management of so great an Affair (as hitherto that Treaty had been wholely conducted by him in *Spain*, where he was Extraordinary Embassadour, and all Particulars upon the matter agreed upon) had one day insinuated to the Prince the common misfortune of Princes, that in so substantial a part of their Happyness in this world, as depended upon their Marriage, Themselves had never any part, but must receive only an account from others of the nature, and humour, and beauty of the Ladys they were to marry; and those reports seldom proceeded from persons totally Unintersted, by reason of the parts, they had acted towards such preparations. From hence he discoursed, how Gallant and how Braye a thing it would be, for his Highness to make a Journey into *Spain*, and to fetch home his Mistris; that it would put an end presently to all those Formalities, which (though all Substantial matters were agreed upon already) according to the Style of that Court, and the slow progress in all things of Ceremony, might yet retard the Infanta's voyage into *England* many months; all which would be in a moment removed by his Highnesses own Presence; that it would be such an Obligation to the Infanta her self, as she could never enough value or requite, and being a Respect rarely paid by any other Prince, upon the like addresses, could proceed only from the high regard and reverence he had for her Person; that in the great affair that only remained undetermined, and was not entirely yeilded to, though under a very friendly deliberation, which was the Restoring the *Palatinate*, it was very probable, that the King of *Spain* himself might choose, in the Instant, to gratify his Personal Interposition, which, in a Treaty with an Embassadour, might be drawn out in length, or attended with overtures of recompense by some new Concessions, which would create new Difficulties; However that the Mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the Infanta her self, who would ambitiously make it her work to pay a part of her great Debt to the Prince, and that he might, with Her, and by Her, present to his Majesty the entire peace, and restitution of his Family; which by no other Humane Means could be brought to pass.

THESE discourses made so deep impression upon the mind and spirit of the Prince (whose nature was inclined to Adventures) that he was transported with the Thought of it, and most impatiently sollicitous to bring it to pass. The greatest difficulty in view was, how they might procure the Kings consent, who was very Quick-sighted in discerning difficulties, and raising objections, and very Slow in mastering them, and untying the knotts he had made; In a word, he knew not how to wrestle with desperate Contingencies, and so abhorred the being entangled in Such. This was first to be attempted by the Prince himself, by communicating it to the King, as his earnest desire and suit, with this circumstance, that Since his doing, or not doing what he most desired, depended wholely and entirely upon his Majestys own approba-

tion and command, he would vouchſafe to promiſe Not to Communicate the thing propoſed, before he had firſt taken his Own reſolution; and that this condition ſhould be firſt humbly inſiſted on, before the Subſtantial Point ſhould be communicated; and ſo, this approach being firſt made, the ſucceſs and proſecution was to be left to the Dukes credit and dexterity. All things being thus concerted between his Highneſs, and the Duke (and this the beginning of an entire Confidence between them, after a long time of declared Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure on the Prince's part, and Occaſion enough adminiſtred on the Other) they ſhortly found fit opportunity (and there were ſeaſons when that King was to be approached more hopefully than in others) to make their addreſs Together. His Majeſty cheerfully conſented to the Condition, and being well pleaſed that all ſhould depend upon his Will, frankly promiſed, that he would not, in any degree, Communicate to any perſon the matter, before he had taken, and communicated to Them his Own reſolutions.

The Prince Propoſes his Journey to his Father.

THE Prince then, upon his knees, declared his Suit and very importunate Requeſt, the Duke ſtanding a long time by, without ſaying a word, while the King diſcourſed the whole matter to the Prince, with leſs Paſſion than they expected, and then look'd upon the Duke, as inclined to hear what He would ſay; who ſpoke nothing to the point whether, in prudence, Adviſable or Not; but enlarged upon the infinite Obligation, his Majeſty would confer upon the Prince, by his Yeilding to the violent paſſion his Highneſs was tranſported with; and, after many exalted expreſſions to that purpoſe, concluded, that he doubted, that his Majeſty, refuſing to grant the Prince this his humble requeſt, would make a deep Impreſſion upon his ſpirits, and peace of mind; and that he would, he fear'd, look upon it as the greateſt Misfortune and Affliction, that could befall him in this world. The Prince, then taking the opportunity, from the good Temper he ſaw his Father in, to enlarge upon thoſe two Points, which he knew were moſt Important in the Kings Own wiſhes and judgement, That this expedient would put a Quick end to this Treaty, which could not be Continued, after his Arrival in that Court, but that his Marriage muſt preſently enſue, which, he knew well enough, the King did moſt impatiently deſire of all Bleſſings in the world: He ſaid likewiſe, he would undertake (and he could not but be believed from the Reaſonableneſs of it) that his Preſence would, in a moment, Determine the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother and Siſter; which was the Second thing, the King longed moſt paſſionately to ſee, before he ſhould leave this world.

King James *Conſents to it.*

THESE diſcourſes, urged with all the artifice and addreſs imaginable, ſo far wrought upon, and prevail'd with the King, that, with leſs hæſitation, than his Nature was accuſtomed to, and much leſs than was agreeable to his great Wiſdom, he gave his approbation, and promiſed that the Prince ſhould make the journey, he was ſo much inclined to. Whether he did not upon the Suddain comprehend the conſequences, which would Naturally attend ſuch a raſh undertaking, or the leſs conſider'd them, becauſe Proviſions, which muſt be made for ſuch a journey, both with reference to the expence, and ſecurity of it, would take up much time, and could not be done in ſuch a ſecret way, but that the Counſel it ſelf might be Reſumed, when new meaſures ſhould be taken. But this imagination was too reaſonable not to be Foreſeen by them, and ſo they had provided themſelves accordingly: And therefore, as ſoon

as they had the Kings promiſe upon the main, they told him, the Security of ſuch a deſign depended on the Expedition, without which there could be no Secreſy obſerved or hoped for; That, if it were Deferred, till ſuch a Fleet could be made ready, and ſuch an Equipage prepared as might be fit for the Prince of *Wales*, ſo much time would be ſpent, as would Diſappoint the principal Ends of the Journey; If they ſhould ſend for a Paſs to *France*, the Ceremony in the asking and granting it, and that which would flow from it, in his paſſage through that Kingdom, would be, at leaſt, liable to the ſame objection of Delay: beſides that, according to the myſteries and intrigues of State, ſuch a Paſs could not in point of ſecurity be reaſonably Depended upon; And therefore they had thought of an expedient, which would avoid all Inconveniencies and Hazards; and that it ſhould be Executed before it ſhould be Suſpected; that it had never hitherto been, in the leaſt degree, conſulted but between Themſelves (which was really true) and therefore, if they now undertook the journey only with two ſervants, who ſhould not know any thing till the moment they were to depart, they might eaſily Paſs through *France*, before they ſhould be Miſs'd at *Whitehall*; which was not hard to be conceived, and ſo with the leſs diſquiſition was conſented to by the King; and the farther Deliberation of what was more to be done both in matter, and manner, and the Nomination of the Perſons who ſhould attend them, and the Time for their departure was deferr'd to the conſultation of the next day.

WHEN the King, in his retirement, and by himſelf, came to Revolve what had been ſo looſely conſulted before, as he had a wonderfull Sagacity in ſuch Reflections, a thouſand Difficulties and Dangers occurr'd to him, and ſo many Precipices, which could hardly be avoided in ſuch a journey; beſides thoſe conſiderations, which the violent affection of a Father to his only Son, ſuggeſted to him, he thought how ill an influence it might have on his People, too much diſpoſed to murmur and complain of the leaſt Inadvertency; and that they look'd upon the Prince as the Son of the Kingdom, as well as his Own. He conſider'd the reputation he ſhould loſe with all Forreign Princes (eſpecially if any Ill Accident ſhould happen) by ſo much departing from his Dignity in expoſing the immediate Heir of the Crown, his only Son, to all the Dangers, and all the Jealouſies, which particular Malice, or that fathomleſs abyſs of Reaſon of State, might prepare and contrive againſt him; and then, in how deſperate a condition Himſelf, and his Kingdoms ſhould remain, if the Prince miſcarried by ſuch an unparallel'd weakneſs of his, contrary to the light of his Underſtanding, as well as the current of his Affections.

THESE Reflections were ſo Terrible to him, that they Robbed him of all Peace and Quiet of Mind; inſomuch as when the Prince, and Duke came to him about the Diſpatch, he fell into a great Paſſion with Tears, and told them, that he was Undone, and that it would break his heart, if they purſued their Reſolution; that upon a true and diſpaſſionate diſquiſition, he had made with Himſelf, he was abundantly convinced, that, beſides the allmoſt inevitable Hazards of the Prince's Perſon, with whom his life was bound up, and beſides the entire Loſs of the affections of his People, which would unavoidably attend this raſh action, he foreſaw, it would ruin the whole deſign, and irrecoverably Break the Match. For whereas all thoſe Particulars, upon which he could poſitively and of right Inſiſt, were fully Granted (for That, which concern'd the

Prince Elector, who had unexcuſably and directly againſt his Advice, incurr'd the Ban of the Empire in an Imperial Dyet, muſt be wrought off by Mediation and Treaty, could not be inſiſted on in Juſtice) nor could *Spain* make any new Demands, all the Overtures they had made being Adjuſted; The Prince ſhould no ſooner arrive at *Madrid*, than all the Articles of the Treaty ſhould be laid Aſide, and New matter be propoſed, which had not been yet mention'd, and could never be conſented to by him; That the Treaty of this Marriage, how well ſoever received, and how much ſoever deſired by the King, and his cheif Miniſters, was, in no degree, acceptable to the *Spaniſh* Nation in general, and leſs to the Court of *Rome*, where, though the new Pope ſeem'd more inclined to grant the Diſpenſation than his Predeceſſor had been, it was plain enough, that it proceeded only from the apprehenſion he had to Diſpleaſe the King of *Spain*, not that he was leſs averſe from the Match, it having been allways believed both in *Spain*, and in *Rome*, that this Marriage was to be attended with a full Repeal of all the Penal Laws againſt the Papiſts, and a plenary Toleration of the exerciſe of that Religion in *England*, which they now ſaw concluded without any ſignal or real Benefit, or Advantage to them. And therefore they might expect, and be confident, that when they had the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales* in their hands, the King of *Spain* (though in his own nature and inclinations full of Honour and Juſtice) would be even Compell'd by his Clergy (who had allways a great influence upon the Counſels of that Kingdom) and the Importunities from *Rome*, who would tell him, that God had put it now into his hand to advance the Catholick Cauſe, to make new Demands for thoſe of that Religion here; which, though he could never conſent to, would, at beſt, interpoſe ſuch Delays in the Marriage, that he ſhould never live to ſee it brought to paſs, nor probably to ſee his Son return again from *Spain*. Then he put the Duke in mind (whom he hitherto believed only to comply with the Prince, to Oblige him, after a long alienation from his Favour) how inevitable his Ruin muſt be, by the effect of this Counſel, how Ungracious he was allready with the People, and how many Enemies he had, amongſt the greateſt Perſons of the Nobility, who would make ſuch uſe of this occaſion, that it would not be in his Majeſtys Power to Protect him. And then he Concluded with the Diſorder and Paſſion, with which he begun, with Sighs and Tears, to conjure them, that they would no more preſs him to give his conſent to a Thing, ſo contrary to his Reaſon, and Underſtanding, and Intereſt, the execution whereof would break his heart, and that they would give over any further purſuit of it.

THE Prince, and the Duke took not the pains to anſwer any of the Reaſons, his Majeſty had inſiſted on; his Highneſs only putting him in mind of the Promiſe he had made to him the day before, which was ſo Sacred, that he hoped he would not Violate it; which if he ſhould, it would make him never think more of Marriage. The Duke, who better knew, what kind of arguments were of Prevalence with him, treated him more Rudely, told him, Nobody could Believe any thing he Said, when he retracted ſo ſoon the promiſe he had ſo ſolemnly made; that he plainly diſcern'd, that it proceeded from an other Breach of his Word, in communicating with ſome Raſcal, who had furniſh'd him with thoſe Pittyfull Reaſons he had alledg'd, and he doubted not but he ſhould hereafter know who his Counſellor had been; That if he receded from what he had promiſed, it would be ſuch a Diſobligation to the Prince,

who

who had ſet his heart now upon the journey, after his Majeſty's approbation, that he could never Forget it, nor Forgive any man who had been the Cauſe of it.

THE Prince, who had allways expreſs'd the higheſt Duty and Reverence towards the King, by his humble and importunate Entreaty, and the Duke, by his rougher Dialect, in the end prevailed ſo far (after his Majeſty had Paſſionately, and with many Oaths renounced the having Communicated the matter with any Perſon living) that the debate was again reſumed upon the journey, which they earneſtly deſired might not be Deferr'd, but that they might take their Leaves of the King within two days, in which they would have all things ready that were neceſſary, his Highneſs pretending to Hunt at *Theobalds*, and the Duke to take Phyſick at *Chelſey*.

THEY told him, that being to have only Two more in their company, as was before reſolved, they had thought (if he approved them) upon Sr *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who, though they might ſafely, ſhould not be Truſted with the Secret, till they were even ready to be embarqued. The Perſons were both Grateful to the King, the former having been long his Majeſtys Agent in the Court of *Spain*, and was now Secretary to the Prince; the other, having been bred in *Madrid*, after many years attendance upon the Duke, was now one of the Bedchamber to the Prince: So that his Majeſty cheerfully approved the Election they had made, and wiſh'd, it might be preſently imparted to them; ſaying that many things would occur to them, as neceſſary to the journey, that they two would never think of; and took that occaſion to ſend for Sr *Francis Cottington* to come preſently to him (whilſt the other two remained with him) who being, of cuſtome, waiting in the outward room, was quickly brought in; whilſt the Duke whiſper'd the Prince in the ear, that *Cottington* would be againſt the Journey, and his Highneſs anſwer'd he Durſt not.

THE King told him, that he had allways been an Honeſt man, and therefore he was now to Truſt him in an Affair of the higheſt Importance, which he was not, upon his life to Diſcloſe, to any man alive; then ſaid to him, *Cottington* here is Baby *Charles* and *Stenny* (an appellation he allways uſed, of and towards the Duke) who have a great mind to go by Poſt into *Spain*, to fetch Home the Infanta, and will have but Two more in their company, and have choſen You for one. What think you of the journey? (He often proteſted ſince, that, when he heard the King, he fell into ſuch a trembling, that he could hardly ſpeak. But when the King Commanded him to anſwer him, what He thought of the journey) he replyed that he could not think Well of it, and that he believ'd, it would render all that had been done towards the Match, Fruitleſs: for that *Spain* would no longer think themſelves Obliged by thoſe Articles, but that, when they had the Prince in their hands, they would make New overtures, which they believ'd more Advantageous to them; amongſt which they muſt look for many, that would concern Religion, and the Exerciſe of it in *England*. Upon which the King threw himſelf upon his bed, and ſaid, I told you this before, and fell into new Paſſion, and Lamentation, that he was Undone and ſhould Loſe Baby *Charles*.

THERE appear'd Diſpleaſure and Anger enough in the Countenances both of the Prince and Duke; the latter ſaying that, as ſoon as the King ſent for him, he whiſper'd the Prince in the ear, that he would be againſt it;

it; that he knew his Pride well enough; and that, becauſe he had not been firſt adviſed with, he was reſolv'd to diſlike it; and therefore he reproach'd *Cottington* with all poſſible bitterneſs of Words, told him the King asked him only of the Journey, and which would be the beſt Way, of which he might be a competent counſellor, having made the way ſo often by Poſt; but that he had the preſumption to give his advice upon Matter of State, and againſt his Maſter, without being call'd to it, which he ſhould repent as long as he lived; with a thouſand new reproaches, which put the poor King into a new Agony, on the behalf of a Servant, who he foreſaw would Suffer for anſwering him Honeſtly. Upon which he ſaid, with ſome commotion, Nay, by God *Stenny*, you are very much to blame to uſe him ſo; he anſwer'd me directly to the Queſtion I ask'd him, and very Honeſtly and Wiſely: and yet you know he ſaid no more, than I told you, before he was call'd in. However, after all this paſſion on both parts, the King Yeilded; and the Journey was at that conference agreed on, and all directions given accordingly to Sr *Francis Cottington*; the King having now plainly diſcover'd, that the Whole Intrigue was originally Contrived by the Duke, and ſo violently Purſued by His ſpirit and impetuoſity.

THE manner, circumſtances, and concluſion of that Voyage, with the Extraordinary Accidents that happen'd in it, will no doubt be at large remember'd by whoſoever ſhall have the courage to write the tranſactions of that Time, with that Integrity he ought to do: in which it will manifeſtly appear, how much of the Prophet was in the wiſdom of the King; and that that deſign'd Marriage, which had been ſo many years in Treaty, even from the Death of Prince *Harry*, and ſo near concluded, was ſolely Broken by that Journey; which, with the paſſages before mention'd, King *James* never Forgave the Duke of *Buckingham*; but retain'd as ſharp a memory of it, as His nature could contain.

THIS Indiſpoſition of the King towards the Duke was exceedingly encreaſed, and aggravated, upon and after the Prince's return out of *Spain*. For though it brought infinite Joy and Delight to his Majeſty, which he expreſs'd in all imaginable Tranſport, and was the argument of the loudeſt, and moſt univerſal rejoycing over the whole Kingdom, that the Nation had ever been acquainted with; in which the Duke had ſo full a Harveſt, that the Imprudence, and Preſumption (to ſay no more) of carrying the Prince into *Spain* was totally Forgotten, or not remember'd with any Reference to him, and the high Merit and ineſtimable Obligation, in bringing him Home, was Remember'd, Magnified, and Celebrated by all Men in all Places; Yet the King was wonderfully diſquieted, when he found (which he had not, before their Return, ſuſpected) that the Prince was totally Aliened from all thoughts of, or inclination to the Marriage, and that they were reſolv'd to Break it with, or without his approbation, or conſent. And in This the Duke reſumed the ſame impetuoſity, he had ſo much indulged to Himſelf in the debate of the journey into *Spain*.

A Parliament is Call'd after the Prince's Return.

THE King had, upon the Prince's Return, iſſued out Writs to call a Parliament, which was in the 21^ſt year of his Reign, thinking it neceſſary, with relation to the perplexities he was in, for the Breach of this Match with *Spain* (which he foreſaw muſt enſue) and the Sad condition of his Only Daughter in *Germany*, with her numerous Iſſue, to receive their grave Advice. By the time the Parliament could meet, the Prince's entire Confidence being repoſed ſtill in the Duke, as the King's ſeem'd to

be, the Duke had wrought himſelf into the very great Eſteem and Confidence of the principal Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who were moſt like to be the Leading Men, and had all a deſire to have as much Reputation in the Court, as they had in the Country. It was very reaſonably thought neceſſary, that as the King would, at the opening of the Parliament, make mention of the Treaty with *Spain*, and more at large of his Daughters being driven out of the *Palatinate*, which would require their aſſiſtance and aid; ſo that the Prince and Duke ſhould, afterwards, to one or both Houſes, as occaſion ſhould be offer'd, make a Relation of what had paſs'd in *Spain*, eſpecially concerning the *Palatinate*: that ſo the Houſes being put into ſome Method and Order of their future debate, they might be more eaſily regulated, than if they were in the beginning left to that Liberty, which they naturally affected, and from which they would not be reſtrain'd, but in ſuch a manner, as would be grateful to Themſelves.

THINGS being thus concerted, after the Houſes had been three or four days together (for, in that time, ſome days were allways ſpent in the formality of naming Committees, and providing for common Occurrences, before they made an entrance upon more ſolemn Debates) the Prince began to ſpeak of the *Spaniſh* Affairs, and of his own Journey thither, and forgot not to mention the Duke with more than ordinary affection. Whereupon it was thought fit, that the whole Affair, which was likewiſe to be the principal Subject Matter of all their Conſultations, ſhould be ſtated and enlarged upon, in a Conference between the two Houſes, which his Highneſs and the Duke were deſired to manage. How little notice ſoever any body elſe could take of the Change, the Duke himſelf too well knew the hearty reſentment the King had of what had paſs'd, and the affection he ſtill had for the *Spaniſh* Treaty: and therefore he had done, and reſolv'd ſtill to do, all he could, to make himſelf grateful to the Parliament; and popular amongſt the People; who, he knew, had allways deteſted the Match with *Spain*, or intruth any Alliance with that Nation.

The Prince and Duke's Account of the Journey at a Conference between both Houſes.

SO when, at the Conference, the Prince had made a ſhort Introduction to the buſineſs, and ſaid ſome very kind things of the Duke, of his wonderful Care of him, whilſt he was in *Spain*, and the great Dexterity he uſed in getting him away; he referr'd the whole Relation to Him: Who ſaid, "That the true Ground of the Prince's Journey into "*Spain*, which, he well knew, had begot ſuch a terrible panting in the "hearts of all good Engliſh-men, had been only to make a clear diſco-"very of the Sincerity of the Spaniard, and, if his intentions were "real, to put a ſpeedy End to it by marrying of the Lady upon the "place; if he found it otherwiſe, to put his Father, and Himſelf at li-"berty to diſpoſe of Himſelf in ſome other place. That the Embaſſador "in whoſe hands that great Affair was ſolely managed, when, in one "Diſpatch, he writ that all was Concluded, in the next, uſed to give an "account of new Difficulties, and new Demands; And, when all things "were Adjuſted at *Madrid*, ſome unexpected Scruples diſcover'd them-"ſelves at *Rome*, with which the Councils in *Spain* ſeem'd to be ſur-"prized, and appear'd to be confounded, and not to know what to ſay. "Theſe Ebbs and Floods made the Prince apprehend, that the purpoſe "was to amuſe Us, whilſt They had other Deſigns in ſecret agitation. "And thereupon, that his Highneſs had prevail'd with his Father (how "unwilling ſoever) to permit him to make the Journey, that he might

"make that uſeful Diſcovery, which could not otherwiſe be made in "any ſeaſonable time.

"THAT they no ſooner came to *Madrid*, than they Diſcover'd "(though the Prince was treated with all the Reſpect due to his Great- "neſs, and the Obligation he had laid upon that Nation) that there had "never been any real purpoſe that the Infanta ſhould be given to him: "That, during ſo long an abode, as his Highneſs made there, they had "never procured the Diſpenſation from *Rome*; which they might eaſily "have done: And that at laſt, upon the death of the Pope, *Gregory* the "15th, the whole Proceſs was to begin again, and would be tranſacted "with the Formalities, which they ſhould find neceſſary to their other "affairs. That, inſtead of Proceeding upon the Articles, which had "been pretended to be Concluded, they urged nothing but New de- "mands; and, in matters of Religion, ſo Peremptorily, that the principal "Clergy-men, and the moſt eminent of that King's Preachers, had fre- "quent Conferences with the Prince, to perſwade him to change his "Religion, and become a Papiſt. And, in order to move him the more "ſucceſsfully thereunto, they procured the Pope to write a Letter him- "ſelf to his Highneſs, putting him in mind of the Religion of his Ance- "ſtours, and Progenitours, and conjuring him to Return to the ſame "Faith; but that it had pleaſed God not only to give the Prince a con- "ſtant, and unſhaken Heart in his Religion, but ſuch wonderful abi- "lities to Defend the ſame in his Diſcourſe, and Arguments, that they "ſtood amazed to Hear him, and upon the matter confeſs'd that they were "not able to Anſwer him.

"THAT they would not ſuffer the Prince to confer with, or ſo much "as to ſpeak to, hardly, and very rarely to ſee his Miſtris, whom they "pretended he ſhould forthwith marry. That they could never obtain "any better anſwer in the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, than that the Re- "ſtoring it was not in the power of that King, though it had been taken "by the ſole power of *Spain*, and the *Spaniſh* Army, under the Command "of the Marquis *Spinola*, who was then in the entire Poſſeſſion of it; "but that his Catholick Majeſty would uſe his Interpoſition, with all "the credit he had with the Emperour, and Duke of *Bavaria*, without "whoſe joynt conſent it could not be done, and whoſe conſent he hoped "to obtain; but that He was well aſſured, that there was no more real "intention in that point of Reſtitution, than in the other of Marriage; "and that the *Palatinate* could not be hoped to be recovered any other "way than by Force, which would eaſily bring it to paſs.

THROUGHOUT his whole diſcourſe he made frequent Reflections upon the Earl of *Briſtol*, as if he very well knew the Spaniards purpoſe in the whole, and concurr'd with them in it. "That he was ſo much "troubled, when he firſt ſaw the Prince, who alighted at his houſe, that "he could not contain himſelf, but wiſh'd that his Highneſs were at "Home again: That he had afterwards, when he found that his High- "neſs liked the Infanta, perſwaded him in private that he would become "a Papiſt; and that, without changing his Religion, it would not be poſ- "ſible ever to compaſs that Marriage.

HE told them, "That the King had ſent for the Earl to return Home, "where he ſhould be call'd to account for all his Miſcarriages. Whereas in truth the King had recall'd him rather to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke, than to expoſe him to his malice, and fury; his Majeſty having a great eſteem of that Earl's Fidelity to him, and of his great Abilities.

THE

THE Conference ended in a wonderful Applauſe in both Houſes of the Prince, and Duke's behaviour, and carriage throughout the Affair, and in a haſty reſolution to Diſſwade the King from entertaining any farther motions towards the Match, and frankly and reſolutely to enter into a War with *Spain*; towards the carrying on of which they raiſed great mountains of Promiſes, and, prevailing in the Firſt, never remember'd to make good the Latter; which too often falls out in ſuch Counſels.

The Parliaments Reſolution upon it to declare War with Spain.

WHEN King *James* was inform'd of what the Duke had ſo confidently avow'd, for which he had not authority, or the leaſt direction from Him; and a great part whereof himſelf knew to be untrue; and that he had adviſed an utter Breach of the Treaty, and to enter upon a War with *Spain*, he was infinitely offended; ſo that he wanted only a reſolute and brisk Counſellor, to aſſiſt him in deſtroying the Duke: and ſuch a one he promiſed himſelf in the arrival of the Earl of *Briſtol*, whom he expected every day.

King James's Perplexities, and Diſpleaſure againſt the Duke upon That occaſion.

HIS Majeſty had another Exception againſt the Duke, which touch'd him as near, and in which he enlarged himſelf much more. *Lionel Cranfeild*, who (though extracted from a Gentleman's family) had been bred in the City, and, being a man of great wit and underſtanding in all the myſteries of Trade, had found means to work himſelf into the good opinion, and favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and, having ſhortly after married a near Relation of the Dukes, with wonderfull expedition was made a Privy-Counſellor, Maſter of the Wardrobe, Maſter of the Wards, and, without parting with any of theſe, was now become Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middleſex*, and had gain'd ſo much Credit with the King (being in truth a man of great parts and notable dexterity) that, during the Duke's abſence in *Spain*, he was not only negligent in the iſſuing out ſuch ſums of money, as were neceſſary for the defraying thoſe unlimited Expences, and to correſpond with Him with that deference he had uſed to do, but had the courage to diſpute His commands, and to Appeal to the King, whoſe ear was allways inclined to him, and in Whom he begun to believe himſelf ſo far faſtened, that he ſhould not ſtand in need of the future ſupport of the Favourite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own creatures, who were near enough to obſerve; as from others, who, caring for Neither of them, were more ſcandalized at ſo precipitate a Promotion of a perſon of Such an Education, and whom they had long known ſo Much their Inferiour, though it could not be denied, that he Fill'd the Places he held, with great abilities.

The Earl of Middleſex his Riſe, and Fall.

THE Duke no ſooner found the Parliament diſpoſed to a good opinion of him, and being well aſſured of the Prince's faſt kindneſs, than he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival of his; of whom he ſaw clearly enough, that the King had ſo good an opinion, that it would not be in his ſole power to cruſh Him, as he had done others, in the ſame, and as high a ſtation. And ſo he eaſily procured ſome Leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, to cauſe an Impeachment for ſeveral Corruptions and Miſdemeanours to be ſent up to the Houſe of Peers againſt that great Miniſter, whom they had ſo lately known their Equal in that Houſe; which (beſides their natural Inclination to that kind of Oppreſſion) diſpoſed them with great alacrity to this Proſecution. The wiſe King knew well enough the Ill Conſequence, that muſt attend Such an Oddity; and that it would ſhake his Own Authority in the Choice of his

Own Miniſters, when they ſhould find, that their Security did not depend ſolely upon his Own Protection: Which Breach upon his Kingly power was ſo much without a Precedent (except one unhappy one made three years before, to gratify likewiſe a Private diſpleaſure) that the like had not been practiſed in very many years.

WHEN this Proſecution was firſt enter'd upon, and that the King clearly diſcern'd it was contrived by the Duke, and that he had likewiſe prevail'd with the Prince to be well pleaſed with it; his Majeſty ſent for them, and, with much warmth and paſſion, diſſwaded them from appearing Farther in it; and conjured them "to uſe all their intereſt and "authority to reſtrain it, as ſuch a Wound to the Crown, that would "not be eaſily healed. And when he found the Duke unmov'd by all the conſiderations, and arguments, and commands, he had offer'd, he ſaid, in greater choler, "By God *Stenny* you are a Fool, and will ſhortly "repent this folly, and will find, that, in this Fit of popularity, you are "making a Rod, with which you will be ſcourged your Self: And turning in ſome anger to the Prince, told him, "That he would live to have "his belly full of Parliament Impeachments: and, when I ſhall be dead, "you will have too much cauſe to remember, how much You have "contributed to the Weak'ning of the Crown, by the Two Precedents, "you are Now ſo fond of; intending as well the Engaging the Parliament in the War, as the Proſecution of the Earl of *Middleſex*.

BUT the Duke's power (ſupported by the Prince's countenance) was grown ſo great in the two Houſes, that it was in vain for the King to interpoſe; and ſo (notwithſtanding ſo good a Defence made by the Earl, that he was abſolv'd from any notorious crime, by the impartial opinion of many of thoſe, who heard all the evidence) he was at laſt condemn'd in a great Fine, to a long and ſtrict Impriſonment, and Never to ſit in Parliament during his life: a clauſe of ſuch a nature as was never before found in any Judgement of Parliament, and, intruth, not to be inflicted upon any Peer but by Attainder.

HOW much alienated ſoever the King's affection was Intruth from the Duke, upon theſe three Provocations; (1) The Prince's journey into *Spain*; (2) The Engaging the Parliament to break the Match, and Treaty with *Spain*, and to make a War againſt that Crown; and (3) The Sacrificing the Earl of *Middleſex* in ſuch a manner, upon his Own animoſity; yet he was ſo far from thinking fit to Manifeſt it (except in whiſpers to very few men) that he was prevail'd with to reſtrain the Earl of *Briſtol* upon his firſt arrival, without permitting him to come into his Preſence, which he had poſitively promiſed, and reſolv'd to do; and in the end ſuffer'd his Attourney General to exhibit a charge of High Treaſon, in his Majeſtys name, againſt the ſaid Earl, who was thereupon committed to the Tower; but ſo little dejected with it, that he anſwer'd the Articles with great ſteddyneſs and unconcernedneſs, and exhibited another charge of High Treaſon againſt the Duke, in many particulars.

The Earl of Briſtol *Accuſed in Parliament.*

Accuſes the Duke.

AND in this Order, and Method the War was haſtily entred into againſt *Spain*, and a new Treaty ſet on foot for the Prince of *Wales* with the Daughter of *France*; which was quickly Concluded, though not fully Compleated till after the death of King *James*; who, in the Spring following, after a ſhort indiſpoſition by the Gout, fell into an Ague, which meeting many humours in a fat, unweildy body of 58 years old, in four or five Fits, carryed him out of the world. After whoſe death

K. James dies.

death many ſcandalous, and libellous Diſcourſes were raiſed, without the leaſt colour, or ground; as appear'd upon the ſtrictest and moſt malicious Examination that could be made, long after, in a time of Licence, when nobody was afraid of offending Majeſty, and when proſecuting the higheſt Reproaches, and Contumelies againſt the Royal Family, was held very meritorious.

UPON the death of King *James*, *Charles* Prince of *Wales* ſucceeded to the Crown, with as univerſal a Joy in the People, as can be imagin'd, and in a Conjuncture, when all the other Parts of *Chriſtendom*, being engaged in War, were very ſollicitous for his Friendſhip; and the more, becauſe he had allready diſcover'd an Activity, that was not like to ſuffer him to ſit ſtill. The Duke continued in the Same degree of Favour at the leaſt, with the Son, which he had enjoyed ſo many years under the Father. A rare Felicity! ſeldom known, and in which the expectation of very many was exceedingly diſappointed; who, knowing the great jealouſy and indignation, that the Prince had heretofore conceiv'd againſt the Duke, for having been once very near Striking him, expected that he would Now remember that Inſolence, of which he Then ſo often complain'd; without conſidering the opportunity the Duke had, by the converſation with the Prince, during his journey into *Spain* (which was ſo grateful to him) and whilſt he was there, to wipe out the memory of all former Overſights, by making them appear to be of a leſs magnitude, than they had been underſtood before, and to be excuſable from other cauſes, ſtill being ſevere enough to himſelf for his Unwary part, whatſoever excuſes he might make for the Exceſs: and by this means to make new Vows for himſelf, and to ty new Knotts to reſtrain the Prince from future jealouſies. And it is very true, his hopes in this kind never fail'd him; the new King from the death of the old, even to the death of the Duke himſelf, diſcovering the moſt entire Confidence in, and even Friendſhip to Him, that ever King had ſhewed to any Subject: all Preferments in Church and State given by Him; all his Kindred, and Friends promoted to the degree in Honour, or Riches, or Offices, that He thought fit, and all his Enemies and Envyers diſcountenanced, as He appointed.

Prince Charles *ſucceeds him, the Duke continuing in Favour.*

BUT a Parliament was neceſſary to be call'd, as at the entrance of all Kings to the Crown, for the continuance of ſome Supplies and Revenue to the King, which have been full uſed to be granted in that ſeaſon. And now he quickly found how Prophetick the laſt King's Predictions had proved, and were like to prove. The Parliament that had ſo raſhly advanced the War, and ſo paſſionately adhered to his Perſon, was now no more; and though the Houſe of Peers conſiſted full of the ſame men, and moſt of the principal men of the Houſe of Commons were again elected to ſerve in this Parliament, yet they were far from wedding the War, or taking themſelves to be concern'd to make good any Declaration made by the former: So that though the War was entred In, all hope of obtaining money to carry it On was even deſperate; and the affection they had for the Duke, and confidence in him, was not Then ſo manifeſt, as the Prejudice they had Now, and animoſity againſt him, was viſible to all the world. All the Actions of his life ripp'd up, and ſurvey'd, and all malicious Gloſſes made upon all he had ſaid, and all he had done! Votes and Remonſtrances paſs'd againſt him as an Enemy to the Publick; and his Ill Management made the ground of their Refuſal to give the King that Supply, he had reaſon to expect, and was abſolutely neceſſary

King Charles's *Firſt Parliament call'd.*

to the ſtate he was in. And this kind of treatment was ſo ill ſuited to the Duke's great Spirit, which indeed might have eaſily been Bowed, but could very hardly be Broken, that it wrought contrary effects upon his high mind, and his Indignation, to find himſelf ſo uſed by the ſame Men. For they who flatter'd him moſt Before, mention'd him Now with the greateſt bitterneſs and acrimony; and the ſame Men, who had call'd him our Saviour, for bringing the Prince ſafe out of *Spain*, call'd him now the Corrupter of the King, and Betrayer of the Liberties of the People, without imputing the leaſt crime to him, to have been committed ſince the time of that exalted Adulation, or that was not then as much known to them, as it could be now: ſo fluctuating and unſteady a teſtimony is the Applauſe of Popular Councils.

That Parliament and the next Diſſolv'd on account of the Duke.

THIS Indignation, I ſay, ſo tranſported the Duke, that he thought neceſſary to publiſh and manifeſt a greater Contempt of Them, than he ſhould have done; cauſing this and the next Parliament to be quickly Diſſolv'd, as ſoon as they ſeem'd to entertain Counſels not grateful to him, and before he could well determine, and judge, what their Temper was in truth like to prove: and, upon every Diſſolution, Such as had given any Offence, were Impriſon'd, or Diſgraced; new Projects were every day ſet on foot for Money, which ſerv'd only to offend, and incenſe the People, and brought little ſupplies to the King's occaſions; yet raiſed a great ſtock for expoſtulation, murmur, and complaint to be expoſed when other ſupplies ſhould be required. And many Perſons, of the beſt quality and condition under the Peerage, were Committed to ſeveral Priſons, with circumſtances unuſual and unheard of, for refuſing to pay Money required by thoſe extraordinary ways; and the Duke himſelf would paſſionately Say, and frequently Do many things, which only griev'd his Friends, and incenſed his Enemies, and gave them as well the Ability, as the Inclination to do him much Harm.

A War declar'd with France.

IN this fatal Conjuncture, and after many ſeveral coſtly Embaſſys into *France*, in the laſt of which the Duke himſelf went, and brought triumphantly home with him the Queen to the joy of the Nation; in a time, when all endeavours ſhould have been uſed to have extinguiſh'd that War, in which the King was ſo unhappyly engaged againſt *Spain*, a new War was as precipitately declared againſt *France*, and the Fleet, that had been unwarily deſign'd to have Surprized *Cales*, under a General very unequal to that great work, was no ſooner return'd without ſucceſs, and with much damage, than it was repair'd, and the Army reinforced for the Invaſion of *France*; in which the Duke was General himſelf, and made that unfortunate Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Ree*, which was quickly afterwards attended with many unproſperous Attempts, and then with a miſerable Retreat; in which the Flower of the Army was loſt. So that how ill ſoever *Spain* and *France* were inclined to each other, they were both bitter Enemies to *England*: whilſt *England* it ſelf was ſo totally taken up with the thought of Revenge upon the Perſon, who they thought had been the Cauſe of their Diſtreſs, that they never conſider'd, that the ſad Effects of it (if not inſtantly provided againſt) muſt inevitably Deſtroy the Kingdom: and gave no truce to their Rage, till the Duke finiſh'd his courſe, by a wicked Aſſaſſination in the fourth year of the King, and the thirty ſixth of his Age.

The Aſſaſſination of the Duke of Buckingham.

JOHN *Felton*, an obſcure man in his own perſon, who had been bred a Soldier, and lately a Lieutenant of a Foot company, whoſe Captain had been kill'd upon the Retreat at the Iſle of *Ree*, upon which he conceiv'd

ceiv'd that the Company of right ought to have been conferr'd upon Him, and it being refuſed to him by the Duke of *Buckingham*, General of the Army, had given up his Commiſſion of Lieutenant, and withdrawn himſelf from the Army. He was of a melancholick nature, and had little converſation with any body, yet of a Gentleman's family, in *Suffolk*, of good fortune and reputation. From the time that he had quitted the Army, he reſided in *London*; when the Houſe of Commons, tranſported with Paſſion and Prejudice againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, had accuſed him to the Houſe of Peers for ſeveral Miſdemeanours, and Miſcarriages, and in ſome Declaration had ſtyled him "the cauſe of all "the Evils the Kingdom ſuffer'd, and an Enemy to the Publick.

SOME Tranſcripts of ſuch Expreſſions (for the late Licence of Printing all mutinous, and ſeditious Diſcourſes was not yet in faſhion) and ſome general Invectives, he met with amongſt the People, to whom that great Man was not grateful, wrought ſo far upon this melancholick Gentleman, that by degrees, and (as he ſaid upon ſome of his Examinations) by frequently hearing ſome popular Preachers in the City (who yet were not arrived at the Preſumption, and Impudence, they have been Since tranſported with) he believ'd he ſhould do God good ſervice, if he Kill'd the Duke; which he ſhortly after reſolv'd to do. He choſe no other Inſtrument to do it with, than an ordinary Knife, which he bought of a common Cutler for a Shilling: and thus provided he repair'd to *Portſmouth*, where he arrived the Eve of St *Bartholomew*. The Duke was then there, in order to Prepare and make Ready the Fleet, and the Army, with which he reſolv'd in few days to tranſport himſelf to the Relief of *Rochel*, which was then ſtraitly beſieged by the Cardinal *Richelieu*; and for the Relief whereof the Duke was the more obliged, by reaſon that, at his being at the Iſle of *Ree*, he had receiv'd great Supplies of Victuals, and ſome Companys of their Garriſon from that Town, the want of both which they were at this time very ſenſible of, and griev'd at.

THIS morning of St *Bartholomew* the Duke had receiv'd Letters, in which he was advertiſed that *Rochel* had Reliev'd it ſelf; upon which he directed that his Break-faſt might ſpeedily be made ready, and he would make haſt to acqnaint the King with the good news, the Court being then at *Southwick*, the Houſe of Sr *Daniel Norton* five miles from *Portſmouth*. The chamber, wherein he was dreſſing himſelf, was full of company, of Perſons of Quality, and Officers of the Fleet and Army.

THERE was Monſieur *de Soubize* Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, and other *French* Gentlemen, who were very ſollicitous for the Embarcation of the Army, and for the Departure of the Fleet for the Relief of *Rochel*: and they were at that time in much trouble and perplexity, out of apprehenſion that the news the Duke had receiv'd that morning might ſlacken the preparations for the Voyage, which their Impatience, and Intereſt perſwaded them were not advanced with expedition; and ſo they had then held much diſcourſe with the Duke of the impoſſibility that his Intelligence could be true, and that it was contrived by the artifice and dexterity of their Enemies, in order to abate the warmth and zeal, that was uſed for their Relief, the arrival of which Relief thoſe Enemies had ſo much reaſon to apprehend; and a little longer Delay in ſending it would eaſe them of that terrible apprehenſion, their Forts and Works toward the Sea, and in the Harbour, being allmoſt finiſh'd.

THIS diſcourſe, according to the natural cuſtom of that Nation, and

by

by the uſual Dialect of that Language, was held with that Paſſion, and Vehemence, that the ſtanders by, who underſtood not *French*, did believe that they were angry, and that they uſed the Duke rudely. He being ready, and inform'd that his Break-faſt was ready, drew towards the door, where the hangings were held up; and, in that very Paſſage, turning himſelf to ſpeak with Sr *Thomas Fryar*, a Colonel of the Army, who was then ſpeaking near his ear, he was on the ſuddain Struck over his ſhoulder upon the Breaſt with a Knife; upon which, without uſing any other words, but, *The Villain hath Kill'd me*; and in the ſame moment pulling out the Knife himſelf, he fell down Dead, the Knife having pierced his Heart.

No man had ſeen the Blow, or the Man who gave it, but in the confuſion, they were in, every man made his own conjecture, and declared it as a thing known; moſt agreeing that it was done by the *French*, from the angry diſcourſe they thought they had heard from Them. And it was a kind of a Miracle, that they were not all Kill'd in that inſtant; the Sober ſort, that preſerv'd them from it, having the ſame opinion of their Guilt, and only reſerving them for a more Judicial Examination and Proceeding.

IN the Crowd near the door there was found upon the ground a Hat, in the inſide whereof there was ſow'd upon the crown a Paper, in which were writ four or five lines of that Declaration made by the Houſe of Commons, in which they had ſtyled the Duke an Enemy to the Kingdom; and under it a ſhort Ejaculation or two towards a Prayer. It was eaſily enough concluded that the Hat belong'd to the Perſon, who had committed the Murther: but the difficulty remain'd ſtill as great, Who that perſon ſhould be? for the writing diſcover'd nothing of the Name, and whoſoever it was, it was very natural to believe, that he was gone far enough, not to be found without a Hat.

IN this Hurry, one running one way, another another way, a Man was ſeen walking before the door very compoſedly Without a Hat; whereupon one crying out, *Here is the Fellow that Kill'd the Duke*; upon which others run thither, every body asking, *Which is He? Which is He?* to which the Man without the Hat very compoſedly anſwer'd, *I am He.* Thereupon ſome of thoſe who were moſt Furious, ſuddainly run upon the man, with their drawn ſwords to Kill him; but others, who were at leaſt equally concern'd in the Loſs, and in the Senſe of it, defended him; Himſelf with open arms very calmly and chearfully expoſing himſelf to the Fury and Swords of the moſt enraged, as being very willing to fall a Sacrifice to their ſuddain Anger, rather than to be kept for that deliberate Juſtice, which he knew muſt be executed upon him.

HE was now known enough, and eaſily diſcover'd to be that *Felton*, whom we mention'd before, who had been a Lieutenant in the Army: He was quickly carryed into a private room by the perſons of the beſt condition, ſome whereof were in Authority, who firſt thought fit ſo far to diſſemble, as to mention the Duke only grievouſly Wounded, but not without hope of Recovery. Upon which *Felton* ſmiled, and ſaid, he knew well enough he had given him a Blow, that had Determin'd all their Hopes. Being then ask'd (which was the diſcovery principally aim'd at) by whoſe Inſtigation he had perform'd that horrid and wicked act; he anſwer'd them with a wonderful aſſurance, "That they ſhould not "trouble themſelves in that Enquiry; that no man living had credit or "power enough with him to have engaged, or diſpoſed him to ſuch an "action;

"action; that he had never intrusted his purpose and resolution to any "man; that it proceeded only from Himself, and the impulse of his own "Conscience; and that the Motives thereunto would appear, if his Hat "were found, in which he had therefore fix'd them, because he believ'd "it very probable that he might perish in the Attempt. He confess'd that "he had come to the Town but the night before, and had kept his lodg- "ing, that he might not be seen, or taken notice of: and that he had come "that morning to the Duke's lodging, where he had waited at the door "for his coming out; and when he found, by the motions within, that "he was coming, he drew to the door, as if he held up the hanging; and "Sr *Thomas Fryar* speaking with the Duke, as hath been said, and being "of a much lower stature than the Duke, who a little inclined towards "him, he took the opportunity of giving the Blow over His shoulders.

HE spoke very frankly of what he had done, and bore the reproaches of those who spoke to him, with the temper of a man who thought he had not done amiss. But after he had been in Prison some time, where he was treated without any rigour, and with humanity enough; and before, and at his Trial, which was about four months after, at the Kings bench Bar, he behaved himself with great modesty and wonderful repentance; being, as he said, convinced in his conscience, that he had done Wickedly, and ask'd the pardon of the King, and Duchess, and of all the Duke's Servants, whom he acknowledg'd to have offended; and very earnestly besought the Judges that he might have his hand struck off, with which he had perform'd that impious act, before he should be put to death.

The King's receiving the news of the Duke's death.

THE Court was too near *Portsmouth*, and too many Courtiers upon the place, to have this Murther (so barbarous in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in *England* many ages) long conceal'd from the King. His Majesty was at the publick Prayers of the Church, when Sr *John Hippesly* came into the room, with a troubled countenance, and without any pause, in respect of the Exercise they were performing, went directly to the King, and whisper'd in his ear what had fall'n out. His Majesty continued unmov'd, and without the least change in his countenance, till Prayers were ended; when he suddainly departed to his chamber, and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the Loss he had of an excellent Servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him: and he continued in this melancholick discomposure of mind many days.

YET his manner of receiving the news in Publick, when it was first brought him in the presence of so many (who knew or saw nothing of the passion he expres's'd upon his retreat) made many men believe, that the accident was not very ungrateful; at least, that it was very indifferent to him; as being rid of a Servant very ungracious to the People, and the prejudice to whose Person exceedingly obstructed all overtures made in Parliament for his service.

AND, upon this observation, Persons of all conditions took great licence in speaking of the person of the Duke, and dissecting all his infirmities, believing they should not thereby incur any displeasure of the King's. In which they took very ill measures; for from that time almost to the time of his own death, the King admitted very few into any degree of trust, who had ever discover'd themselves to be Enemies to the Duke, or against whom he had manifested a notable prejudice. And

ſure never any Prince expreſs'd a more lively regret for the Loſs of a Servant, than his Majeſty did for this great Man, in his conſtant favour and kindneſs to his Wife and Children; in all offices of grace towards his Servants; and in a wonderful ſollicitous care for the Payment of his Debts; which, it is very true, were Contracted for his Majeſtys ſervice; though in ſuch a manner, that there remain'd no evidence of it, nor were any of the Duke's Officers intruſted with the knowledge of it, nor any record kept of it, but in the King's own generous memory.

A Character of the Duke.

THIS great man was a Perſon of a Noble nature, and Generous diſpoſition, and of ſuch other Endowments, as made him very capable of being a great Favourite to a great King. He underſtood the Arts of a Court, and all the Learning that is profeſs'd There, exactly well. By long practiſe in buſineſs, under a Maſter that diſcourſed excellently, and ſurely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in Indoctrinating his young unexperienced Favourite, who, he knew, would be allways look'd upon as the Workmanſhip of his Own hands, He had obtain'd a quick conception, and apprehenſion of Buſineſs, and had the habit of Speaking very gracefully, and pertinently. He was of a moſt flowing Courteſy and Affability, to all men who made any addreſs to him; and ſo deſirous to Oblige them, that he did not enough conſider the Value of the obligation, or the Merit of the perſon he choſe to oblige; from which, much of his Misfortune reſulted. He was of a Courage not to be daunted, which was manifeſted in all his Actions, and in his Conteſts with particular perſons of the greateſt reputation; and eſpecially in his whole demeanour at the Iſle of *Ree*, both at the Landing, and upon the Retreat; in both which no man was more fearleſs, or more ready to expoſe himſelf to the higheſt dangers. His Kindneſs, and Affection to his Friends was ſo vehement, that they were as ſo many marriages for better and worſe, and ſo many leagues offenſive and defenſive; as if he thought himſelf obliged to love all his Friends, and to make war upon all They were angry with, let the cauſe be what it would. And it cannot be denied, that he was an Enemy in the ſame exceſs; and proſecuted thoſe he look'd upon as his Enemies, with the utmoſt rigour and animoſity; and was not eaſily induced to reconciliation. And yet there were ſome examples of his receding in that particular. And when he was in the higheſt paſſion, he was ſo far from ſtooping to any Diſſimulation, whereby his diſpleaſure might be conceal'd and cover'd, till he had attain'd his revenge, (the low method of Courts) that he never endeavour'd to do any man an ill office, before he firſt told him what he was to expect from him, and reproach'd him with the injuries he had done, with ſo much generoſity, that the perſon found it in his power to receive further ſatisfaction, in the way he would chooſe for himſelf.

IN this manner he proceeded with the Earl of *Oxford*, a man of great Name in that time, and whom he had endeavour'd by many civil offices to make his Friend, and who ſeem'd equally to incline to the Friendſhip: when he diſcover'd (or as many thought but ſuſpected) that the Earl was enter'd into ſome Cabal in Parliament againſt him; he could not be diſſwaded by any of his Friends, to whom he imparted his reſolution, but meeting the Earl the next day, he took him aſide, and after many reproaches for ſuch and ſuch ill offices, he had done him, and for Breaking his Word towards him, he told him "he would rely no "longer on His Friendſhip, nor ſhould He expect any further Friendſhip "from him, but on the contrary, he would be for ever his Enemy, and

"do

"do him all the miſchief he could. The Earl, (who, as many thought, had not been Faulty towards him, was as Great-hearted as He, and thought the very Suſpecting him to be an injury Unpardonable) without any reply to the particulars, declared "that he neither cared for his "Friendſhip, nor fear'd his Hatred; and from thence avowedly entred into the converſation, and confidence of Thoſe, who were allways awake to Diſcover, and ſollicitous to Purſue any thing, that might prove to his Diſadvantage; which was of Evil conſequence to the Duke; the Earl being of the moſt Ancient of the Nobility, and a man of great Courage, and of a Family, which had in no time ſwerv'd from its Fidelity to the Crown.

Sr FRANCIS *Cottington*, who was Secretary to the Prince, and not grown Courtier enough to diſſemble his opinion, had given the Duke Offence, before his journey into *Spain*, as is before touch'd upon, and Improved that prejudice after his coming thither, by diſpoſing the Prince all he could to the Marriage of the Infanta; and by his behaviour after his return, in juſtifying to King *James*, who had a very good opinion of him, the Sincerity of the *Spaniard* in the Treaty of the Marriage, "that "they did intruth deſire it, and were fully reſolv'd to gratify his Majeſty "in the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, and only deſired in the Manner of it, "to gratify the Emperour, and the Duke of *Bavaria* all they could, "which would take up very little time. All which being ſo Contrary to the Duke's purpoſes and reſolutions, his Diſpleaſure to *Cottington* was ſufficiently manifeſt. And King *James* was no ſooner dead, and the new Officers, and Orders made, but the Profits, and Privileges, which had uſed to be continued to him, who had been Secretary, till ſome other Promotion, were all retrench'd. And when he was one morning Attending in the Privy lodgings, as he was accuſtom'd to do, one of the Secretaries of State came to him, and told him, "that it was the King's Plea-"ſure, he ſhould no more preſume to come into thoſe Rooms; (which was the firſt inſtance, he had receiv'd of the King's Diſfavour) and at the ſame inſtant the Duke entred into that Quarter: Sr *Francis Cottington* addreſs'd himſelf towards him, and deſired "he would give him leave "to ſpeak to him; upon which the Duke inclining his ear, moved to a window from the Company; and the other told him, "that he receiv'd "every day freſh Marks of his Severity; mention'd the Meſſage, which had been then deliver'd to him, and deſired only to know, "Whether "it could not be in his power, by all dutyful Application, and all poſſible "Service, to be reſtored to the good Opinion, his Grace had once vouch-"ſafed to have of him, and to be admitted to Serve him? The Duke heard him, without the leaſt commotion, and with a countenance ſerene enough, and then anſwer'd him, "That he would deal very clear-"ly with him, that it was utterly Impoſſible to bring that to paſs, which "he had Propoſed: That he was not only firmly reſolv'd Never to truſt "him, or to have to do with him, but that he was, and would be allways "his declared Enemy: and that he would do allways, whatſoever ſhould "be in his power to Ruin and Deſtroy him, and of this he might be moſt "aſſured: without mentioning any particular ground for his ſo heightned Diſpleaſure.

THE Other very Calmly replied to him (as he was Maſter of an incomparable Temper) "That ſince he was reſolv'd Never to do him Good, "he hoped from his Juſtice, and Generoſity, that he would not ſuffer "himſelf to Gain by his Loſs; That he had laid out, by his command,

"ſo much money for Jewels, and Pictures, which he had receiv'd: and "that, in hope of his future Favour, he had once preſented a Suit of "Hangings to him, which coſt him 800l, which he hoped he would "cauſe to be reſtored to him, and that he would not let him be ſo great "a Looſer by him. The Duke anſwer'd, "he was in the right; that he "ſhould the next morning go to *Oliver* (who was his Receiver) and give "him a particular account of all the Money due to him, and he ſhould "preſently pay him; which was done the next morning accordingly, without the leaſt abatement of any of his demands.

AND he was ſo far Reconciled to him before his death, that being re- 10
ſolv'd to make Peace with *Spain*, to the end he might more vigorouſly purſue the War with *France* (to which his heart was moſt paſſionately fix'd) he ſent for *Cottington* to come to him, and after conference with him, told him, "the King would ſend him Embaſſadour thither, and "that he ſhould attend him at *Portſmouth* for his Diſpatch.

HIS ſingle Misfortune was (which indeed was productive of many greater) that he never made a noble, and a worthy Friendſhip with a man ſo near his equal, that he would frankly adviſe him for his Honour, and true Intereſt, againſt the current, or rather the torrent of his Impetuous Paſſions; which was partly the Vice of the Time, when the Court 20
was not repleniſh'd with great choice of Excellent Men; and partly the Vice of the Perſons, who were moſt worthy to be applied to, and look'd upon his Youth, and his Obſcurity before his Riſe, as Obligations upon him to gain their Friendſhips by extraordinary Application. Then his Aſcent was ſo quick, that it ſeem'd rather a Flight than a Growth, and he was ſuch a Darling of Fortune, that he was at the Top, before he was well ſeen at the Bottom; and as if he had been Born a Favourite, he was Supreme the firſt Month he came to Court; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not all at firſt, which he obtain'd afterwards; never meeting with the leaſt Obſtruction from his Setting out, 30
till he was as Great as he could be: So that he wanted Dependants before he thought he could want Coadjutors. Nor was he very Fortunate in the election of thoſe Dependants, very few of his Servants having been ever qualified enough to Aſſiſt or Adviſe him; and they were intent only upon growing Rich under him, not upon their Maſter's growing Good, as well as Great: Inſomuch as he was throughout his Fortune a much Wiſer man, than any Servant or Friend he had.

LET the Fault or Misfortune be what, or whence it will, it may reaſonably be believ'd that if he had been bleſs'd with One Faithful Friend, who had been qualified with Wiſdom and Integrity, that great 40
Perſon would have committed as few Faults, and done as tranſcendent worthy Actions, as any Man, who ſhined in ſuch a Sphere in that Age in *Europe*. For he was of an excellent Diſpoſition, and of a Mind very capable of Advice and Counſel: He was in his Nature juſt and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known, that the temptation of Money ſway'd him to do an unjuſt, or unkind thing. And though he left a very great Eſtate to his Heirs; conſidering the vaſt Fortune he inherited by his Wife, the ſole Daughter, and Heir of *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, he owed no part of it to his Own Induſtry, or Solliciſ0
tation; but to the Impatient Humour of two Kings his Maſters, who would make his Fortune equal to his Titles, and the one as much above other men, as the other was. And he conſider'd it no otherwiſe than as Theirs, and left it at his death engaged for the Crown, almoſt to the value of it, as is touch'd upon before.

IF

IF he had an immoderate Ambition, with which he was charged, and is a Weed (if it be a Weed) apt to grow in the beſt Soils; it doth not appear that it was in his Nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a Garment neceſſary for that Air. Nor was it more in his power to be without Promotion, and Titles and Wealth, than for a healthy man to ſit in the Sun, in the brighteſt Dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no Ambition, who was ſo ſeated in the hearts of two Such Maſters.

THERE are Two particulars, which ly heavieſt upon his Memory, either of them aggravated by Circumſtances very important, and which adminiſter frequent occaſions by their Effects to be remember'd.

THE Firſt, his Engaging his old unwilling Maſter and the Kingdom in the War with *Spain* (not to mention the bold Journey thither, or the Breach of that Match) in a time when the Crown was ſo poor, and the People more inclined to a bold enquiry, How it came to be ſo, than dutyful to provide for its Supply: and this only upon Perſonal animoſities between Him, and the Duke of *Olivarez*, the ſole Favourite in that Court, and thoſe animoſities from very Trivial provocations, which flowed indeed from no other Fountain, than that the Nature and Education of *Spain* reſtrain'd men from that Gayety, and Frolique humour, to which the Prince's Court was more inclined. And *Olivarez* had been heard to Cenſure very ſeverely the Duke's Familiarity, and Want of Reſpect towards the Prince (a Crime monſtrous to the *Spaniard*) and had ſaid, that "if the Infanta did not, as ſoon as ſhe was married, Suppreſs that Li-"cence, ſhe would her Self quickly undergo the Miſchief of it: Which gave the firſt alarum to the Duke to apprehend his own Ruin in that Union, and accordingly to uſe all his endeavours to Break and Prevent it: and from that time he took all occaſions to Quarrel with, and Reproach the Conde Duke.

ONE morning the King deſired the Prince to take the Air, and to viſit a little Houſe of Pleaſure he had (the *Prado*) four miles from *Madrid*, ſtanding in a Forreſt, where he uſed ſometimes to Hunt; and the Duke not being ready, the King and the Prince and the Infante Don *Carlos* went into the Coach, the King likewiſe calling the Earl of *Briſtol* into that Coach to aſſiſt them in their Converſation, the Prince then not Speaking any *Spaniſh*; and left *Olivarez* to follow in the Coach with the Duke of *Buckingham*. When the Duke came, they went into the Coach, accompanied with Others of both Nations, and proceeded very cheerfully towards the overtaking the King; but when upon the way he heard, that the Earl of *Briſtol* was in the Coach with the King, he broke out into a great Paſſion, reviled the Conde Duke as the Contriver of the Affront, reproach'd the Earl of *Briſtol* for his Preſumption, in taking the Place, which in all reſpects belong'd to Him, who was joyn'd with him as Embaſſadour extraordinary, and came laſt from the Preſence of his Maſter, and reſolv'd to go out of the Coach and to return to *Madrid*. *Olivarez* eaſily diſcover'd by the diſorder, and the noiſe, and the tone, that the Duke was very Angry, without comprehending the Cauſe of it; Only found that the Earl of *Briſtol* was often named with Such a tone, that he begun to ſuſpect what in truth might be the cauſe. And thereupon he commanded a Gentleman, who was on Horſeback, with all ſpeed to overtake the King's Coach, and deſire that it might ſtay; intimating that the Duke had taken ſome Diſpleaſure, the ground whereof was not enough underſtood. Upon which the King's Coach ſtay'd, and when the

other approach'd within diſtance, the Conde Duke alighted, and acquainted the King with what he had obſerv'd, and what he conceiv'd. The King himſelf alighted; made great Compliments to the Duke, the Earl of *Briſtol* Excuſing himſelf upon the King's Command, that he ſhould ſerve as Interpreter. In in end Don *Carlos* went into the Coach with the Favourite, and the Duke and the Earl of *Briſtol* went with the King, and the Prince; and ſo they proſecuted their journey, and after Dinner return'd in the ſame manner to *Madrid*.

THIS with all the Circumſtances of it adminiſtred wonderful occaſion of Diſcourſe in the Court and Country, there having never been ſuch a Comet ſeen in that Hemiſphere; their ſubmiſs Reverence to their Princes being a vital part of their Religion.

THERE were very few days paſs'd afterwards, in which there was not ſome manifeſtation of the higheſt Diſpleaſure, and Hatred in the Duke againſt the Earl of *Briſtol*. And when the Conde Duke had ſome eclairciſment with the Duke, in which he made all the Proteſtations of his ſincere Affection, and his deſire to maintain a clear, and faithful Friendſhip with him, which he conceiv'd might be, in ſome degree, uſeful to both their Maſters; the Other receiv'd his Proteſtations with all Contempt, and declared, with a very unneceſſary frankneſs, "that he would "have no Friendſhip with him.

THE next day after the King return'd from accompanying the Prince towards the Sea, where, at parting, there were all poſſible demonſtrations of mutual Affection between them; the King cauſed a fair Pillar to be erected in the Place, where they Laſt embraced each other, with Inſcriptions of great Honour to the Prince; there being then in that Court not the leaſt Suſpicion, or Imagination, that the Marriage would not Succeed. Inſomuch that afterwards, upon the news from *Rome* that the Diſpenſation was granted, the Prince having left the Deſponſorios in the hands of the Earl of *Briſtol*, in which the Infante Don *Carlos* was conſtituted the Prince's Proxy to Marry the Infanta on his behalf; She was treated as Princeſs of *Wales*, the Queen gave her place, and the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour had frequent Audiences, as with his Miſtriſs, in which he would Not be cover'd: Yet, I ſay, the very next day after the Prince's departure from the King, Mr *Clark*, one of the Prince's Bedchamber, who had formerly ſerv'd the Duke, was ſent back to *Madrid*, upon Pretence that ſomewhat was forgotten there, but, in Truth, with orders to the Earl of *Briſtol* not to deliver the Deſponſorios (which, by the Articles, he was obliged to do, within fifteen days after the arrival of the Diſpenſation) until he ſhould receive further orders from the Prince, or King, after his Return into *England*.

Mr CLARK was not to deliver this Letter to the Embaſſadour, till he was ſure the Diſpenſation was come; of which he could not be advertiſed in the inſtant. But he lodging in the Embaſſadours houſe, and falling ſick of a Calenture, which the Phyſicians thought would prove mortal, he ſent for the Earl to come to his Bed ſide, and deliver'd him the Letter before the arrival of the Diſpenſation, though long after it was known to be granted; upon which all thoſe Ceremonies were perform'd to the Infanta.

BY theſe Means, and by this Method, this great Affair, upon which the Eyes of *Chriſtendom* had been ſo long fix'd, came to be Diſſolv'd, without the leaſt mixture with, or contribution from thoſe Amours, which were afterwards ſo confidently diſcourſed of. For though the Duke

was naturally carried violently to those Passions, when there was any grace or beauty in the Object, yet the Duchess of *Alvarez*, of whom was the talk, was then a Woman so old, past Children, of so abject a presence, in a word, so crooked and deformed, that she could neither tempt his Appetite, nor magnify his Revenge. And whatsoever he did afterwards in *England* was but *tueri opus*, and to Prosecute the Design he had, upon the Reason and Provocation aforesaid, so long before conceived during his abode in *Spain*.

THE Other particular, by which he involv'd himself in so many Fatal Intricacies, from which he could Never extricate himself, was his running violently into the War with *France*, without any kind of Provocation, and upon a Particular Passion very unwarrantable. In his Embassy in *France*, where his Person and Presence was wonderfully admired, and esteem'd (and in truth it was a Wonder in the eyes of all men) and in which he appear'd with all the Lustre, the Wealth of *England* could adorn him with, and Outshined all the bravery that Court could dress it self in, and Overacted the whole Nation in their own most peculiar Vanities: He had the Ambition to fix his Eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent Affection to a Lady of a very sublime Quality; and to pursue it with most importunate Addresses; Insomuch as when the King had brought the Queen his Sister, as far as he meant to do, and deliver'd her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into *England*; the Duke, in his journey, after the departure from that Court, took a resolution once more to make a Visit to that great Lady, which he believ'd he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discover'd, that Provision was made for his Reception; and if he had pursued his Attempt, he had been without doubt Assassinated; of which he had only so much notice, as serv'd him to decline the Danger. But he Swore, in the instant, "that he would See, and Speak with that Lady, "in Spight of the Strength and Power of *France*. And from the time that the Queen arrived in *England*, he took all the ways he could to Undervalue and Exasperate that Court and Nation, by causing all Those, who fled into *England* from the justice and displeasure of that King, to be receiv'd and entertain'd here, not only with ceremony and security, but with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the Persons were, and the more notorious their King's displeasure was towards them (as in that time there were very many Lords, and Ladys in those circumstances) the more respectfully they were receiv'd, and esteem'd. He omitted no opportunity to Incense the King against *France*, and to dispose him to assist the Hugonots, whom he likewise encouraged to give their King some trouble.

AND which was Worse than all this, he took great pains to Lessen the King's Affection towards his young Queen, being exceedingly jealous, lest Her Interest might be of force enough to Cross his other Designs: And in this Stratagem, he so far swerv'd from the Instinct of his Nature, and his proper Inclinations, that He who was compounded of all the elements of Affability, and Courtesy towards all kind of People, had brought himself to a habit of Neglect, and even of Rudeness towards the Queen.

ONE day, when he unjustly apprehended, that She had shewed some disrespect to his Mother, in not going to her Lodging at an hour she had intended to go, and was hindred by a meer accident; he came into her Chamber in much Passion, and, after some Expostulations rude enough, he told her, *She should Repent it*; her Majesty answering with some quickness,

quickneſs, he replied Inſolently to her, *that there had been Queens in England, who had loſt their Heads.* And it was univerſally known, that, during His life, the Queen never had any Credit with the King, with reference to any Publick Affairs, and ſo could not Divert the Reſolution of making a War with *France.*

THE War with *Spain* had found the Nation in a Surfeit of a long Peace, and in a diſpoſition Inclinable enough to war with That nation, which might put an end to an Alliance the moſt ungrateful to them, and which they moſt fear'd, and from whence no other Damage had yet befall'n them, than a Chargeable and Unſucceſsful Voyage by Sea, without the loſs of Ships or Men. But a War with *France* muſt be carried on at another rate, and expence. Beſides, the Nation was weary and ſurfeited with the Firſt, before the Second was entred upon; and it was very viſible to Wiſe men, that when the general Trade of the Kingdom, from whence the Support of the Crown principally reſulted, ſhould be utterly extinguiſh'd with *France*, as it was with *Spain*, and interrupted or obſtructed with all other Places (as it muſt be in a great meaſure, in a War, how Proſperouſly ſoever carried on) the Effects would be very Sad, and Involve the King in many Perplexities; and it could not but fall out accordingly.

UPON the return from *Cales* without ſucceſs, though all the Ships, and, upon the matter, all the Men were ſeen (for though ſome had ſo ſurfeited in the Vineyards, and with the Wines, that they had been left behind, the Generoſity of the *Spaniards* ſent them all home again) and though by that Fleet's putting in at *Plymouth*, near two hundred miles from *London*, there could be but very Imperfect relations, and the news of Yeſterday was contradicted by the Morrow; beſides that the Expedition had been undertaken by the Advice of the Parliament, and with an univerſal Approbation of the People, ſo that nobody could reaſonably ſpeak loudly againſt it; Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the Ill Succeſs was heavily born, and imputed to Ill Conduct, the principal Officers of the Fleet and Army divided amongſt themſelves, and All united in their murmurs againſt the General, the Lord Viſcount *Wimbledon*; who, though an old Officer in *Holland*, was never thought equal to the Enterpriſe. In a word, there was Indiſpoſition enough quickly diſcover'd againſt the War it ſelf, that it was eaſily diſcern'd, it would not be purſued with the vigour, it was entred into, nor carried on by any cheerful contribution of money from the Publick.

BUT the running into this War with *France* (from whence the Queen was ſo newly, and joyfully receiv'd) without any colour of Reaſon, or ſo much as the formality of a Declaration from the King, containing the ground, and provocation, and end of it, according to cuſtom and obligation in the like caſes (for it was obſerv'd, that the Manifeſto which was publiſh'd was in the Duke's own Name, who went Admiral and General of the Expedition) opened the mouthes of all men, to Inveigh againſt it with all Bitterneſs: and the ſuddain Ill Effects of it; manifeſted in the Return of the Fleet to *Portſmouth*, within Such a diſtance of *London*, that nothing could be Conceal'd of the Loſs ſuſtain'd; in which, Moſt noble Families found a Son, or a Brother, or near Kinſman wanting, without ſuch Circumſtances of their deaths, as are uſually the Conſolations, and Recompenſes of ſuch Cataſtrophes. The Retreat had been a Rout without an Enemy, and the *French* had Their revenge by the Diſorder, and Confuſion of the *Engliſh* Themſelves; in which, great numbers

bers of Noble and Ignoble were crowded to death, or drowned without the help of an Enemy: and as ſome thouſands of the Common men were wanting, ſo few of thoſe Principal officers, who attain'd to a Name in War, and by whoſe Courage and Experience any war was to be conducted, could be found.

THE effects of this overthrow did not at firſt appear in whiſpers, murmurs, and invectives, as the retreat from *Cales* had done; but produced ſuch a general Conſternation over the face of the whole Nation, as if all the armys of *France* and *Spain* were united together, and had cover'd the land. Mutinies in the Fleet and Army, under pretence of their want of Pay (whereof no doubt there was much due to them) but in truth, out of deteſtation of the Service, and the Authority of the Duke. The Counties throughout the Kingdom were ſo incenſed, and their affections poiſon'd, that they refuſed to ſuffer the Soldiers to be billetted upon them; by which, they often underwent greater inconveniencies and miſchiefs, than they endeavour'd to prevent. The endeavour to raiſe new men for the recruit of the Army, by Preſſing (the uſual method, that had commonly been practiſed upon ſuch occaſions) found oppoſition in many places; and the Authority by which it was done not ſubmitted to, as being counted illegal. This produced a reſort to Martial Law, by which many were executed; which raiſed an aſperity in the minds of more than of the common people. And this diſtemper was ſo univerſal, that the leaſt ſpark ſtill meeting with combuſtible matter enough to make a flame; all wiſe men look'd upon it as the Prediction of the Deſtruction, and Diſſolution, that would follow. Nor was there a Serenity in the Countenance of any man, who had age and experience enough to conſider things to come; but only in thoſe who wiſh'd the deſtruction of the Duke; and thought it could not be purchaſed at too dear a price; and look'd upon this flux of humours as an inevitable way to bring it to paſs.

AND it cannot be denied, that from theſe two Wars ſo wretchedly entred into, and the circumſtances before mention'd, and which flowed from thence, the Duke's ruin took its date; and never left purſuing him, till that execrable act upon his perſon: the malice whereof was contracted by that ſole evil Spirit of the time, without any partner in the Conſpiracy. And the Venome of That ſeaſon increaſed and got vigour; untill, from one Licence to another, it proceeded till the Nation was corrupted to that monſtrous degree, that it grew Satiated, and weary of the Government it ſelf; under which it had enjoy'd a greater meaſure of Felicity, than any Nation was ever poſſeſs'd of; and which could never be continued to them, but under the ſame Government. And as theſe calamities Originally ſprung from the Inordinate appetite and paſſion of this young man, under the too much Eaſineſs of two indulgent Maſters, and the concurrence of a thouſand other accidents; So, if he had liv'd longer, the obſervation and experience he had gain'd, which had very much improved his Underſtanding, with the Greatneſs of his ſpirit, and Jealouſy of his Maſter's honour (to whom his Fidelity was Superior to any temptation) might have repair'd many of the Inconveniencies, which he had introduced, and would have prevented the Miſchiefs which were the natural effects of thoſe cauſes.

An account of a Prediction of the Duke's death.

THERE were many Stories ſcatter'd abroad at that time, of ſeveral Prophecies, and Predictions of the Duke's untimely and violent death. Amongſt the reſt there was one, which was upon a better foundation of

credit, than uſually ſuch diſcourſes are founded upon. There was an Officer in the King's Wardrobe in *Windſor* Caſtle, of a good reputation for honeſty and diſcretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more: this man had, in his youth, been bred in a School, in the Pariſh where Sr *George Villier's* the father of the Duke liv'd; and had been much cheriſh'd and obliged, in that ſeaſon of his age, by the ſaid Sr *George*, whom afterwards he never ſaw. About ſix months before the miſerable end of the Duke of *Buckingham*, about midnight, this man, being in his bed, at *Windſor* where his Office was, and in a very good health, there appear'd to him on the ſide of his bed, a man of a very venerable aſpect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his eyes upon him, ask'd him, If he knew him. The poor man, half dead with fear, and apprehenſion, being ask'd the ſecond time, Whether he remember'd him? and having in that time call'd to his memory the preſence of Sr *George Villiers*, and the very cloaths he uſed to wear, in which at that time he ſeem'd to be habited, he anſwer'd him, That he thought him to be that perſon. He replyed, "he was in the right; that he was the ſame, and that he expected "a ſervice from him; which was, that he ſhould go from Him to his ſon "the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tell him, if he did not ſomewhat to in-"gratiate himſelf to the People, or, at leaſt, to abate the extream malice "they had againſt him, he would be ſuffer'd to live but a ſhort time. After this diſcourſe he diſappear'd; and the poor man, if he had been at all waking, ſlept very well till morning, when he believ'd all this to be a dream, and conſider'd it no otherwiſe.

THE next night, or ſhortly after, the ſame Perſon appear'd to him again in the ſame place, and about the ſame time of the night, with an aſpect a little more ſevere than before; and ask'd him, Whether he had done, as he had required him? and perceiving he had not, gave him very ſevere reprehenſions; told him, "he expected more compliance "from him; and that if he did not perform his commands, he ſhould "enjoy no peace of mind, but ſhould be allways purſued by him: upon which, he promiſed him to obey him. But the next morning waking out of a good ſleep, though he was exceedingly perplex'd with the lively repreſentation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing ſtill to perſwade himſelf, that he had only dream'd: and conſider'd, that he was a perſon at ſuch a diſtance from the Duke, that he knew not how to find any admiſſion to his preſence; much leſs had any hope to be believ'd in what he ſhould ſay. So with great trouble and unquietneſs, he ſpent ſome time in thinking what he ſhould do; and in the end reſolv'd to do nothing in the matter.

THE ſame Perſon appear'd to him the third time with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promiſed to do. The poor man had by this time recover'd the courage to tell him, "that in truth he had deferr'd the execution of his commands, "upon conſidering, how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any "acceſs to the Duke, having acquaintance with no perſon about him; "and if he could obtain admiſſion to him, he ſhould never be able to "perſwade him, that he was ſent in Such a manner; but he ſhould, at "beſt, be thought to be mad, or to be ſet on and employ'd, by his own "or the malice of other men, to abuſe the Duke; and ſo he ſhould be "ſure to be undone. The Perſon replyed, as he had done before, "that "he ſhould never find reſt, till he ſhould perform what He required; "and therefore he were better to diſpatch it: that the acceſs to his Son

"was known to be very easy; and that few men wanted long for him; "and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him two or three parti- "culars, which he charged him never to mention to any person living, "but to the Duke himself; and He should no sooner hear them, but he "would believe all the rest he should say: and so repeating his threats he left him.

IN the morning, the poor man, more confirm'd by the last Appearance, made his journey to *London*; where the Court then was. He was very well known to Sr *Ralph Freeman*, one of the Masters of Requests, who had married a Lady that was nearly allyed to the Duke, and was himself well receiv'd by him. To him this man went; and though he did not acquaint him with all particulars, he said enough to him to let him see there was somewhat extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the sobriety, and discretion of the man, made the more impression in him. He desired, that, "by His means he might be brought to the Duke; "to such a place, and in such a manner, as should be thought fit: affirm- ing "that he had much so say to him; and of such a Nature, as would "require much privacy, and some time and patience in the hearing. Sr *Ralph* promised "he would speak first with the Duke of him, and "then he should understand his pleasure: and accordingly, in the first opportunity, he did inform him of the reputation and honesty of the man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of the matter. The Duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him, "that "he was the next day early to hunt with the King; that his horses should "attend him at *Lambeth*-Bridge, where he would land by five of the "clock in the morning; and if the man attended him there at that hour, "he would walk, and speak with him, as long as should be necessary. Sr *Ralph* carried the man with him the next morning, and presented him to the Duke at his landing; who receiv'd him courteously; and walk'd aside in conference near an hour, none but his own Servants be- ing at that hour in that place; and they and Sr *Ralph* at such a distance, that they could not hear a word, though the Duke sometimes spoke, and with great commotion; which Sr *Ralph* the more eafily observ'd, and per- ceiv'd, because he kept his eyes allways fix'd upon the Duke; having pro- cured the conference, upon somewhat he knew there was of extraordi- nary. And the man told him in his return over the water, "that when "he mention'd those particulars, which were to gain him credit, the "Substance whereof he said he durst not impart to him, the Duke's co- "lour changed, and he swore he could come to that knowledge only by "the Devil; for that those particulars were known only to himself, and "to one person more, who, he was sure, would never speak of it.

THE Duke pursued his purpose of hunting; but was observ'd to ride all the morning with great pensiveness, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon: and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his Mother's lodgings in *White-hall*; with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours; the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the ears of those, who attended in the next rooms: and when the Duke left her, his countenance appear'd full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a countenance, that was never before observ'd in him, in any conversation with Her, towards whom he had a profound reverence. And the Countess her self (for though she was married to a private Gentleman Sr *Thomas Compton*, she had been created Countess of *Buckingham*, shortly after her Son had first assumed

that Title) was, at the Duke's leaving her, found overwhelm'd in tears, and in the higheſt agony imaginable. Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the Duke's Murther (which happen'd within few months after) was brought to his Mother, ſhe ſeem'd not in the leaſt degree ſurpriſed; but receiv'd it as if ſhe had foreſeen it; nor did afterwards expreſs ſuch a degree of ſorrow, as was expected from ſuch a Mother, for the loſs of ſuch a Son.

THIS Digreſſion much longer than it was intended, may not be thought altogether improper in this Diſcourſe. For as the mention of his Death was very pertinent, in the place, and upon the occaſion, it happen'd to be made; ſo upon that occaſion, it ſeem'd the more reaſonable to Digreſs, upon the Nature, and Character, and Fortune of the Duke; as being the beſt mirroir to diſcern the temper, and Spirit of that Age; and the wonderful concurrence of many fatal accidents, to disfigure the Government of two excellent Kings; under whom their Kingdoms in general proſper'd exceedingly; and enjoy'd a longer Peace, a greater Plenty, and in fuller Security, than had been in any former age.

A proſpect of the Court and the Miniſters after the Duke's death.

AND becauſe there was ſo total a change of all Counſels, and in the whole face of the Court upon the death of that mighty Favourite; all thoughts of War being preſently laid aſide (though there was a faint looking towards the relief of *Rochel* by the Fleet, that was ready under the command of the Earl of *Lindſey*) and the proviſions for Peace and Plenty taken to heart: It will not be unuſeful, nor unpleaſant, to enlarge the Digreſſion, before a return to the proper Subject of the Diſcourſe; by a proſpect of the Conſtitution of the Court, after that bright Star was ſhot out of the Horizon: Who were the chief Miniſters, that had the principal management of publick affairs in Church and State; and how equal their Faculties and Qualifications were for thoſe high Tranſactions; in which, mention ſhall be only made of Thoſe, who were then in the higheſt truſt; there being at that time no Ladies, who had diſpoſed themſelves to intermeddle in buſineſs: and hereafter, when That activity begun, and made any progreſs, it will be again neceſſary to take a new ſurvey of the Court, upon that alteration.

Of the Lord Keeper Coventry.

SIR *Thomas Coventry* was then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and newly made a Baron. He was a ſon of the Robe; his Father having been a Judge in the Court of the Common Pleas: who took great care to breed him though his firſt born, in the ſtudy of the Common Law; by which he himſelf had been promoted to that degree; and in which, in the Society of the Inner Temple, his Son made a notable progreſs, by an early eminence in Practice, and Learning; inſomuch as he was Recorder of *London*, Sollicitor General, and King's Atturney before he was forty years of age. A rare aſcent! All which Offices he diſcharged with great abilities, and ſingular reputation of Integrity. In the firſt year after the death of King *James*, he was advanced to be Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* (the uſual advancement from the office of Atturney General) upon the removal of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*: who, though a man of great wit, and good Scholaſtick learning, was generally thought ſo very unequal to the Place, that his Remove was the only recompence and ſatisfaction, that could be made for his Promotion. And yet it was enough known, that the Diſgrace proceeded only from the private diſpleaſure of the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Lord *Coventry* enjoy'd this place with an univerſal reputation (and ſure Juſtice was never better adminiſtred) for the ſpace of about ſixteen years; even to his

death, ſome months before he was ſixty years of age: which was another important circumſtance of his Felicity; that great Office being ſo ſlippery, that no man had died in it before, for near the ſpace of forty years. Nor had his Succeſſors, for ſome time after him, much better fortune. And he himſelf had uſe of all his ſtrength, and skill (as he was an excellent Wreſtler in this kind) to preſerve himſelf from falling, in two Shocks: the one given him by the Earl of *Portland*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England*; the other by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who had the greateſt power over the affections of the King of any man of that time.

He was a man of wonderful Gravity, and Wiſdom; and underſtood not only the whole Science, and Myſtery of the Law, at leaſt equally with any man, who had ever ſate in that place; but had a clear conception of the whole Policy of the Government both of Church and State, which, by the unskilfulneſs of ſome well meaning men, juſtled each the other too much.

He knew the temper, diſpoſition, and genius of the Kingdom moſt exactly; ſaw their Spirits grow every day more ſturdy, inquiſitive, and impatient: and therefore naturally abhorred all Innovations, which, he foreſaw, would produce ruinous effects. Yet many, who ſtood at a diſtance, thought that he was not active, and ſtout enough in oppoſing thoſe Innovations. For though, by his place, he preſided in all Publick Councils, and was moſt ſharp-ſighted in the Conſequence of things; yet he was ſeldom known to Speak in matters of State, which, he well knew, were, for the moſt part, concluded, before they were brought to that Publick agitation: never, in forreign affairs; which the vigour of his Judgement could well have comprehended: nor indeed freely in any thing, but what immediately, and plainly concern'd the Juſtice of the Kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procured References to the Judges. Though, in his Nature, he had not only a firm Gravity, but a Severity, and even ſome Moroſity; yet it was ſo happily temper'd, and his Courteſy, and Affability towards all men ſo tranſcendent, and ſo much without affectation, that it marvellouſly recommended him to all men of all degrees, and he was look'd upon as an excellent Courtier, without receding from the native ſimplicity of his own manners.

He had, in the plain way of ſpeaking and delivery, without much ornament of Elocution, a ſtrange power of making himſelf believ'd, the only juſtifiable deſign of Eloquence: ſo that though he uſed very frankly to Deny, and would never ſuffer any man to depart from him, with an opinion that he was inclined to Gratify, when in truth he was not; holding that Diſſimulation to be the worſt of Lying: yet the Manner of it was ſo gentle, and obliging, and his Condeſcenſion ſuch, to Inform the perſons whom he could not Satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will, and ill wiſhes.

But then, this happy Temper, and theſe good Faculties, rather preſerv'd him from having many Enemies, and ſupplied him with ſome Well-wiſhers, than furniſh'd him with any faſt and unſhaken Friends: who are allways procured in Courts, by more Ardour, and more vehement Profeſſions, and Applications, than He would ſuffer himſelf to be entangled with. So that he was a man, rather exceedingly Liked, than paſſionately Loved: inſomuch that it never appear'd, that he had any one Friend in the Court, of Quality enough to prevent, or divert any diſadvantage, he might be expoſed to. And therefore it is no wonder, not to be imputed to Him, that he retired within himſelf as much as he could;

and ſtood upon his Defence, without making deſperate ſallies againſt growing miſchiefs; which, he knew well, he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own Ruin. To conclude; his Security conſiſted very much in his having but little credit with the King; and he Died, in a ſeaſon moſt opportune, in which a wiſe man would have pray'd to have finiſh'd his courſe, and which in truth crown'd his other ſignal proſperity in the world.

Of the Lord Treaſurer Weſton, *Earl of* Portland.

SIR *Richard Weſton* had been advanced to the White-ſtaff, into the office of Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, ſome months before the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and had, in that ſhort time, ſo much diſobliged him, at leaſt diſappointed his expectation, that many, who were privy to the Duke's moſt ſecret purpoſes, did believe, that if he had outliv'd that voyage in which he was engaged, he would have remov'd him, and made another Treaſurer. And it is very true, that great Office too had been very ſlippery, and not faſt to thoſe, who had truſted themſelves in it: Inſomuch as there were at that time, five Noble perſons alive, who had all Succeeded one another immediately in that unſteady Charge, without any other perſon intervening: the Earl of *Suffolk*; the Lord Viſcount *Mandevile*, afterwards Earl of *Mancheſter*; the Earl of *Middleſex*; and the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was removed under pretence of his age, and diſability for the work (which had been a better reaſon againſt his Promotion, ſo few years before, that his infirmities were very little increaſed) to make room for the preſent Officer; who, though Advanced by the Duke, may properly be ſaid to be Eſtabliſh'd by his Death.

HE was a Gentleman of a very ancient extraction by Father and Mother. His Education had been very good amongſt books and men. After ſome years ſtudy of the Law in the Middle Temple, he travel'd into Forreign parts, and at an age fit to make Obſervations, and Reflections; out of which, that, which is commonly call'd Experience, is conſtituted. After this he betook himſelf to the Court, and liv'd there ſome years; at that diſtance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the Modeſty of the age, when men were Seen ſome time, before they were Known; and well known before they were Preferred, or durſt pretend to it.

HE ſpent the beſt part of his Fortune (a fair one, that he inherited from his Father) in his attendance at Court; and involv'd his Friends in Securities with him, who were willing to run his hopeful fortune, before he receiv'd the leaſt Fruit from it, but the Countenance of great men, and thoſe in authority, the moſt natural, and moſt certain Stairs to aſcend by.

HE was then ſent Embaſſadour to the Arch-Dukes, *Albert* and *Iſabella*, into *Flanders*; and to the Dyet in *Germany*, to treat about the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*; in which Negotiation he behaved himſelf with great Prudence, and with the concurrent teſtimony of his being a Wiſe man, from all thoſe Princes and Embaſſadours, with whom he treated.

UPON his return he was made a Privy Counſellor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the place of the Lord *Brooke*, who was either perſwaded, or put out of the place; which, being an office of Honour and Truſt, is likewiſe an excellent Stage for men of parts to tread, and expoſe themſelves upon; where they have occaſions of all kinds to lay out, and ſpread all their Faculties and Qualifications, moſt for their advantage. He behaved himſelf very well in this Function, and appear'd Equal to it; and carried himſelf ſo luckily in Parliament, that he did his Maſter much

Service, and preſerv'd himſelf in the good opinion, and acceptation of the Houſe; which is a bleſſing not indulged to many, by thoſe High Powers. He did ſwim in thoſe troubled and boiſterous waters, in which the Duke of *Buckingham* rode as Admiral, with a good grace; when very many who were about him, were drowned, or forced on ſhore with ſhrewd hurts, and bruiſes: which ſhewed, he knew well How and When to uſe his limbs, and ſtrength to the beſt advantage; ſometimes only to avoid ſinking; and ſometimes to Advance and get ground: and by this dexterity, he kept his credit with thoſe who could do him good, and loſt it not with others, who deſired the deſtruction of thoſe upon whom he moſt depended.

He was made Lord Treaſurer in the manner, and at the time mention'd before, upon the removal of the Earl of *Malborough*, and few months before the death of the Duke. The former circumſtance, which is often attended by Compaſſion towards the Degraded, and Prejudice towards the Promoted, brought him no diſadvantage: For beſides the delight that Seaſon had in Changes, there was little reverence towards the Perſon removed; and the extream viſible Poverty of the Exchequer ſhelter'd that Province from the Envy, it had frequently created; and open'd a door, for much Applauſe to be the portion of a wiſe, and provident Miniſter. For the other, of the Duke's death, though ſome, who knew the Duke's paſſions, and prejudice (which often produced rather ſuddain indiſpoſition, than obſtinate reſolution) believ'd he would have been ſhortly caſhier'd, as ſo many had lately been; and ſo that the death of his Founder was a greater Confirmation of him in the Office, than the delivery of the White-ſtaff to him had been: yet many other wiſe men, who knew the Treaſurer's talent in removing prejudice, and reconciling himſelf to wavering and doubtful affections, believ'd, that the Loſs of the Duke was very Unſeaſonable; and that the aw, or apprehenſion of His power, and diſpleaſure, was a very neceſſary alloy for the Impetuoſity of the new Officer's nature, which needed ſome reſtraint, and check, for ſome time, to his immoderate Pretences, and appetite of Power.

He did indeed appear on the ſuddain wonderfully Elated, and ſo far threw off his old affectation to pleaſe Some very much, and to diſpleaſe None, in which art he had excell'd; that in few months after the Duke's death, he found himſelf to ſucceed him in the publick diſpleaſure, and in the malice of his Enemies, without ſucceeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any conſiderable Dependents. And yet, though he was not ſuperiour to all other men in the affection, or rather reſignation of the King, ſo that he might diſpenſe favours, and diſfavours according to his own election; he had a full ſhare in his Maſter's eſteem, who look'd upon him as a wiſe, and able Servant, and worthy of the truſt he repoſed in him; and receiv'd no other advice in the large buſineſs of his Revenue: nor was any man ſo much his ſuperiour, as to be able to leſſen him in the King's affection by his power. So that he was in a Poſt, in which he might have found much eaſe, and delight, if he could have contain'd himſelf within the verge of his own Province, which was large enough, and of ſuch Extent, that he might, at the ſame time, have drawn a great dependance upon him of very conſiderable men, and have appear'd a very uſefull, and profitable Miniſter to the King; whoſe Revenue had been very looſely managed during the late years, and might, by induſtry, and order, have been eaſily improved: and no man better underſtood what method was neceſſary towards that good husbandry, than he.

But

BUT I know not by what frowardneſs in his Stars, he took more pains in examining, and inquiring into Other Mens offices, than in the diſcharge of his Own; and not ſo much joy in what he Had, as trouble, and agony for what he had Not. The truth is, he had ſo vehement a deſire to be the ſole Favourite, that he had no reliſh of the power, he had: and in that contention he had many Rivals, who had credit enough to do him Ill offices, though not enough to ſatisfy their own Ambition; the King himſelf being reſolv'd to hold the Reins in his own hands, and to put no further truſt in others, than was neceſſary for the Capacity they ſerv'd in. Which Reſolution in his Majeſty was no ſooner believ'd, and the Treaſurer's Pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his Enemies exceedingly increaſed, and others to be leſs eager in the purſuit of his Friendſhip; and every day diſcover'd ſome Infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expoſe him both to publick Reproach, and to private Animoſities: and even his Vices admitted thoſe contradictions in them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleaſant fruit of any of them. That which firſt expoſed him to the publick jealouſy, which is allways attended with publick reproach, was the concurrent ſuſpicion of his Religion. His Wife, and all his Daughters were declared of the Roman Religion: and though He himſelf, and his Sons, ſometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have Zeal for it; and his Domeſtick converſation and dependents, with whom only he uſed entire freedom, were all known Papiſts; and were believ'd to be Agents for the reſt. And yet with all this diſadvantage to himſelf, he never had reputation, and credit with that Party; who were the only people of the Kingdom, who did not believe him to be of their Profeſſion. For the Penal Laws (thoſe only excepted which were Sanguinary, and even thoſe ſometimes let looſe) were never more rigidly executed, nor had the Crown ever ſo great a Revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay ſo dear for the favours, and indulgencies of his office towards them.

NO man had greater ambition to make his Family great, or ſtronger deſigns to leave a great Fortune to it. Yet his Expences were ſo prodigious, eſpecially in his Houſe, that all the ways he uſed for ſupply, which were all, that occurr'd, could not ſerve his turn; inſomuch that he contracted ſo great Debts (the anxiety whereof, he pretended, broke his mind, and reſtrain'd that attention, and induſtry, which was neceſſary for the due execution of his Office) that the King was pleaſed Twice to pay his Debts; at leaſt towards it, to diſburſe forty thouſand pounds in ready money out of his Exchequer. Beſides, his Majeſty gave him a whole Forreſt [*Chute* Forreſt in *Hampſhire*] and much other land belonging to the Crown; which was the more taken notice of, and Murmur'd againſt, becauſe, being the chief Miniſter of the Revenue, he was particularly obliged, as much as in him lay, to prevent, and even oppoſe ſuch Diſinheriſon; and becauſe, under that obligation, he had avowedly, and ſowrly croſs'd the pretences of other men, and reſtrain'd the King's Bounty from being exerciſed allmoſt to any. And he had that advantage (if he had made the right uſe of it) that his Credit was ample enough (ſeconded by the King's own experience, and obſervation, and inclination) to Retrench very much of the late unlimited Expences, and eſpecially thoſe of Bounties; which from the death of the Duke ran in narrower channels, and never ſo much overflow'd as towards himſelf, who ſtopp'd the current to other men.

HE

HE was of an imperious nature, and nothing wary in diſobliging and provoking other men, and had too much courage in offending and incenſing them: but after having offended and incenſed them, he was of ſo unhappy a feminine temper, that he was allways in a terrible fright and apprehenſion of them.

HE had not that application, and ſubmiſſion, and reverence for the Queen, as might have been expected from his wiſdom and breeding; and often croſs'd her pretences and deſires, with more rudeneſs than was natural to him. Yet he was impertinently ſollicitous to know what her Majeſty ſaid of him in private, and what Reſentments ſhe had towards him. And when by ſome Confidents who had their ends upon him from thoſe offices, he was inform'd of ſome bitter expreſſions fall'n from her Majeſty, he was ſo exceedingly afflicted, and tormented with the ſenſe of it, that ſometimes by paſſionate complaints, and repreſentations to the King; ſometimes by more dutiful addreſſes, and expoſtulations with the Queen, in bewailing his misfortune; he frequently expoſed himſelf, and left his condition worſe than it was before; and the eclairciſment commonly ended in the diſcovery of the perſons, from whom he had receiv'd his moſt ſecret intelligence.

HE quickly loſt the character of a bold, ſtout, and magnanimous man, which he had been long reputed to be in worſe times: and, in his moſt proſperous ſeaſon, fell under the reproach of being a man of big looks, and of a mean, and abject ſpirit.

THERE was a very ridiculous Story at that time in the mouths of many, which, being a known truth, may not be unfitly mention'd in this place, as a kind of illuſtration of the Humour, and Nature of the man. Sr *Julius Cæſar* was then Maſter of the Rolls, and had, inherent in his office, the indubitable right and diſpoſition of the Six-Clarks places; all which he had for many years, upon any vacancy, beſtow'd to ſuch perſons as he thought fit. One of thoſe Places was become void, and deſign'd by the old man to his ſon *Robert Cæſar*, a Lawyer of a good name, and exceedingly beloved. The Lord Treaſurer (as he was vigilant in ſuch caſes) had notice of the Clark's expiration ſo ſoon, that he procured the King to ſend a meſſage to the Maſter of the Rolls, expreſly forbidding him to diſpoſe of that Six-Clark's place, till his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be further made known to him. It was the firſt Command of that kind, that had been heard of, and was felt by the old man very Senſibly. He was indeed very old, and had outliv'd moſt of his Friends; ſo that his Age was an objection againſt him; many Perſons of Quality being dead, who had, for recompence of Services, procured the reverſion of his Office. The Treaſurer found it no hard matter ſo far to terrify him, that (for the King's ſervice as was pretended) he admitted for a Six-Clark a perſon recommended by him (Mr *Fern* a dependant upon him) who paid ſix thouſand pound ready money; which, poor man! he liv'd to repent in a Jayl. This work being done at the charge of the poor old man, who had been a Privy-Counſellor from the entrance of King *James*, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ſerv'd in other Offices; the depriving him of his Right made a great noiſe: and the condition of his Son (his Father being not likely to live to have the diſpoſal of another office in his power) who, as was ſaid before, was generally belov'd, and eſteem'd, was argument of great compaſſion; and was lively, and ſucceſsfully repreſented to the King himſelf; who was graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, that, "if the old man chanced to die before any other of the

Crown of *Scotland*, in Marriage to the eldeſt Son) could not make him think himſelf Great enough. Nor could all the King's Bountries, nor his own large Acceſſions, raiſe a Fortune to his Heir; but after ſix or eight years ſpent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble, that it was not greater; after vaſt ſumms of money and great wealth gotten, and rather conſumed than enjoy'd; without any ſenſe or delight in ſo great Proſperity, with the agony that it was no greater; He Died unlamented by Any; bitterly mention'd by Moſt who never pretended to love him; and ſeverely cenſured, and complain'd of by Thoſe, who expected moſt from him, and deſerv'd beſt of him; and left a numerous Family, which was in a ſhort time worn out, and yet outliv'd the Fortune he left behind him.

Of the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy-Seal.

THE next great Counſellor of State was the Lord Privy-Seal, who was likewiſe of a Noble extraction, and of a Family at that time very fortunate. His Grandfather had been Lord Chief Juſtice, and left by King *Harry* the Eighth one of the Executors of his laſt Will. He was the younger Son of his Father, and brought up in the ſtudy of the Law in the Middle Temple; and had paſs'd, and, as it were, made a progreſs through all the eminent Degrees of the Law, and in the State. At the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, or thereabouts, he was Recorder of *London*; then the King's Serjeant at Law; afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench. Before the death of King *James*, by the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, he was raiſed to the Place of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; and within leſs than a year afterwards, by the withdrawing of that Favour, he was reduced to the allmoſt empty Title of Preſident of the Council; and, to allay the ſenſe of the diſhonour, created Viſcount *Mandevile*. He bore the Diminution very well, as he was a wiſe man, and of an excellent temper; and quickly recover'd ſo much grace, that he was made Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Lord Privy-Seal, and enjoy'd that Office to his death; whilſt he ſaw many Removes, and Degradations, in all the other Offices of which he had been poſſeſs'd.

HE was a man of great Induſtry, and Sagacity in Buſineſs, which he delighted in exceedingly; and preſerv'd ſo great a vigour of Mind, even to his death (when he was very near eighty years of age) that ſome, who had known him in his younger years, did believe him to have much quicker Parts in his age, than before. His Honours had grown faſter upon him than his Fortunes; which made him too ſollicitous to advance the latter, by all the ways which offer'd themſelves; whereby he expoſed himſelf to ſome inconvenience, and many reproaches, and became leſs capable of ſerving the Publick by his Counſels, and Authority; which his known wiſdom, long experience, and confeſs'd gravity, and ability, would have enabled him to have done; moſt men conſidering more the Perſon that ſpeaks, than the Things he ſays. And he was unhappily too much uſed as a Check upon the Lord *Coventry*; and when that Lord perplex'd their counſels, and deſigns, with inconvenient objections in Law, the Authority of the Lord *Mancheſter* who had trod the ſame paths, was ſtill call'd upon; and he did too frequently gratify their unjuſtifiable deſigns, and pretences: a guilt and miſchief, all men, who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be ſo, are liable to, and can hardly preſerve themſelves from. But his Virtues ſo far weigh'd down his Infirmities, that he maintain'd a good general reputation, and credit with the whole Nation, and People; he being allways look'd upon, as full of Integrity, and Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, as it was eſtabliſh'd by Law,

and of unqueſtionable Loyalty, Duty, and Fidelity to the King; which two Qualifications will ever gather popular Breath enough to fill the Sails, if the Veſſel be competently provided with Ballaſt. He Died in a lucky time, in the beginning of the Rebellion, when neither Religion, Loyalty, Law, nor Wiſdom could have provided for any man's Security.

Of the Earl of Arundel.

THE Earl of *Arundel* was the next Officer of State, who, in his own Right, and Quality, preceded the reſt of the Council. He was generally thought to be a proud man, who liv'd allways within himſelf, and to himſelf, converſing little with any, who were in common converſation; ſo that he ſeem'd to live as it were in another Nation, his Houſe being a place, to which all people reſorted who reſorted to no other place; Strangers, or ſuch who affected to look like Strangers, and dreſs'd themſelves accordingly. He reſorted ſometimes to the Court, becauſe There only was a greater man than himſelf; and went thither the ſeldomer, becauſe there Was a greater man than himſelf. He liv'd towards all Favourites, and great Officers, without any kind of condeſcenſion, and rather ſuffer'd himſelf to be ill treated by their power and authority (for he was often in Diſgrace, and once or twice Priſoner in the Tower) than to deſcend in making any application to them.

AND upon theſe Occaſions he ſpent a great interval of his time in ſeveral Journeys into forreign Parts, and, with his Wife and Family, had liv'd ſome years in *Italy*; the humour, and manners of which Nation he ſeem'd moſt to like, and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by Deſcent, and a much greater from his Wife, who was the ſole Daughter upon the matter (for neither of the two Siſters left any Iſſue) of the great Houſe of *Shrewsbury*; but his Expences were without any meaſure, and allways exceeded very much his Revenue. He was willing to be thought a Scholar, and to underſtand the moſt myſterious parts of Antiquity, becauſe he made a wonderful and coſtly Purchaſe of excellent Statues, whilſt he was in *Italy*, and in *Rome* (ſome whereof he could never obtain permiſſion to remove from *Rome*, though he had paid for them) and had a rare Collection of the moſt curious Medals. As to all parts of Learning he was allmoſt illiterate, and thought no other part of Hiſtory ſo conſiderable, as what related to his own Family; in which, no doubt, there had been ſome very memorable Perſons. It cannot be denied that he had in his perſon, in his aſpect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preſerv'd in his gate, and motion. He wore and affected a Habit very different from that of the time, ſuch as men had only beheld in the Pictures of the moſt conſiderable Men; all which drew the eyes of moſt, and the reverence of many towards him, as the Image, and Repreſentative of the Primitive Nobility, and Native Gravity of the Nobles, when they had been moſt Venerable: but this was only his out-ſide; his nature and true humour being much diſpoſed to levity, and delights, which indeed were very deſpicable and childiſh. He was rather thought not to be much concern'd for Religion, than to incline to this, or that Party of any: and had little other affection for the Nation or the Kingdom, than as he had a great ſhare in it, in which like the great Leviathan he might ſport himſelf; from which he withdrew, as ſoon as he diſcern'd the repoſe thereof was like to be diſturb'd, and died in *Italy*, under the ſame doubtful character of Religion, in which he liv'd.

Of William *Earl of* Pembroke.

William Earl of *Pembroke* was next, a man of another mould, and making, and of another fame, and reputation with all men, being the moſt

2 Leaf backwards

moſt univerſally belov'd and eſteem'd of any man of that age: and, having a great Office in the Court, he made the Court it ſelf better eſteem'd, and more reverenced in the Country. And as he had a great number of Friends of the beſt men, ſo no man had ever the confidence to avow himſelf to be his Enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful Speaker upon any ſubject, having a good proportion of Learning, and a ready Wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it: of a pleaſant and facetious humour, and a diſpoſition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was maſter of a great Fortune from his Anceſtours, and had a great addition by his Wife, another Daughter, and Heir of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which he enjoy'd during his life, ſhe outliving him: but all ſerv'd not his Expence, which was only limited by his great mind, and occaſions to uſe it nobly.

He liv'd many years About the Court, before In it; and never By it; being rather regarded and eſteem'd by King *James*, than lov'd and favour'd. After the foul Fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſe, more for the Courts ſake, than his Own; and the Court appear'd with the more Luſtre, becauſe He had the Government of that Province. As he ſpent and liv'd upon his own Fortune, ſo he ſtood upon his own Feet, without any other ſupport than of his proper Virtue and Merit: and liv'd towards the Favourites with that decency, as would not ſuffer them to cenſure or reproach his Maſter's judgement, and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the Court, becauſe he never deſired to get that for Himſelf, which Others labour'd for, but was ſtill ready to promote the pretences of worthy men. And he was equally celebrated in the Country, for having receiv'd no obligations from the Court which might corrupt, or ſway his affections, and judgement: ſo that all who were diſpleaſed, and unſatisfied In the Court, or With the Court, were allways inclined to put themſelves under his Banner, if he would have admitted them: and yet he did not ſo reject them, as to make them chooſe another Shelter, but ſo far ſuffer'd them to depend on him, that he could reſtrain them from breaking out beyond private reſentments, and murmurs.

He was a great lover of his Country, and of the Religion, and Juſtice, which he believ'd could only ſupport it; and his Friendſhips were only with men of thoſe Principles. And as his Converſation was moſt with men of the moſt pregnant parts, and underſtanding, ſo towards any ſuch, who needed ſupport, or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was planted in a Court, that was fitter for that Soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that Air.

Yet his memory muſt not be Flatter'd, that his virtues, and good inclinations may be Believ'd; he was not without ſome allay of Vice, and without being clouded with great Infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himſelf the Pleaſures of all kinds, allmoſt in all exceſſes. To Women, whether out of his natural conſtitution, or for want of his domeſtick content, and delight (in which he was moſt unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his Wife's Fortune, by taking her Perſon into the bargain) he was immoderately given up. But therein he likewiſe retain'd ſuch a power, and juriſdiction over his very appetite, that he was not ſo much tranſported with beauty, and outward allurements, as with thoſe advantages of the mind, as manifeſted an extraordinary

ordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administred great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune. And some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension, that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind begun to lessen, and decline by those excessive Indulgences.

About the time of the death of King *James*, or presently after, he was made Lord Steward of his Majesty's House; that the Staff of Chamberlain might be put into the hands of his Brother, the Earl of *Montgomery*, upon a new contract of Friendship with the Duke of *Buckingham*: after whose death, he had likewise such Offices of his, as he most affected, of honour and command; none of profit, which he cared not for: and within two years after, he died himself of an Apoplexy, after a full and chearful Supper.

A short Story may not be unfitly inserted, it being very frequently mention'd by a Person of known integrity, whose Character is here undertaken to be set down, and who, at that time, being on his way to *London*, met at *Maidenhead* some Persons of Quality, of relation or dependence upon the Earl of *Pembroke* (Sr *Charles Morgan*, commonly call'd General *Morgan*, who had commanded an Army in *Germany*, and defended *Stoad*; Dr *Feild*, then Bishop of Saint *Davids*; and Dr *Chafin*, the Earl's then Chaplain in his house, and much in his favour.) At Supper one of them drank a health to the Lord Steward: upon which another of them said, "that he believ'd his Lord was at that time very Mer-"ry, for he had now outliv'd the day, which his Tutor *Sandford* had "prognosticated upon his Nativity he would not outlive; but he had "done it now, for that was his Birth-day, which had compleated his age "to fifty years. The next morning, by the time they came to *Colebrook*, they met with the news of his Death.

He Died exceedingly lamented by men of all qualities, and left many of his Servants and Dependents owners of good Estates, raised out of his employments, and bounty. Nor had his Heir cause to complain. For though his Expences had been very magnificent (and it may be the less consider'd, and his providence the less, because he had no Child to inherit) insomuch as he left a great Debt charged upon the Estate; yet considering the wealth he left in Jewels, Plate, and Furniture, and the Estate his Brother enjoy'd in the right of His Wife (who was not fit to manage it her self) during her long life, he may be justly said to have inherited as good an Estate from him, as He had from his Father, which was one of the best in *England*.

Of Philip *Earl of* Montgomery.

The Earl of *Montgomery*, who was then Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold, and now Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Dorset* were likewise of the Privy-Council; Men of very different Talents, and Qualifications. The former being a young man, scarce of age at the entrance of King *James*, had the good fortune by the comelines of his person, his skill, and indefatigable industry in Hunting, to be the first, who drew the King's eyes towards him with affection; which was quickly so far improved, that he had the reputation of a Favourite. Before the end of the first, or second year, he was made Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber, and Earl of *Montgomery*; which did the King no harm: For besides that he receiv'd the King's Bounty with more moderation than other men, who succeeded him; He was generally known, and as generally esteem'd; being the Son of one Earl of *Pembroke*, and younger Brother

ther

ther to another, who liberally supplied his expence, beyond what his annuity from his Father would bear.

He pretended to no other qualifications, than to understand Horses and Dogs very well, which his Master loved him the better for (being, at his first coming into *England*, very jealous of those who had the reputation of great Parts) and to be believ'd honest and generous, which made him many Friends, and left him then no Enemy. He had not sate many years in that Sun-shine, when a new Comet appear'd in Court, *Robert Carr*, a *Scots*-man, quickly after declared Favourite; upon whom the King no sooner fix'd his eyes, but the Earl, without the least murmur, or indisposition, left all doors open for his entrance: (A rare temper! and it could proceed from nothing, but his great perfection in loving Field-sports) which the King receiv'd as so great an Obligation, that he allways after loved him in the Second place, and commended him to his Son at his death, as a man to be relied on in point of Honesty and Fidelity; though it appear'd afterwards, that he was not strongly Built, nor had sufficient Ballast to endure a Storm; of which more will be said hereafter.

of Edward *Earl of* Dorset.

The other, the Earl of *Dorset*, was, to all intents, principles, and purposes, another man; his Person beautiful and graceful, and vigorous; his Wit pleasant, sparkling, and sublime; and his other Parts of Learning, and Language, of that lustre, that he could not miscarry in the world. The Vices he had, were of the Age, which he was not stubborn enough to contemn, or resist. He was a Younger brother, Grandchild to the great Treasurer *Buckhurst*, created, at the King's first Entrance, Earl of *Dorset*, who outliv'd his Father, and took care, and delight in the Education of his Grandchild, and left him a good Support for a Younger brother; besides a Wife, who was Heir to a fair Fortune. As his Person and Parts were such as are before mention'd, so he gave them full scope, without restraint; and indulged to his appetite all the Pleasures, that season of his life (the fullest of jollity, and riot of any, that preceded, or succeeded) could tempt, or suggest to him.

He entred into a fatal Quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young Nobleman of *Scotland*, the Lord *Bruce*; upon which they both transported themselves into *Flanders*, and attended only by two Chirurgions placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir, but upon the fall of one of them, they Fought under the Walls of *Antwarp*, where the Lord *Bruce* fell dead upon the place; and Sr *Edward Sackville* (for so he was then call'd) being likewise hurt, retired into the next Monastery, which was at hand. Nor did this miserable accident, which he allways exceedingly lamented, make that through impression upon him, but that he indulged still too much to those importunate, and insatiate appetites, even of that individual Person, that had so lately embark'd him in that desperate enterprize; being too much Tinder not to be inflamed with those Sparks.

His Elder brother did not enjoy his Grandfather's Titles many years, before they descended, for want of Heirs male, to the Younger brother. But in these few years the Elder, by an excess of expence in all the ways to which money can be applied, so entirely consumed allmost the whole great Fortune that descended to him, that, when he was forced to leave the Title to his younger Brother, he left upon the matter nothing to him to support it; which exposed him to many difficulties, and inconveniencies. Yet his known great Parts, and the very good general Repu-

tation

tation he had acquired, notwithſtanding his defects (for as he was eminent in the Houſe of Commons, whilſt he ſate there; ſo he ſhined in the Houſe of Peers, when he came to move in that ſphere) inclined King *James* to call him to his Privy-Council before his death. And if he had not too much cheriſh'd his natural conſtitution, and propenſity; and been too much griev'd, and wrung by an uneaſy and ſtreight Fortune; he would have been an excellent man of buſineſs; for he had a very ſharp, diſcerning ſpirit; and was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, and great generoſity, and of moſt entire fidelity to the Crown.

Of the Earl of Carliſle. THERE were two other Perſons of much Authority in the Council, becauſe of great Name in the Court; as they deſerv'd to be, being without doubt two as accompliſh'd Courtiers, as were found in the Palaces of all the Princes in *Europe*; and the greateſt (if not too great) improvers of that Breeding, and thoſe Qualifications, with which Courts uſed to be adorn'd; the Earl of *Carliſle*, and Earl of *Holland*: both (though men of pleaſure) by their long experience in Court well acquainted with the affairs of the Kingdom, and better verſed in thoſe abroad, than any other who ſat then at that Board.

THE former, a Younger brother of a noble Family in *Scotland*, came into the Kingdom with King *James*, as a Gentleman; under no other character, than a perſon well qualified by his breeding in *France*, and by ſtudy in humane Learning; in which he bore a good part in the entertainment of the King, who much delighted in that exerciſe: and by theſe means, and notable gracefulneſs in his behaviour, and affability, in which he excell'd, he had wrought himſelf into a particular intereſt with his Maſter, and into greater affection and eſteem with the whole *Engliſh* Nation, than any other of that Country; by chooſing Their friendſhips, and converſation, and really preferring it to any of his Own: Inſomuch as upon the King's making him Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and Viſcount *Doncaſter*, by his Royal mediation (in which office he was a moſt prevalent Prince) he obtain'd the ſole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny* to be given him in marriage; by which he had a fair Fortune in Land provided for any Iſſue he ſhould raiſe, and which his Son by that Lady liv'd long to enjoy.

HE aſcended afterwards, and with the expedition he deſired, to the other Conveniencies of the Court. He was Groom of the Stole, and an Earl, and Knight of the Garter; and married a beautiful young Lady, Daughter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, without any other approbation of her Father, or concernment in it, than ſuffering Him and Her to come into his preſence after they were married. He liv'd rather in a fair Intelligence than any Friendſhip with the Favourites; having credit enough with his Maſter to provide for his own intereſt, and he troubled not himſelf for that of other men; and had no other conſideration of money, than for the ſupport of his luſtre; and whilſt he could do that, he cared not for money, having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could.

HE was ſurely a man of the greateſt expence in his own perſon, of any in the age he liv'd; and introduced more of that expence in the exceſs of Cloaths and Diet, than any other man; and was indeed the Original of all thoſe inventions, from which others did but tranſcribe Copies. He had a great univerſal underſtanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleaſant, and worth his care. But he found Buſineſs was attended with more Rivals,

and

and vexations; and, he thought, with much leſs pleaſure, and not more innocence.

HE left behind him the reputation of a very fine Gentleman, and a moſt accompliſh'd Courtier; and after having ſpent, in a very jovial life, above four hundred thouſand pounds, which, upon a ſtrict computation, he receiv'd from the Crown, he left not a Houſe, nor Acre of Land to be remember'd by. And when he had in his proſpect (for he was very ſharp-ſighted, and ſaw as far before him as moſt men) the gathering together of that Cloud in *Scotland*, which ſhortly after cover'd both Kingdoms, he Died with as much tranquillity of mind to all appearance, as uſed to attend a man of more ſevere exerciſe of Virtue; and with as little apprehenſion of death, which he expected many days.

of the Earl of Holland.

THE Earl of *Holland* was a younger Son of a Noble Houſe, and a very fruitful Bed, which divided a numerous Iſſue between two great Fathers: the Eldeſt, many Sons and Daughters to the Lord *Rich*; the Younger, of both Sexes, to *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonſhire*. The reputation of his Family gave him no great advantage in the world, though his eldeſt Brother was Earl of *Warwick*, and owner of a great Fortune; and his Younger Earl of *Newport*, of a very plentiful Revenue likewiſe. He, after ſome time ſpent in *France*, betook himſelf to the War in *Holland*, which he intended to have made his Profeſſion; where after he had made two or three Campaigns, according to the cuſtom of the *Engliſh* Voluntiers, he came in the leiſure of the Winter to viſit his Friends in *England*, and the Court, that ſhined then in the plenty and bounty of King *James*; and about the time of the infancy of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s favours, to whom he grew in a ſhort time very acceptable. But his Friendſhip was more entire to the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was more of his nature, and humour, and had a generoſity more applicable at that time to his fortune and his ends. And it was thought by many who ſtood within view, that for ſome years he ſupported himſelf upon the Familiarity, and Friendſhip of the other; which continued mutually between them very many years, with little interruption to their death.

HE was a very handſome man, of a lovely, and winning preſence, and gentile converſation; by which he got ſo eaſy an admiſſion into the Court, and grace of King *James*, that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a Soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himſelf to the Duke, and to his confidence, and wiſely declined the receiving any grace or favour, but as His donation; above all, avoided the ſuſpicion that the King had any kindneſs for him, upon any account but of the Duke, whoſe Creature he deſired to be eſteem'd, though the Earl of *Carliſle*'s Friend. And he proſper'd ſo well in that Pretence, that the King ſcarce made more haſt to advance the Duke, than the Duke did to promote the other.

HE firſt prefer'd him to a Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Cope*, by whom he had a good Fortune; and amongſt other things, the Mannor and Seat of *Kenſington*, of which he was ſhortly after made Baron. And he had quickly ſo entire a confidence in him, that the Duke prevail'd with the King to put him about his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and to be a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, before the Duke himſelf had reaſon to promiſe himſelf any proportion of his Highneſs's grace, and protection. He was then made Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, and of the Privy-Council; ſent the firſt Embaſſadour into *France*

to treat the marriage with the Queen, or rather privately to treat about the marriage before he was Embaſſadour. And when the Duke went to the Iſle of *Ree*, he truſted the Earl of *Holland* with the command of that Army with which He was to be recruited, and aſſiſted.

IN this Confidence, and in this Poſture he was left by the Duke when he was kill'd; and having the advantage of the Queens good opinion, and favour (which the Duke neither had, nor cared for) he made all poſſible approaches towards the obtaining His truſt, and ſucceeding him in His power; or rather that the Queen might have ſolely that Power, and he only be Subſervient to her; and upon this account, he made a continual War upon the Earl of *Portland* the Treaſurer, and all others who were not gracious to the Queen, or deſired not the increaſe of her Authority. And in this State, and under this Protection he receiv'd every day new Obligations from the King, and great Bounties, and continued to Flouriſh above any man in the Court, whilſt the Weather was fair: but the Storm did no ſooner ariſe, but he changed ſo much, and declined ſo faſt from the Honour he was thought to be maſter of, that he fell into that Condition, which there will be hereafter too much cauſe to mention, and to enlarge upon.

Of the two Secretaries of State, Sr John Coke, *and Sr* Dudley Carleton.

THE two Secretaries of State (who were not in thoſe days Officers of that magnitude they have been ſince, being only to make Diſpatches upon the concluſion of Councils, not to govern, or preſide in thoſe Councils) were Sr *John Coke*, who, upon the death of Sr *Albert Moreton*, was, from being Maſter of Requeſts, prefer'd to be Secretary of State; and Sr *Dudley Carleton*, who from his Employment in *Holland*, was put into the place of the Lord *Conway*, who, for age and incapacity, was at laſt removed from the Secretary's office, which he had exerciſed many years with very notable Inſufficiency; ſo that King *James* was wont pleaſantly to ſay, "that *Stenny* (the Duke of *Buckingham*) had "given him two very proper Servants; a Secretary, who could neither "write, nor read; and a Groom of his Bedchamber, who could not truſs "his points: Mr *Clark* having but one hand.

OF theſe two Secretaries the Former was a man of a very narrow education, and a narrower nature; having continued long in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he had gotten Latin learning enough; and afterwards in the Country in the condition of a private Gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon ſome reputation he had for Induſtry and Diligence, he was call'd to ſome painful employment in the office of the Navy, which he diſcharged well; and afterwards to be Maſter of Requeſts, and then to be Secretary of State, which he enjoy'd to a great age: and was a man rather unadorn'd with any parts of vigour and quickneſs, and unindow'd with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakneſs or defect of underſtanding, or tranſported with any vitious inclinations, appetite to Money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was Induſtry, and his moſt eminent infirmity Covetouſneſs. His long Experience had inform'd him well of the State and affairs of *England*; but of Forreign tranſactions, or the common intereſt of Chriſtian Princes he was entirely undiſcerning, and ignorant.

SIR *Dudley Carleton* was of a quite contrary nature, conſtitution, and education, and underſtood all that related to Forreign employments, and the condition of other Princes, and Nations very well; but was unacquainted with the Government, Laws, and Cuſtoms of his own Country, and the Nature of the People. He was a Younger ſon in a good Gen-

Gentleman's Family, and bred in *Chriſt-Church*, in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he was a Student of the Foundation, and a young man of Parts, and towardly expectation. He went from thence early into *France*, and was ſoon after Secretary to Sr *Harry Nevil*, the Embaſſadour there. He had been ſent Embaſſadour to *Venice*, where he reſided many years with good reputation; and was no ſooner return'd from thence into *England*, than he went Embaſſadour into *Holland* to the States General, and reſided there when that Synod was aſſembled at *Dort*, which hath given the World ſo much occaſion ſince for uncharitable Diſputations, which They were call'd together to prevent. Here the Embaſſadour was not thought ſo equal a Spectator, or Aſſeſſor, as he ought to have been; but by the infuſions he made into King *James*, and by his own activity, he did all he could to diſcountenance that Party that was moſt Learned, and to raiſe the credit and authority of the Other; which hath ſince proved as inconvenient, and troubleſome to their own Country, as to their Neighbours.

HE was once more Embaſſadour extraordinary in *Holland* after the death of King *James*, and was the laſt who was admitted to be Preſent, and to Vote in the General Aſſembly of the States, under that Character; of which great Priviledge the Crown had been poſſeſs'd from a great part of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and through the time of King *James*, to that moment; which adminiſtred freſh matter of Murmur for the giving up the Towns of the *Brill*, and *Fluſhing*, which had been done ſome years before by King *James*; without which men thought thoſe States would not have had the courage ſo ſoon to have degraded the Crown of *England* from a Place in their Councils, which had proſper'd ſo eminently under the Shadow of that Power, and Support. As ſoon as he return'd from *Holland*, he was call'd to the Privy-Council. The making him Secretary of State, and a Peer of the Realm, when his Eſtate was ſcarce viſible, was the laſt piece of Workmanſhip the Duke of *Buckingham* liv'd to finiſh, who ſeldom ſatisfied himſelf with conferring a ſingle obligation.

The Riſe of Arch-Biſhop Laud's Power in the Church.

THE Duke had obſerv'd, and diſcover'd, that the channel, in which the Church Promotions had formerly run, had been liable to ſome corruptions, at leaſt to many reproaches; and therefore had committed the ſole repreſentation of thoſe affairs, and the recommending to the Vacancies which ſhould happen, to Dr *Laud*, then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and ſworn of the Privy-Council. And the King, after the Duke's death, continued that truſt in the ſame Hands, infinitely to the Benefit and Honour of the Church, though, it may be, no leſs to the Prejudice of the poor Biſhop; who, too ſecure in a good Conſcience, and moſt ſincere worthy Intention (with which no man was ever more plentifully repleniſh'd) thought he could manage, and diſcharge the place and office of the Greateſt Miniſter in the Court (for he was quickly made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) without the leaſt condeſcenſion to the Arts and Stratagems of the Court, and without any other Friendſhip, or Support, than what the ſplendour of a Pious life, and his unpoliſh'd Integrity would reconcile to him: Which was an unskilful meaſure in a Licentious age, and may deceive a good man in the beſt times that ſhall ſucceed; which expoſed him to ſuch a torrent of Adverſity and Miſery, as we ſhall have too natural an occaſion to Lament in the following Diſcourſe, in which it will be more ſeaſonable to enlarge upon his ſingular Abilities, and immenſe Virtue.

THERE were more (too many more) Honourable Perſons in that time of the Privy-Council, whoſe Faculties were not notorious enough to give them any great part in the Affairs, nor had their Advice much Influence upon them. Other very notable Men were ſhortly after added to the Council, who will hereafter be remember'd in their proper Places and Seaſons. What hath been ſaid before contains Information enough of the Perſons in Employment, and the State of the Court and Kingdom, when the Duke of *Buckingham* was taken from it; by which, and the lively Reflexions upon the Qualities, and Qualifications of the ſeveral Perſons in Authority in Court, and Council, no man could expect that the vigorous deſigns and enterprizes, undertaken by the Duke, would be purſued with equal reſolution, and courage: but that much the greater part of them would be wholely intent upon their own accommodations in their Fortunes (in which they abounded not) or in their Eaſe, and Pleaſure, which they moſt paſſionately affected; having, as hath been ſaid, no other conſideration of the Publick, than that no diſturbance therein might interrupt their quiet in their own days: And that the reſt, who had larger hearts, and more publick ſpirits, would extend their labour, activity, and advice, only to Secure the empire at Home by all Peaceable arts, and advancement of Trade, which might gratify the People, and fill the empty Coffers of the impoveriſh'd Crown. To which end the moſt proper expedients were beſt underſtood by them, not to enlarge it, by continuing and propagating the War; the ways, and means whereof they knew not how to comprehend; and had all the deſperate imaginations, and jealouſies of the end and neceſſary conſequences of it. And ſo they All concur'd (though in nothing elſe) in their unanimous Advice to the King "to put the quickeſt Period, he could poſſibly, to the "expenſive War againſt the two Crowns: and, his Majeſty following their Advice, a Peace was made with both, upon Better terms, and conditions, and in Leſs time, than from the known Impatience of the War could reaſonably have been expected, or hoped for. And after ſome unquietneſs of the People, and unhappy aſſaults upon the Prerogative by the Parliament, which produced its Diſſolution, and thereupon ſome froward and obſtinate diſturbances in Trade; there quickly follow'd ſo excellent a Compoſure throughout the whole Kingdom, that the like Peace, and Plenty, and univerſal Tranquillity for ten years was never enjoy'd by any Nation; and was the more viſible and manifeſt in *England*, by the ſharp and bloody War ſuddainly entred into between the two neighbour Crowns, and the univerſal Conflagration that, from the Invaſion of the *Swedes*, cover'd the whole Empire of *Germany*. And ſo we ſhall return to the Diſcourſe, to which this very long Digreſſion hath given a greater interruption than was intended.

A Peace with the two Crowns.

The third Parliament Diſſolv'd.

The Ill Effects of the Proclamation ſet forth upon breaking up of the ſecond Parliament.

THAT Proclamation, mention'd before, at the breaking up of the laſt Parliament, and which was commonly underſtood "to inhibit all men "to Speak of another Parliament, produced two very Ill Effects of different natures. It afflicted many Good men (who otherwiſe were enough ſcandalized at thoſe Diſtempers, which had Incenſed the King) to that degree, that it made them capable of receiving ſome Impreſſions from Thoſe, who were diligent in whiſpering and infuſing an opinion into men, "that there was really an Intention to Alter the form of Government "both in Church, and State; of which, ſaid they, a greater Inſtance can- "not be given, than this publick declaring (as it was interpreted) that "we ſhall have no more Parliaments. Then, this freedom from the danger

of

of ſuch an Inquiſition did not only encourage Ill men to all boldneſs and licence, but wrought ſo far upon Men leſs inclined to ill (though not built for Examples) that they kept not thoſe ſtrict guards upon themſelves, they uſed to do; eſpecially if they found themſelves above the reach of ordinary Juſtice, and fear'd not extraordinary, they by degrees thought that no Fault, which was like to find no Puniſhment. Supplemental Acts of State were made to ſupply defect of Laws; and ſo Tonnage, and Poundage, and other duties upon Merchandizes, were collected by Order of the Board, which had been poſitively refuſed to be ſettled by Act of Parliament, and new, and greater Impoſitions laid upon Trade: Obſolete Laws were revived, and rigorouſly executed, wherein the Subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too ſtrict a detaining of what was His, to put the King as ſtrictly to enquire what was his Own. *Projects of all kinds.*

By this Ill husbandry the King receiv'd a vaſt Sum of money from all Perſons of Quality, or indeed of any reaſonable condition throughout the Kingdom, upon the Law of Knighthood; which, though it had a foundation in Right, yet, in the circumſtances of Proceeding, was very grievous. And no leſs unjuſt Projects of all kinds, Many ridiculous, Many ſcandalous, All very grievous, were ſet on foot; the Envy, and Reproach of which came to the King, the Profit to other men: inſomuch that, of two hundred thouſand pound drawn from the Subject, by theſe ways, in a year, ſcarce fifteen hundred came to the King's uſe, or account. To recompence the damage the Crown ſuſtain'd by the Sale of the old Lands, and by the Grant of new Penſions, the old Laws of the Forreſt were revived, by which not only great Fines were impoſed, but great annual Rents intended, and like to be ſettled by way of Contract; which Burthen lighted moſt upon Perſons of Quality and Honour, who thought themſelves above ordinary oppreſſions, and were therefore like to remember it with more ſharpneſs. Laſtly, for a Spring and Magazine that ſhould have no bottom, and for an everlaſting Supply of all occaſions, a Writ was framed in a Form of Law, and directed to the Sheriff of every County of *England*, "to provide a Ship of War for the King's ſervice, and "to ſend it, amply provided and fitted, by ſuch a day, to ſuch a place; and with that Writ, were ſent to each Sheriff, Inſtructions, that, "inſtead of a Ship, he ſhould levy upon his County ſuch a Sum of Mo"ney, and return the ſame to the Treaſurer of the Navy for his Maje"ſty's uſe, with direction, in what manner he ſhould proceed againſt ſuch as refuſed: and from hence that Tax had the denomination of *Ship-money*; a word of a laſting ſound in the memory of this Kingdom; by which for ſome years really accrew'd the yearly Sum of two hundred thouſand pounds to the King's Coffers: and it was in truth the only Project, that was accounted to his Own ſervice. And, after the continued receipt of it for about four years together, it was at laſt (upon the refuſal of a Private Gentleman to pay twenty or thirty Shillings as his ſhare) with great ſolemnity publickly Argued before all the Judges of *England* in the Exchequer Chamber, and by much the major part of them, the King's right to Impoſe aſſerted, and the Tax adjudged Lawful; which Judgement proved of more advantage, and credit to the Gentleman condemn'd (Mr *Hambden*) than to the King's ſervice. *That of Knight-hood.* *That of reviving Forreſt Laws.* *That of Ship-money.*

For the better Support of theſe extraordinary ways, and to Protect the agents, and inſtruments, who muſt be employ'd in them, and to Diſcountenance, and Suppreſs all bold enquiries, and oppoſers, the Council-Table, *The powers of the Council-Table and Star-Chamber enlarged.*

Table, and Star-Chamber enlarge their Juriſdictions to a vaſt extent, "holding (as *Thucydides* ſaid of the *Athenians*) for Honourable, that "which Pleaſed, and for Juſt, that which Profited; and being the Same perſons in Several rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Right, and Courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treaſury; the Council-Table by Proclamations enjoyning to the People, what was not enjoyn'd by the Law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-Chamber cenſuring the breach, and diſobedience to thoſe Proclamations by very great Fines, and Impriſonment; ſo that any diſreſpect to any Acts of State, or to the Perſons of States-men, was in no time more penal, and thoſe Foundations of Right, by which men valued their Security, to the apprehenſion and underſtanding of Wiſe men, never more in danger to be deſtroy'd.

AND here I cannot but again take the liberty to ſay, that the Circumſtances, and Proceedings in thoſe new extraordinary caſes, ſtratagems, and impoſitions, were very Unpolitick, and even Deſtructive to the Services intended. And if the buſineſs of Ship-money, being an Impoſition by the State, under the notion of neceſſity, upon a proſpect of danger, which private perſons could not modeſtly think themſelves qualified to diſcern, had been managed in the ſame extraordinary way, as the Royal Loan (which was the impoſing the Five Subſidies after the ſecond Parliament ſpoken of before) was; men would much eaſier have ſubmitted to it; as it is notoriouſly known, that Preſſure was born with much more chearfulneſs before the Judgement for the King, than ever it was after; Men before pleaſing themſelves with doing ſomewhat for the King's ſervice, as a teſtimony of their Affection, which they were not bound to do; many really believing the neceſſity, and therefore thinking the Burthen reaſonable; others obſerving, that the advantage to the King was of importance, when the damage to them was not conſiderable; and all aſſuring themſelves, that when they ſhould be weary, or unwilling to continue the Payment, they might reſort to the Law for relief, and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a Court of Law, as a Right, and found it, by ſworn Judges of the Law, adjudged ſo, upon ſuch grounds and reaſons as every Stander by was able to ſwear was not Law, and ſo had loſt the pleaſure and delight of being Kind, and Dutiful to the King; and, inſtead of Giving, were required to Pay, and by a Logick, that left no man any thing, which he might call his Own; they no more look'd upon it as the Caſe of One man, but the Caſe of the Kingdom, nor as an Impoſition laid upon them by the King, but by the Judges; which they thought themſelves bound in Conſcience to the publick Juſtice not to Submit to. It was an obſervation long ago by *Thucydides*, "that men are much more paſſionate for Injuſtice, than for Vio-"lence; becauſe, ſays he, the one coming as from an equal, ſeems Ra-"pine; when the other proceeding from one ſtronger, is but the effect "of Neceſſity. So, when Ship-money was tranſacted at the Council-Board, they look'd upon it as a work of that Power, they were all obliged to truſt, and an effect of that Foreſight, they were naturallv to rely upon. Imminent Neceſſity, and publick Safety, were convincing perſwaſions; and it might not ſeem of apparent ill conſequence to them, that upon an emergent occaſion the Regal power ſhould fill up an *hiatus*, or ſupply an Impotency in the Law. But when they ſaw in a Court of Law (that Law, that gave them Title to, and Poſſeſſion of all that they had) Reaſon of State urged as Elements of Law, Judges as Sharp-ſighted as Secretaries

of

of State, and in the myſteries of State; Judgement of Law grounded upon matter of Fact, of which there was neither enquiry, nor proof; and no Reaſon given for the payment of the thirty Shillings in queſtion, but what included the Eſtates of all the Standers by, they had no reaſon to hope that Doctrine, or the Promoters of it, would be contain'd within any bounds; and it was no wonder that They, who had ſo little reaſon to be pleaſed with their own condition, were no leſs ſollicitous for, or apprehenſive of, the inconveniencies that might attend any alteration.

AND here the damage and miſchief cannot be expreſs'd, that the Crown and State ſuſtain'd by the deſerv'd reproach and infamy, that attended the Judges, by being made uſe of in this, and like acts of power; there being no poſſibility to preſerve the dignity, reverence, and eſtimation of the Laws themſelves, but by the integrity and innocency of the Judges. And no queſtion, as the exorbitancy of the Houſe of Commons, in the next Parliament, proceeded principally from their contempt of the Laws, and that contempt from the ſcandal of that Judgement: ſo the concurrence of the Houſe of Peers in that fury, can be imputed to no one thing more, than to the irreverence and ſcorn the Judges were juſtly in; who had been allways before look'd upon There as the Oracles of the Law, and the beſt Guides to aſſiſt that Houſe in their opinions, and actions: And the Lords now thought themſelves excuſed for ſwerving from the rules and cuſtoms of their Predeceſſors (who in altering, and making of Laws, in judging of Things and Perſons, had allways obſerv'd the advice and judgement of thoſe Sages) in not asking queſtions of Thoſe, whom they knew nobody would believe; thinking it a juſt reproach upon them (who out of their Courtſhip had ſubmitted the difficulties, and myſteries of the Law, to be meaſured by the ſtandard of what they call'd General Reaſon, and explain'd by the Wiſdom of State) that They themſelves ſhould make uſe of the Licence, which the Others had taught them, and determine that to be Law, which they thought to be reaſonable, or found to be convenient. If Theſe men had preſerv'd the ſimplicity of their Anceſtors, in ſeverely and ſtrictly defending the Laws, Other men had obſerv'd the modeſty of Theirs, in humbly and dutifully Obeying them.

UPON this Conſideration it is very obſervable, that in the wiſdom of former times, when the Prerogative went higheſt (as very often it hath been ſwoln above any pitch we have ſeen it at in our times) never any Court of Law, very ſeldom any Judge, or Lawyer of reputation, was call'd upon to aſſiſt in an Act of Power; the Crown well knowing the moment of keeping Thoſe the objects of reverence, and veneration with the People: and that though it might ſometimes make ſallies upon them by the Prerogative, yet the Law would keep the People from any invaſion of it, and that the King could never ſuffer, whilſt the Law, and the Judges were look'd upon by the Subject, as the *Aſylum* for their Liberties, and Security. And therefore you ſhall find the Policy of many Princes hath endured as ſharp animadverſions, and reprehenſions from the Judges of the Law, as their Piety hath from the Biſhops of the Church; as having no leſs influence upon the People, under the reputation of Juſtice, by the one, than under the tyes of Conſcience and Religion, by the other.

To extend this Conſideration of the form, and circumſtance of proceeding in Caſes of an unuſual nature a little farther; As it may be moſt behoveful for Princes in matters of grace, and honour, and in conferring

of favours upon their People, to tranſact the ſame as Publickly as may be, and by Themſelves, or their Miniſters to dilate upon it, and improve the luſtre by any addition, or eloquence of Speech (where, it may be, every kind word, eſpecially from the Prince himſelf, is look'd upon as a new bounty); So it is as requiſite in matters of judgement, puniſhment, and cenſure upon Things, or Perſons (eſpecially when the Caſe, in the nature of it, is unuſual, and the rules in Judging as extraordinary) that the ſame be tranſacted as Privately, and with as little noiſe, and pomp of words, as may be. For (as Damage is much eaſier born, and ſubmitted to by generous minds, than Diſgrace) in the buſineſs of Ship-money, and many other Caſes in the Star-chamber, and at Council-Board, there were many impertinencies, incongruities, and inſolencies, in the Speeches, and Orations of the Judges, much more offenſive, and much more ſcandalous than the Judgements, and Sentences themſelves. Beſides that mens minds and underſtandings were more inſtructed to diſcern the conſequence of things, which before they conſider'd not. And undoubtedly my Lord *Finch*'s Speech in the Exchequer-Chamber made Ship-money much more abhor'd, and formidable, than all the Commitments by the Council-Table, and all the Diſtreſſes taken by the Sherifs in *England*: the major part of men (beſides the common unconcernedneſs in other mens ſufferings) looking upon thoſe Proceedings with a kind of applauſe to themſelves, to ſee other men Puniſh'd, for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determin'd, when they found their own intereſt, by the unneceſſary Logick of that Argument, no leſs concluded than Mr *Hambdens*.

HE hath been but an ill obſerver of the Paſſages of thoſe times we ſpeak of, who hath not ſeen many ſober men, who have been clearly ſatisfied with the conveniency, neceſſity, and juſtice of many Sentences, depart notwithſtanding extreamly offended, and ſcandalized with the grounds, reaſons, and expreſſions of Thoſe who inflicted thoſe cenſures; when they found Themſelves, thinking to be only Spectators of other mens ſufferings, by ſome unneceſſary Inference or Declaration, in probable danger to become the next Delinquents.

THEY who look back upon the Council-Books of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Acts of the Star-Chamber then, ſhall find as high inſtances of Power, and Soveraignty upon the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, as can be ſince given. But the art, order, and gravity of thoſe Proceedings (where ſhort, ſevere, conſtant rules were ſet, and ſmartly purſued, and the party felt only the weight of the Judgement, not the paſſion of his Judges) made them leſs taken notice of, and ſo leſs grievous to the Publick, though as intolerable to the Perſon: whereas, ſince thoſe excellent rules of the Council-Board were leſs obſerv'd, and debates (which ought to be in private, and in the abſence of the party concern'd, and thereupon the Judgement of the Table to be pronounced by one, without the interpoſition of others, or reply of the party) ſuffer'd to be publick, queſtions to be ask'd, paſſions diſcover'd, and opinions to be promiſcuouſly deliver'd; all advice, directions, reprehenſions, and cenſures of thoſe Places grew to be in leſs reverence, and eſteem: ſo that, beſides the delay, and interruption in diſpatch, the juſtice, and prudence of the Counſels did not many times weigh down the infirmity, and paſſion of the Counſellors; and both Suitors, and Offenders return'd into their Country, with ſuch exceptions, and arguments againſt Perſons, as brought, and prepared much prejudice to whatſoever

ſhould

ſhould proceed from thence; and whatever Excuſes ſhall be made, or Arguments given, that upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions there was a neceſſity of ſome pains, and care to convince men's underſtandings of the reaſons and grounds of their Proceeding (which, if what was done had been only *ad informandam Conſcientiam* without reproach, or penalty, might have been reaſonable) it is certain the inconvenience and prejudice, that grew thereby, was greater than the benefit: and the reaſons of the Judges being many times not the reaſons of the Judgement, thoſe might more ſatisfactorily, and more ſhortly have been put in the Sentence it ſelf, than ſpread in the Diſcourſes of the Cenſurers.

THESE Errors (for Errors they were in View, and Errors they are proved by the Succeſs) are not to be imputed to the Court, but to the Spirit, and Over-activity of the Lawyers themſelves; who ſhould more carefully have preſerv'd their Profeſſion, and its Profeſſors, from being profaned by thoſe Services, which have rendred both ſo obnoxious to reproach. There were two Perſons of that Profeſſion, and of that time, by whoſe ſeveral, and diſtinct conſtitutions (the one knowing nothing of, nor caring for the Court; the other knowing, or caring for nothing elſe) thoſe Miſchiefs were introduced, Mr *Noy*, the Atturney General, and Sr *John Finch*, firſt, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.

Of Atturney General Noy.

THE Firſt upon the great fame of his Ability, and Learning (and he was very Able and Learned) was, by great induſtry and importunity from Court, perſwaded to accept that Place, for which all other men labour'd (being the beſt, for Profit, that Profeſſion is capable of) and ſo he ſuffer'd himſelf to be made the King's Atturney General. The Court made no impreſſion upon his Manners; upon his Mind it did: and though he wore about him an affected moroſity, which made him unapt to flatter other men, yet even that moroſity and pride rendred him the moſt liable to be groſly flatter'd himſelf, that can be imagin'd. And by this means the great Perſons, who ſteer'd the Publick affairs, by admiring his Parts, and extolling his Judgement as well to his face, as behind his back, wrought upon him by degrees, for the eminency of the Service, to be an Inſtrument in all their Deſigns; thinking that he could not give a clearer teſtimony, that his knowledge in the Law was greater than all other mens, than by making that Law, which all other men believ'd Not to be ſo. So he moulded, framed, and purſued the odious and crying Project of Soap; and with his own hand drew, and prepared the Writ for Ship-money; both which will be the laſting monuments of his Fame. In a word, he was an unanſwerable inſtance, how neceſſary a good Education and knowledge of Men is to make a wiſe man, at leaſt a man fit for buſineſs.

Of Sr John Finch.

Sr *John Finch* had Much that the other wanted, but Nothing that the other had. Having led a free life in a reſtrain'd fortune, and having ſet up upon the ſtock of a good Wit, and natural Parts, without the ſuperſtructure of much knowledge in the Profeſſion by which he was to grow; he was willing to uſe thoſe Weapons in which he had moſt Skill, and ſo (being not unſeen in the affections of the Court, but not having reputation enough to guide, or reform them) he took up Ship-money where Mr *Noy* left it; and, being a Judge, carried it up to that pinacle, from whence he allmoſt broke his own neck; having, in his journey thither, had too much influence on his Brethren to induce them to concur in a Judgement, they had all cauſe to repent. To which, his Declaration,

after he was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, muſt be added, upon a Demurrer put in to a Bill before him, which had no other Equity in it, than an Order of the Lords of the Council; "that whilſt He was Keeper, "no man ſhould be ſo lawcy as to diſpute thoſe Orders, but that the "Wiſdom of that Board ſhould be allways ground enough for Him to "make a Decree in Chancery; which was ſo great an aggravation of the Exceſs of that Table, that it receiv'd more prejudice from that act of unreaſonable Countenance and Reſpect, than from all the Contempt could poſſibly have been offer'd to it. But of this no more.

The Felicity of the Times before the long Parliament notwithſtanding ſome Invaſions on the Subject:

NOw after all this (and I hope I cannot be accuſed of much Flattery in this Inquiſition) I muſt be ſo Juſt as to ſay, that, during the whole time that theſe Preſſures were exerciſed, and thoſe new and extraordinary Ways were run, that is, from the diſſolution of the Parliament in the Fourth year, to the beginning of this Parliament, which was above twelve years, this Kingdom, and all his Majeſty's Dominions (of the Interruption in *Scotland* ſomewhat ſhall be ſaid in its due time and place) enjoy'd the greateſt Calm, and the fulleſt meaſure of Felicity, that any People in any Age, for ſo long time together, have been bleſs'd with; to the wonder, and envy of all the other parts of *Chriſtendom*.

Compared with the times of Queen Elizabeth:

IN this Compariſon I am neither unmindful of, nor ungrateful for the Happy times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*. But for the former, the doubts, hazards, and perplexities, upon a total change and alteration of Religion, and ſome confident Attempts upon a farther alteration by Thoſe, who thought the Reformation not carry'd far enough; the charge, trouble, and anxiety of a long continued War (how proſperous and ſucceſsful ſoever) even during that Queens whole Reign; and (beſides ſome domeſtick ruptures into Rebellion, frequently into Treaſon; and beſides the blemiſh of an unparallel'd Act of Blood upon the Life of a Crown'd neighbour Queen and Ally) the fear, and apprehenſion of what was to come (which is one of the moſt unpleaſant kinds of Melancholy) from an unknown, at leaſt an unacknowledg'd Succeſſor to the Crown, clouded much of that Proſperity then, which now ſhines with ſo much ſplendour before our eyes in Chronicle.

And with the times of King James.

AND for the other under King *James* (which indeed were excellent times, *bona ſi ſua norint*) the mingling with a Stranger Nation, formerly not very gracious with This; which was like to have more intereſt of Favour: the ſubjection to a Stranger Prince, whoſe nature and diſpoſition they knew not: the diſcovery of a Treaſon, the moſt prodigious that had ever been attempted, upon his firſt entrance into the Kingdom: the Wants of the Crown not inferior to what it hath ſince felt (I mean whilſt it ſate right on the head of the King) and the Preſſures upon the Subject of the ſame nature, and no leſs complain'd of: the Abſence of the Prince in *Spain*, and the ſollicitude that his Highneſs ſhould not be diſpoſed in marriage to the Daughter of that Kingdom, rendred the Calm and Tranquillity of that time leſs equal, and pleaſant. To which may be added the Proſperity and Happineſs of the Neighbour Kingdoms not much inferior to that of this, which, according to the pulſe of States, is a great diminution of their health; at leaſt their Proſperity is much improved, and more viſible, by the Miſery, and Misfortunes of their Neighbours.

THE Happineſs of the times, I now mention, was invidiouſly ſet off by this diſtinction, that every other Kingdom, every other State were entangled, and ſome allmoſt deſtroy'd by the rage, and fury of Arms;

thoſe who were engaged in an ambitious Contention with their Neighbours, having the view and apprehenſions of the Miſeries, and Deſolation, which they ſaw other States ſuffer by a Civil War; whilſt the Kingdoms, we now lament, were alone look'd upon as the Garden of the world; *Scotland* (which was but the Wilderneſs of that Garden) in a full, entire, and undiſturb'd Peace, which they had never ſeen; the rage and barbariſm of their private Feuds being compoſed to the reverence, or to the awe of publick Juſtice; in a competency, if not in an exceſs of Plenty, which they had never hopes to ſee, and in a temper (which was the utmoſt that in thoſe days was deſired or hoped for) free from Rebellion. *Ireland*, which had been a Spunge to draw, and a Gulph to ſwallow all that could be ſpared, and all that could be got from *England*, meerly to keep the reputation of a Kingdom, reduced to that good degree of Husbandry, and Government, that it not only Subſiſted of it ſelf, and gave this Kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increaſed the Revenue of the Crown forty or fifty thouſand pounds a year, beſides a conſiderable advantage to the People by the Traffick, and Trade from thence; Arts, and Sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole Nation beginning to be ſo Civilized, that it was a Jewel of great Luſtre in the Royal Diadem.

WHEN theſe Outworks were thus fortified, and adorn'd, it was no wonder if *England* was generally thought ſecure, with the advantages of its own Climate; the Court in great plenty, or rather (which is the diſcredit of plenty) exceſs, and luxury; the Country rich, and which is more, fully enjoying the pleaſure of its own wealth, and ſo the eaſier corrupted with the pride, and wantonneſs of it; the Church flouriſhing with learned, and extraordinary Men, and (which other good times had in ſome degree wanted) ſupplied with Oyl to feed thoſe Lamps; and the Proteſtant Religion more advanced againſt the Church of *Rome* by Writing (without prejudice to other Uſeful, and Godly labours) eſpecially by thoſe two Books of the late Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and of Mr *Chillingworth*, than it had been from the Reformation; Trade increaſed to that degree, that we were the Exchange of *Chriſtendom* (the Revenue from thence to the Crown being allmoſt double to what it had been in the beſt times) and the Bullion of neighbour Kingdoms brought to receive a Stamp from the Mint of *England*; Forreign Merchants looking upon nothing ſo much their own, as what they had laid up in the Warehouſes of this Kingdom; the Royal Navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at Sea; and the reputation of the Greatneſs, and Power of the King, much more with Forreign Princes than any of his Progenitors: for thoſe rough Courſes, which made him perhaps leſs Lov'd at home, made him more Fear'd abroad; by how much the Power of Kingdoms is more reverenced than their Juſtice by their Neighbours: and it may be this Conſideration might not be the leaſt Motive, and may not be the worſt Excuſe for thoſe Councils. Laſtly for a complement of all theſe Bleſſings, they were enjoy'd by, and under the Protection of a King, of the moſt Harmleſs diſpoſition, the moſt exemplary Piety, the greateſt Sobriety, Chaſtity, and Mercy, that any Prince hath been endow'd with (God forgive thoſe, that have not been Senſible of, and Thankful for thoſe endowments) and who might have ſaid, that which *Pericles* was proud of, upon his death-bed, concerning his Citizens, "that no *Engliſh*-man had ever worn a "Mourning Gown through His occaſion. In a word, many Wiſe men

thought it a Time, wherein thoſe two Adjuncts, which *Nerva* was Deified for uniting, *Imperium & Libertas*, were as well reconciled, as is poſſible.

BUT all theſe Bleſſings could but enable, not compel us to be Happy: we wanted That ſenſe, acknowledgment, and value of our own Happineſs, which All but We had: and took pains to make, when we could not find, our ſelves Miſerable. There was in truth a ſtrange abſence of underſtanding in moſt, and a ſtrange perverſeneſs of underſtanding in the reſt: the Court full of exceſs, idleneſs, and luxury; the Country full of pride, mutiny, and diſcontent; every man more troubled and perplex'd at that they call'd the Violation of one Law, than delighted or pleaſed with the Obſervation of all the reſt of the Charter; never imputing the Increaſe of their receipts, revenue, and plenty, to the wiſdom, virtue, and merit of the Crown, but objecting every ſmall Impoſition to the exorbitancy, and tyranny of the Government; the growth of Knowledge and Learning being diſreliſh'd, for the Infirmities of ſome Learned Men, and the increaſe of Grace and Favour upon the Church more repined and murmur'd at, than the increaſe of Piety and Devotion in it, which was as viſible, acknowledg'd, or taken notice of; whilſt the Indiſcretion and Folly of one Sermon at *White-Hall* was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the Wiſdom, Sobriety, and Devotion of a hundred.

IT cannot be denied but there was ſometimes Preach'd there Matter very unfit for the Place, and very ſcandalous for the Perſons, who preſumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own Profeſſion, and, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, gave unto Cæſar, what Cæſar refuſed to receive, as not belonging to him. But it is as true (as was once ſaid by a Man fitter to be believ'd in that point than I, and one not ſuſpected for flattering of the Clergy) "that if the Sermons of thoſe "times Preach'd in Court, were collected together, and publiſh'd, the "world would receive the beſt bulk of Orthodox Divinity, profound "Learning, convincing Reaſon, natural powerful Eloquence, and ad-"mirable Devotion, that hath been communicated in any Age ſince the "Apoſtles time. And I cannot but ſay, for the honour of the King, and of Thoſe, who were truſted by him in his Eccleſiaſtical collations (who have receiv'd but ſad rewards for their uprightneſs) in thoſe reproach'd, condemn'd times, there was not one Church-man, in any degree of favour, or acceptance (and this the Inquiſition, that hath been ſince made upon them, a ſtricter never was in any Age, muſt confeſs) of a ſcandalous inſufficiency in Learning, or of a more ſcandalous condition of Life; but on the contrary, moſt of them of confeſs'd eminent parts in Knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemiſh'd Lives. And therefore Wiſe men knew, that That, which look'd like Pride in ſome, and like Petulance in others, would, by Experience in affairs, and Converſation amongſt men, both of which moſt of them wanted, be in time wrought off, or, in a new Succeſſion, reform'd, and ſo thought the vaſt advantage from their Learning, and Integrity, an ample recompence for any inconvenience from their Paſſion; and yet by the prodigious Impiety of thoſe times, the latter was only look'd on with malice and revenge, without any reverence, or gratitude for the former.

The King's firſt Journey into Scotland *to be Crown'd there.*

WHEN the King found himſelf poſſeſs'd of all that Tranquillity mention'd before, that he had no reaſon to apprehend any Enemies from abroad, and leſs any Inſurrections at home, againſt which no Kingdom

in *Christendom*, in the constitution of its Government, in the solidity of the Laws, and in the nature and disposition of the People, more Secure than *England*; that He might take a nearer view of those great Blessings which God had poured upon him, he resolv'd to make a Progress into the Northern parts of his Kingdom, and to be solemnly Crown'd in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, which he had never seen from the time he had first left it, when he was about two years old. In order to this Journey, which was made with great Splendour, and proportionable Expence, he added to the Train of his Court many of the greatest Nobility, who increased the Pomp of the Court at their own charge (for so they were required to do) and seem'd with alacrity to submit to the King's pleasure, as soon as they knew his desire; and so his Attendance in all respects was proportionable to the Glory of the greatest King.

THIS whole Progress was made from the first setting out, to the end of it, with the greatest Magnificence imaginable; and the highest excess of Feasting was then introduced, or, at least, Feasting was then carried to a height, it never had attain'd before, from whence it hardly declined afterwards, to the great damage and mischief of the Nation in their Estates, and Manners. All Persons of Quality and Condition, who liv'd within distance of the Northern Road, receiv'd the great persons of the Nobility with that Hospitality, which became them; in which all cost was employ'd to make their Entertainments splendid, and their Houses capable of those entertainments. The King himself met with many entertainments of that nature, at the charge of particular Men, who desired the honour of his Presence, which had been rarely practised till then by the Persons of the best Condition, though it hath since grown into a very inconvenient custom. But when he pass'd through *Nottinghamshire*, both King and Court were receiv'd, and entertain'd by the Earl of *Newcastle*, and at his own proper expence, in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of Feasting, as had scarce ever before been known in *England*; and would be still thought very prodigious, if the same noble Person had not, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and Queen a more stupendious Entertainment; which (God be thanked) though possibly it might too much whet the appetite of others to Excess, no man ever after in those days Imitated.

THE great Offices of the Court, and principal places of Attendance upon the King's person, were then upon the matter equally divided between the *English*, and the *Scots*; the Marquis of *Hamilton* Master of the Horse, and the Earl of *Carlisle* first Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and allmost all the second rank of Servants in that place, being of that Kingdom; so that there was as it were an Emulation between the two Nations, which should appear in the greatest Lustre, in Cloaths, Horses, and Attendance: and as there were (as is said before) many of the principal Nobility, of *England*, who attended upon the King, and who were not of the Court; so the Court was never without many *Scotish* Volunteers, and their number was well increased upon this occasion in Nobility and Gentry, who were resolv'd to confute all those, who had believ'd their Country to be very poor.

The King's Magnificent Reception there.

THE King no sooner entred *Scotland*, but all his *English* Servants and Officers yielded up their Attendance to those of the *Scotish* Nation, who were admitted into the same Offices in *Scotland*, or had some Titles to those Employments by the constitution of that Kingdom; as most of the great Offices are held by Inheritance; as the Duke of *Richmond* and

Lenox was then high Steward, and high Admiral of *Scotland* by Deſcent, as Others had the like poſſeſſion of other Places; ſo that all the Tables of the Houſe, which had been kept by the *Engliſh* Officers, were laid down, and taken up again by the *Scots*, who kept them up with the ſame order, and equal ſplendour, and treated the *Engliſh* with all the freedom and courteſy imaginable; as all the Nobility of that Nation did, at their own expence, where their Offices did not entitle them to Tables at the charge of the Crown, keep very noble Houſes to entertain their new Gueſts; who had ſo often, and ſo well entertain'd them: and it cannot be denied, the whole behaviour of that Nation towards the *Engliſh* was as generous, and obliging as could be expected; and the King appear'd with no leſs Luſtre at *Edenborough*, than at *White-Hall*; and in this Pomp his Coronation paſs'd with all the Solemnity, and evidence of publick Joy that could be expected, or that can be imagin'd; and the Parliament, then held, with no leſs demonſtration of Duty, paſs'd and preſented thoſe Acts which were prepared for them to the Royal Scepter; in which were ſome Laws reſtraining the extravagant power of the Nobility, which, in many caſes, they had long exerciſed, and the diminution whereof they took very heavily, though at that time they took little notice of it; the King being abſolutely adviſed in all the Affairs of that Kingdom then, and long before, and after, by the ſole counſel of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was, or at leaſt, was then believ'd to be of the greateſt Intereſt of any Subject in that Kingdom, of whom more will be ſaid hereafter.

THE King was very well pleaſed with his Reception, and with all the Tranſactions there; nor indeed was there any thing to be blamed, but the luxury, and vaſt expence, which abounded in all reſpects of Feaſting, and Cloaths with too much licence: which being imputed to the commendable zeal of the People, of all conditions, to ſee their King amongſt them, whom they were not like to ſee there again, and ſo their expence was to be but once made, no man had cauſe to ſuſpect any miſchief from it: and yet the Debts contracted at that time by the Nobility, and Gentry, and the Wants and Temptations they found themſelves expoſed to, from that unlimited Expence, did very much contribute to the kindling that Fire, which ſhortly after broke out in ſo terrible a combuſtion: nor were the ſparks of Murmur and Sedition then ſo well cover'd, but that many diſcerning men diſcover'd very pernicious Deſigns to lurk in Their breaſts, who ſeem'd to have the moſt chearful Countenances, and who acted great parts in the Pomp, and Triumph. And it evidently appear'd, that They of that Nation, who Shined moſt in the Court of *England*, had the leaſt Influence in their own Country, except only the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whoſe affection to his Maſter was even then ſuſpected by the wiſeſt Men in both Kingdoms; and that the immenſe Bounties the King, and his Father had ſcatter'd amongſt Thoſe of that Nation, out of the Wealth of *England*, beſides that he had ſacrificed the whole Revenue of that Kingdom to Themſelves, were not look'd upon as any benefit to that Nation, but as obligations caſt away upon particular Men; many of whom had with it waſted their own Patrimony in their Country.

Yet the Seeds of the ſucceeding Commotions then ſown.

THE King himſelf obſerv'd many of the Nobility to endeavour to make themſelves popular by ſpeaking in Parliament againſt thoſe things which were moſt grateful to his Majeſty, and which ſtill Paſs'd notwithſtanding their contradiction; and he thought a little Diſcountenance upon

upon thoſe Perſons would either ſuppreſs that Spirit within themſelves, or make the Poyſon of it leſs operative upon others. But as thoſe acts of Diſcountenance were too often believ'd to proceed from the diſpleaſure of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by that means rather advanced, than depreſs'd them, ſo they had an admirable dexterity in ſheltering themſelves from any of thoſe Acts of diſcountenance, which they had no mind to own; when it hath been viſible, and was then notorious, that many of the perſons then, as the Earl of *Rothes*, and others, of whom the King had the worſt opinion, and from whom he purpoſely with-held any grace by never ſpeaking to them, or taking notice of them in the Court, yet when the King was abroad in the Fields, or paſſing through Villages, when the greateſt crouds of People flock'd to ſee him, thoſe men would ſtill be next him, and entertain him with ſome diſcourſe, and pleaſant relations, which the King's gentle diſpoſition could not avoid, and which made thoſe Perſons to be generally believ'd to be moſt acceptable to his Majeſty; upon which the Lord *Falkland* was wont to ſay, "that keeping of State was like committing Adultery, there muſt go "Two to it: for let the proudeſt or moſt formal man reſolve to keep what diſtance he will towards others, a bold and confident man inſtantly demoliſhes that whole Machine, and gets within him, and even obliges him to his own Laws of converſation.

THE King was allways the moſt punctual obſerver of all Decency in his Devotion, and the ſtricteſt promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul the Church of *England* to be inſtituted the neareſt to the Practice of the Apoſtles, and the beſt for the propagation and advancement of Chriſtian Religion, of any Church in the world: and on the other ſide, though no man was more averſe from the *Romiſh* Church than He was, nor better underſtood the motives of their Separation from us, and Animoſity againſt us, he had the higheſt diſlike, and prejudice to that part of his own Subjects, who were againſt the Government eſtabliſh'd, and did allways look upon them as a very dangerous, and ſeditious People; who would under pretence of Conſcience, which kept them from ſubmitting to the Spiritual Juriſdiction, take the firſt opportunity they could find, or make, to withdraw themſelves from their Temporal Subjection; and therefore he had, with the utmoſt vigilance, cauſed that Temper and Diſpoſition to be watch'd and provided againſt in *England*; and if it were then in truth there, it lurk'd with wonderful ſecrecy. In *Scotland* indeed it cover'd the whole Nation, ſo that, though there were Biſhops in Name, the whole Juriſdiction, and they Themſelves were, upon the matter, ſubject to an Aſſembly, which was purely Presbyterian; no Form of Religion in practice, no Liturgy, nor the leaſt appearance of any Beauty of Holineſs: The Clergy, for the moſt part, corrupted in their Principles, at leaſt, none countenanced by the great Men, or favour'd by the People, but Such; though it muſt be own'd their Univerſities, eſpecially *Aberdeen*, flouriſh'd under many excellent Scholars, and very Learned men. Yet, though all the Cathedral Churches were totally neglected with reference to thoſe Adminiſtrations, over the whole Kingdom, the King's own Chappel at *Holy-rood-houſe* had ſtill been maintain'd with the comelineſs of the Cathedral Service, and all other Decencies uſed in the Royal Chappel; and the whole Nation learn'd in the time of King *James*, well inclined to revere the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which that King exceedingly admired, and was ſo confident of, that they who were Privy to his Counſels, in that time, did

believe,

believe, the bringing that Work to paſs was the principal end of his Progreſs thither ſome years before his death; though he was not ſo well ſatisfied at his being there, two or three of the principal Perſons truſted by him in the Government of that Kingdom, dying in, or about that very time; but though he return'd without making any viſible attempt in that Affair, yet he retain'd ſtill the purpoſe and reſolution to his death to bring it to paſs. However his two or three laſt years having been leſs pleaſant to him, by the Prince's voyage into *Spain*, the Jealouſies which, about that time, begun in *England*, and the high Proceedings in Parliament there, he thought it neceſſary to ſuſpend any proſecution of that Deſign, untill a more favourable conjuncture, which he liv'd not to ſee.

Tranſactions about introducing a Liturgy into Scotland.

THE King his Son, who with his Father's other Virtues, inherited that Zeal for Religion, propoſed nothing more to himſelf, than to Unite his three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worſhip, and publick Devotions; and there being now ſo great a Serenity in all his Dominions as is mention'd before, there is great reaſon to believe, that in this journey into *Scotland* to be Crown'd, he carried with him the reſolution to Finiſh that important buſineſs in the Church at the ſame time. To that end, the then Biſhop of *London*, Dr *Laud*, attended on his Majeſty throughout that whole Journey, which, as he was Dean of the Chappel, he was not obliged to do, and no doubt would have been excuſed from, if that Deſign had not been in view; to accompliſh which he was no leſs ſollicitous than the King himſelf, nor the King the leſs ſollicitous for his advice. He Preach'd in the Royal Chappel at *Edenborough* (which ſcarce any *Engliſh*-man had ever done before in the King's preſence) and principally upon the benefit of Conformity, and the reverend Ceremonies of the Church, with all the marks of approbation and applauſe imaginable; the great civility of that People being ſo notorious, and univerſal, that they would not appear unconformable to his Majeſty's wiſh in any particular. And many Wiſe men were then, and ſtill are of opinion, that, if the King had Then propoſed the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to have been receiv'd and practiſed by that Nation, it would have been ſubmitted to without oppoſition; but, upon mature conſideration, the King concluded that it was not a good Seaſon to promote that Buſineſs.

HE had Paſs'd two or three Acts of Parliament, which had much leſſen'd the Authority and Dependence of the Nobility, and great Men, and incenſed, and diſpoſed them proportionably to croſs, and oppoſe any Propoſition, which would be moſt grateful; and that overthwart humour was enough diſcover'd to rule in the breaſts of many, who made the greateſt profeſſions. Yet this was not the Obſtruction, which diverted the King: the Party that was averſe from the thing, and abhor'd any thought of Conformity, could not have been powerful enough to have ſtop'd the progreſs of it; the miſchief was, that They, who moſt deſired it, and were moſt concern'd to promote it, were the men, who uſed all their credit to divert the Preſent attempting it; and the Biſhops themſelves, whoſe Intereſt was to be moſt advanced thereby, applied all their counſels ſecretly to have the matter more Maturely conſider'd; and the whole Deſign was never conſulted but Privately, and only ſome few of the great Men of that Nation, and ſome of the Biſhops adviſed with by the King, and the Biſhop of *London*; it being manifeſt enough, that as the Finiſhing that great Affair muſt be very grateful to *England*, ſo the *Engliſh* muſt not appear to have a hand in the Contriving, and Promoting it.

THE

THE ſame Men, who did not only pretend, but really and heartily wiſh, that they might have a Liturgy to order, and regulate the Worſhip of God in their Churches, and did very well approve the Ceremonies eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, and deſired to ſubmit to, and practice the ſame there, had no mind that the Very Liturgy of the Church of *England* ſhould be propoſed to, or accepted by them; for which they offer'd two prudential Reaſons, as their Obſervations upon the nature, and humour of the Nation, and upon the Conferences, they had often had with the Beſt men upon that Subject, which was often agitated in diſcourſe, upon what had been formerly projected by King *James*, and upon what frequently occur'd to Wiſe men in Diſcourſes upon the thing it ſelf, and the deſirableneſs of it.

THE Firſt was, that the *Engliſh* Liturgy, how piouſly and wiſely ſoever framed, and inſtituted, had found great Oppoſition: and though the matter of the Ceremonies had wrought for the moſt part only upon Light-headed, Weak men, whoſe ſatisfaction was not to be labour'd for; yet there were many Grave, and Learned men, who excepted againſt ſome Particulars, which would not be ſo eaſily anſwer'd; "That the "reading Pſalms being of the old Tranſlation were in many particulars "ſo different from the new, and better Tranſlation, that many inſtances "might be given of importance to the Senſe, and Truth of Scripture. They ſaid ſomewhat of the ſame nature concerning the Tranſlation of the Epiſtles, and Goſpels, and ſome other Exceptions againſt reading the *Apocrypha*, and ſome other Particulars of leſs moment; and deſired "that in forming a Liturgy for Their Church, they might, by reforming "thoſe ſeveral Inſtances, give ſatisfaction to Good men, who would "thereupon be eaſily induced to ſubmit to it.

THE other Reaſon, which no doubt was the principal, and took this in the way to give it the better introduction, was, "that the Kingdom "of *Scotland* generally had been long Jealous, that by the King's con-"tinued abſence from them, they ſhould by degrees be reduced to be but "as a Province to *England*, and ſubject to their Laws, and Government, "which they would never ſubmit to; nor would any man of Honour, "who lov'd the King beſt, and reſpected *England* moſt, ever conſent to "bring that Diſhonour upon his Country. If the very Liturgy, in the "terms it is conſtituted, and practiſed in *England*, ſhould be offer'd to "them, it would kindle, and inflame that Jealouſy, as the Prologue, and "Introduction to that Deſign, and as the firſt Range of that Ladder, "which ſhould ſerve to mount over all their Cuſtoms, and Priviledges, "and be oppoſed, and deteſted accordingly: whereas if his Majeſty would "give order for the preparing a Liturgy, with thoſe few deſirable Al-"terations, it would eaſily be done; and in the mean time They would "ſo diſpoſe the minds of the People for the reception of it, that they "ſhould even deſire it. This Expedient was ſo paſſionately, and vehemently urged even by the Biſhops, that however they defer'd to the minds, and humours of other men, it was manifeſt enough, that the Exception, and Advice proceeded from the pride of their own hearts.

THE Biſhop of *London*, who was allways preſent with the King at theſe Debates, was exceedingly troubled at this Delay, and to find thoſe men the Inſtruments in it, who ſeem'd to him as Sollicitous for the expedition, as Zealous for the thing it ſelf, and who could not but Suffer by the deferring it. He knew well how far any Enemies to Conformity would be from being ſatisfied with thoſe ſmall Alterations, which being

conſented to, they would with more confidence, though leſs reaſon, frame other Exceptions, and inſiſt upon them with more obſtinacy. He foreſaw the Difficulties which would ariſe in rejecting, or altering, or adding to the Liturgy, which had ſo great Authority, and had, by the practice of near fourſcore years, obtain'd great Veneration from all ſober Proteſtants; and how much eaſier it would be to make Objections againſt any thing that ſhould be New, than againſt the Old; and would therefore have been very glad that the former Reſolution might be purſued; there having never been any thoughts in the time of King *James*, or the preſent King, but of the *Engliſh* Liturgy; beſides that any Variation from it, in how ſmall matters ſoever, would make the Uniformity the leſs, the Manifeſtation whereof was that, which was moſt aim'd at, and deſired.

THE King had exceedingly ſet his heart upon the matter, and was as much ſcandalized as any man at the Diſorder, and Indecency in the exerciſe of Religion in that Church: yet he was affected with what was offer'd for a little Delay in the execution, and knew more of the ill humour, and practices amongſt the Greateſt Men of the Kingdom at that ſeaſon, than the Biſhop did, and believ'd he could better compoſe, and reduce them in a little time, and at a diſtance, than at the preſent, and whilſt he was amongſt them. Beſides he was in his nature much inclined to the *Scotiſh* Nation, having been born amongſt them, and as Jealous, as any one of Them could be, of their Liberties and Priviledges, and as Careful they might not be Invaded by the *Engliſh*, who, he knew, had no great reverence for them: and therefore the Objection, "that it would "look like an Impoſition from *England*, if a Form, ſettled in Parliament "at *Weſtminſter*, ſhould without any Alteration be tender'd (though by "Himſelf) to be ſubmitted to, and obſerv'd in *Scotland*, made a deep Impreſſion in his Majeſty.

IN a word, he committed the Framing, and Compoſing ſuch a Liturgy, as would moſt probably be Acceptable to that People, to a ſelect number of the Biſhops there, who were very able and willing to undertake it: and ſo his Majeſty return'd into *England*, at the time he had deſign'd, without having ever propoſed, or made the leaſt approach in Publick, towards any Alteration in the Church.

IT had been very happy, if there had been then nothing done indeed, that had any reference to that Affair, and that, ſince it was not ready, nothing had been tranſacted to promote it, which accidentally alienated the affections of the People from it; and what was done, was imputed to the Biſhop of *London*, who was like enough to be guilty of it; ſince he did really believe, that nothing more contributed to the benefit, and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of Church-men to places of the greateſt Honour, and offices of the higheſt Truſt: This Opinion, and the Proſecution of it (though his Integrity was unqueſtionable, and his Zeal as great for the good and honour of the State, as for the advancement and ſecurity of the Church) was the unhappy Foundation of his own Ruin, and of the Prejudice towards the Church, the Malice againſt it, and allmoſt the Deſtruction of it.

The King during his ſtay there erects the Biſhoprick of Edenborough.

DURING the King's ſtay in *Scotland*, when he found the conjuncture not yet ripe for perfecting that good Order, which he intended in the Church, he reſolv'd to leave a Monument behind him of his own Affection and Eſteem of it. *Edenborough* though the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the chief Seat of the King's own reſidence, and the Place where

where the Council of State and the Courts of Juſtice ſtill remain'd, was but a Burrough Town within the Dioceſs of the Arch-Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, and govern'd in all Church affairs by the Preachers of the Town; who, being choſen by the Citizens from the time of Mr *Knox* (who had a principal hand in the Suppreſſion of Popery, with circumſtances not very commendable to this day) had been the moſt turbulent, and ſeditious Miniſters of Confuſion, that could be found in the Kingdom; of which King *James* had ſo ſad experience, after he came to age, as well as in his minority, that he would often ſay, "that his acceſs to "the Crown of *England* was the more valuable to him, as it redeem'd "him from the ſubjection to the ill manners, and inſolent practices of "thoſe Preachers, which he could never ſhake off before. The King before his return from thence, with the full conſent and approbation of the Arch-Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, erected *Edenborough* into a Biſhoprick; aſſign'd it a good and convenient Juriſdiction out of the neareſt limits of the Dioceſs of *Saint Andrews*, appointed the faireſt Church in the Town to be the Cathedral, ſettled a competent Revenue upon the Biſhop out of Lands purchaſed by his Majeſty himſelf from the Duke of *Lenox*, who ſold it much the cheaper, that it might be conſecrated to ſo Pious an end; and placed a very eminent Scholar of a good Family in the Kingdom, who had been educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, to be the firſt Biſhop in that his new City; and made another Perſon, of good Fame, and Learning, the firſt Dean of his new Cathedral, upon whom likewiſe he ſettled a proper Maintenance; hoping by this means the better to prepare the People of the Place, who were the moſt numerous and richeſt of the Kingdom, to have a due reverence to Order and Government, and, at leaſt, to diſcountenance, if not ſuppreſs the Factious Spirit of Presbytery, which had ſo long ruled there. But this Application little contributed thereunto: the People generally thought, that they had too many Biſhops before, and ſo the increaſing the number was not like to be very grateful to them.

THE Biſhops had indeed very little Intereſt in the affections of that Nation, and leſs Authority over it; they had not power to Reform, or Regulate their own Cathedrals, and very rarely ſhew'd themſelves in the Habit and Robes of Biſhops; and durſt not conteſt with the General Aſſembly in matters of Juriſdiction: ſo that there was little more than the Name of Epiſcopacy preſerv'd in that Church. To redeem them from that Contempt, and to ſhew that they ſhould be Conſiderable in the State, how little Authority ſoever they were permitted to have in the Church, the King made the Arch-Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, a Learned, Wiſe, and Pious man, and of long Experience, Chancellor of the Kingdom (the greateſt Office, and which had never been in the hands of a Church-man ſince the Reformation of Religion, and Suppreſſing the Pope's Authority) and four or five other Biſhops of the Privy-Council, or Lords of the Seſſion; which his Majeſty preſumed, by their Power in the Civil Government, and in the Judicatories of the Kingdom, would render them ſo much the more Reverenced, and the better enable them to Settle the affairs of the Church: which fell out otherwiſe too; and it had been better that invidious Promotion had been ſuſpended, till by their grave and pious deportment they had wrought upon their Clergy to be better diſpoſed to obey them, and upon the People to like order and diſcipline; and till by theſe means the Liturgy had been ſettled, and receiv'd amongſt them; and then the advancing ſome of them to greater Honour, might have done well.

His Majeſty prefers ſome Biſhops in Scotland *to Secular offices unſeaſonably.*

BUT this unſeaſonable accumulation of ſo many Honours upon them, to which their Functions did not entitle them (no Biſhop having been ſo much as a Privy-Counſellor in very many years) expoſed them to the univerſal Envy of the whole Nobility, many whereof wiſh'd them well, as to their Eccleſiaſtical qualifications, but could not endure to ſee them poſſeſs'd of thoſe Offices and Employments, which they look'd upon as naturally belonging to Themſelves; and then the number of them was thought too great, ſo that they Over-ballanced many Debates; and ſome of them by want of temper, or want of breeding, did not behave themſelves with that Decency in their Debates, towards the greateſt Men of the Kingdom, as in diſcretion they ought to have done, and as the others reaſonably expected from them: ſo that inſtead of bringing any Advantage to the Church, or facilitating the good Intentions of the King in ſettling Order and Government, it produced a more general Prejudice to it; though for the preſent there appear'd no ſign of Diſcontent, or ill Will to them: and the King left *Scotland*, as he believ'd, full of Affection and Duty to him, and well inclined to receive a Liturgy, when he ſhould think it ſeaſonable to commend it to them.

The King's return, and the Death of Arch-Biſhop Abbot, 1633: *his Character.*

IT was about the end of *Auguſt* in the Year 1633, when the King return'd from *Scotland* to *Greenwich*; where the Queen kept her Court; and the firſt Accident of moment, that happen'd after his coming thither, was the Death of *Abbot* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had ſat too many years in that See, and had too great a Juriſdiction over the Church, though he was without any Credit in the Court from the death of King *James*, and had not much in many years before. He had been Head, or Maſter of one of the pooreſt Colleges in *Oxford*, and had Learning ſufficient for that Province. He was a man of very moroſe manners, and a very ſowr aſpect, which, in that time, was call'd Gravity; and under the opinion of that Virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's firſt *Scotiſh* Favourite, he was prefer'd by King *James* to the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and preſently after to *London*, before he had been Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of any Pariſh-Church in *England*, or Dean, or Prebend of any Cathedral-Church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the State and Intereſt of the Clergy; as ſufficiently appear'd throughout the whole courſe of his life afterward.

HE had ſcarce perform'd any part of the office of a Biſhop in the Dioceſs of *London*, when he was ſnatch'd from thence, and promoted to *Canterbury*, upon the never-enough lamented death of Dr *Bancroft* that Metropolitan, who underſtood the Church excellently, and had allmoſt reſcued it out of the hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much ſubdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-conformiſts, by, and after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; countenanced men of the greateſt parts in Learning, and diſpoſed the Clergy to a more ſolid courſe of Study, than they had been accuſtom'd to; and, if he had liv'd, would quickly have extinguiſh'd all that Fire in *England*, which had been kindled at *Geneva*; or if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Overal*, or any man who underſtood, and loved the Church, that Infection would eaſily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expell'd.

BUT *Abbot* brought none of this Antidote with him, and conſider'd Chriſtian Religion no otherwiſe, than as it abhor'd, and reviled Popery, and valued thoſe men moſt, who did That the moſt furiouſly. For the ſtrict obſervation of the Diſcipline of the Church, or the conformity to the

the Articles, or Canons eſtabliſh'd, he made little enquiry, and took leſs care; and having himſelf made a very little progreſs in the Ancient, and Solid ſtudy of Divinity, he adhered only to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and, for His ſake, did not think ſo ill of the Diſcipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a publick reviling, and railing at the Hierarchy, and Eccleſiaſtical Government, let their opinions, and private practice be what it would, they were not only ſecure from any inquiſition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at leaſt, equally prefer'd by him. And though many other Biſhops plainly diſcern'd the Miſchiefs, which daily broke in to the Prejudice of Religion, by his defects and remiſsneſs, and prevented it in their own Dioceſſes as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other Parts, and other Principles; and though the Biſhop of *London* Dr *Laud*, from the time of his Authority and Credit with the King had applied all the Remedies he could to thoſe Defections, and, from the time of his being Chancellor of *Oxford*, had much diſcountenanced, and allmoſt ſuppreſs'd that Spirit, by encouraging another kind of Learning, and Practice in that Univerſity, which was indeed according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that temper in the Arch-Biſhop, whoſe Houſe was a Sanctuary to the moſt Eminent of that Factious Party, and who Licenſed their moſt Pernicious Writings, left his Succeſſor a very difficult work to do, to Reform, and reduce a Church into Order, that had been ſo long neglected, and that was ſo ill fill'd by many weak, and more wilful Church-men.

Biſhop Laud made Arch-Biſhop: his Character.

IT was within one week after the King's return from *Scotland*, that *Abbot* died at his Houſe at *Lambeth*. The King took very little time to conſider who ſhould be his Succeſſor, but the very next time the Biſhop of *London* (who was longer on his way home than the King had been) came to him, his Majeſty entertain'd him very chearfully with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of* Canterbury, *you are very welcome*, and gave order the ſame day for the diſpatch of all the neceſſary forms for the Tranſlation: ſo that within a month or thereabouts after the death of the other Arch-Biſhop, he was compleatly inveſted in that high Dignity, and ſettled in his Palace at *Lambeth*. This great Prelate had been before in great favour with the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe chief Confident he was, and by him recommended to the King, as fitteſt to be truſted in the conferring all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, when he was but Biſhop of *Saint Davids*, or newly prefer'd to *Bath* and *Wells*; and from that time he entirely govern'd that province, without a rival: ſo that his promotion to *Canterbury* was long foreſeen and expected; nor was it attended with any increaſe of envy or diſlike.

HE was a man of great Parts, and very exemplary Virtues, allay'd and diſcredited by ſome unpopular natural Infirmities; the greateſt of which was (beſides a haſty, ſharp way of expreſſing himſelf) that he believ'd Innocence of heart, and Integrity of manners, was a guard ſtrong enough to ſecure any man in his voyage through this world, in what Company ſoever he travell'd, and through what Ways ſoever he was to paſs: and ſure never any man was better ſupplied with that Proviſion. He was born of honeſt Parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the Schools of Learning, from whence they ſent him to St *Johns* College in *Oxford*, the worſt endow'd at that time of any in that famous Univerſity. From a Scholar he became a Fellow, and then the Preſident of the College, after he had receiv'd all the graces and degrees (the

Proctorſhip, and the Doctorſhip) could be obtain'd there. He was allways maligned, and perſecuted by thoſe who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their uſual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, Papiſt; and, under this ſenſeleſs appellation, they created him many troubles and vexations; and ſo far ſuppreſs'd him, that though he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the moſt ſublime Parts, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, which only gave him bread, till the vigour of his age was paſt; and when he was promoted by King *James*, it was but to a poor Biſhoprick in *Wales*, which was not ſo good a Support for a Biſhop, as his College was for a private Scholar, though a Doctor.

PARLIAMENTS in that time were frequent, and grew very buſy, and the party, under which he had ſuffer'd a continual Perſecution, appear'd very powerful, and full of deſign, and They, who had the courage to Oppoſe them, begun to be taken notice of with approbation and countenance: under this Style he came to be firſt cheriſh'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had made ſome experiments of the temper and ſpirit of the Other people, nothing to his ſatisfaction. From this time he proſper'd at the rate of his own wiſhes, and being tranſplanted out of his cold barren Dioceſs of *Saint Davids*, into a warmer Climate, he was left, as was ſaid before, by that great Favourite in that great Truſt with the King; who was ſufficiently indiſpoſed towards the Perſons, or the Principles of *Calvin*'s Diſciples.

WHEN he came into great Authority, it may be, he retain'd too keen a memory of Thoſe, who had ſo unjuſtly, and uncharitably Perſecuted him before; and, I doubt, was ſo far tranſported with the ſame Paſſions, he had reaſon to complain of in his Adverſaries, that, as they accuſed Him of Popery, becauſe he had ſome doctrinal Opinions, which they liked not, though they were nothing ally'd to Popery; ſo he entertain'd too much prejudice to ſome Perſons, as if They were Enemies to the Diſcipline of the Church, becauſe they concur'd with *Calvin* in ſome doctrinal Points; when they abhor'd his Diſcipline, and reverenced the Government of the Church, and pray'd for the Peace of it with as much zeal and fervency as any in the Kingdom; as they made manifeſt in their Lives, and in their Sufferings with it, and for it. He had, from his firſt entrance into the world, without any diſguiſe or diſſimulation, declared his own opinion of that Claſſis of men, and, as ſoon as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth, and increaſe of that Faction, and to reſtrain Thoſe, who were inclined to it, from doing the miſchief they deſired to do. But his Power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult Reformation, whilſt he had a Superior in the Church, who, having the Reins in His hand, could Slacken them according to his own humour and indiſcretion; and was thought to be the more remiſs, to irritate his cholerick diſpoſition. But when he had now the Primacy in his own hand, the King being inſpired with the ſame Zeal, he thought he ſhould be to blame, and have much to anſwer for, if he did not make haſt to apply Remedies to thoſe Diſeaſes, which he ſaw would grow apace.

IN the end of *September* of the year 1633, he was inveſted in the Title, Power, and Juriſdiction of Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and entirely in poſſeſſion of the Revenue thereof, without a Rival in Church or State; that is, no man Profeſs'd to oppoſe his Greatneſs; and he had never

never interpoſed or appear'd in Matters of State to this time. His firſt Care was, that the Place, he was removed from, might be ſupplied with a Man who would be vigilant to pull up thoſe Weeds, which the *London* Soil was too apt to nouriſh, and ſo drew his old Friend and Companion Dr *Juxon*, as near to him as he could. They had been Fellows together in one College in *Oxford*, and, when he was firſt made Biſhop of *Saint Davids*, he made him Preſident of that College: when he could no longer keep the Deanery of the Chappel-Royal, he made him his Succeſſor in that near Attendance upon the King: and now he was raiſed to be Arch-Biſhop, he eaſily prevail'd with the King to make the other, Biſhop of *London*, before, or very ſoon after he had been Conſecrated Biſhop of *Hereford*, if he were more than Elect of that Church. *Doctor* Juxon *made Biſhop of* London.

IT was now a time of great Eaſe and Tranquillity; the King (as hath been ſaid before) had made himſelf Superior to all thoſe Difficulties and Streights, he had to contend with the four firſt years he came to the Crown at Home; and was now Reverenced by all his Neighbours, who needed his Friendſhip, and deſired to have it; the Wealth of the Kingdom notorious to all the world, and the general Temper, and Humour of it, little inclined to the Papiſt, and leſs to the Puritan. There were ſome late Taxes and Impoſitions introduced, which rather angred than griev'd the People, who were more than repair'd by the Quiet, Peace, and Proſperity they enjoy'd; and the Murmur and Diſcontent, that was, appear'd to be againſt the Exceſs of Power exerciſed by the Crown, and ſupported by the Judges in *Weſtminſter*-Hall. The Church was not repined at, nor the leaſt inclination to alter the Government, and Diſcipline thereof, or to change the Doctrine. Nor was there at that time any conſiderable number of Perſons of any valuable Condition throughout the Kingdom, who did wiſh either; and the cauſe of ſo prodigious a Change in ſo few years after was too viſible from the effects. The Arch-Biſhop's heart was ſet upon the Advancement of the Church, in which he well knew, he had the King's full Concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any oppoſition; and that he ſhould need no other aſſiſtance.

THOUGH the Nation generally, as was ſaid before, was without any ill talent to the Church, either in the point of the Doctrine, or the Diſcipline, yet they were not without a jealouſy that Popery was not enough diſcountenanced, and were very averſe from admitting any thing they had not been uſed to, which they call'd Innovation, and were eaſily perſwaded, that any thing of that kind was but to pleaſe the Papiſts. Some doctrinal Points in Controverſy had been, in the late years, agitated in the Pulpits with more warmth and reflections, than had uſed to be; and thence the heat, and animoſity increaſed in Books *pro* and *con* upon the ſame Arguments: moſt of the popular Preachers, who had not look'd into the Ancient Learning, took *Calvin*'s word for it, and did all they could to propagate his Opinions in thoſe Points: they, who had ſtudied more, and were better verſed in the Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, with the ſame heat and paſſion in Preaching and Writing defended the contrary. *Warm Contentions concerning thoſe call'd the* Arminian *Points.*

BUT becauſe in the late Diſpute in the *Dutch* Churches, thoſe Opinions were ſupported by *Jacobus Arminius*, the Divinity Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Leyden* in *Holland*, the latter men, we mention'd, were call'd *Arminians*; though many of them had never read a word written by *Arminius*. Either ſide defended, and maintain'd the different Opinions

as

as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as the two great Orders in the Church of *Rome*, the *Dominicans*, and *Franciſcans* did at the ſame time, and had many hundred years before, with more vehemence and uncharitableneſs, maintain'd the ſame Opinions one againſt the other; either Party profeſſing to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, which had been ever wiſer than to Determine the Controverſy. And yet that Party here, which could leaſt ſupport themſelves with Reaſon, were very ſollicitous, according to the Ingenuity they allways practice to advance any of their Pretences, to have the People believe, that they who held with *Arminius* did intend to introduce Popery; and truly the other Side was no leſs willing to have it thought, that all, who adhered to *Calvin* in thoſe Controverſies, did in their Hearts likewiſe adhere to him with reference to the Diſcipline, and deſired to change the Government of the Church, deſtroy the Biſhops, and to ſet up the Diſcipline that he had eſtabliſh'd at *Geneva*; and ſo both Sides found ſuch reception generally with the People, as they were inclined to the Perſons; whereas, in truth, none of the one ſide were at all inclined to Popery, and very many of the Other were moſt affectionate to the Peace and Proſperity of the Church, and very Pious, and Learned men.

Arch-Biſhop Laud's Character continued.

THE Arch-Biſhop had, all his life, eminently oppoſed *Calvin*'s Doctrine in thoſe Controverſies, before the name of *Arminius* was taken notice of, or his Opinions heard of; and thereupon for want of another Name, they had call'd him a Papiſt, which nobody believ'd him to be, and he had more manifeſted the contrary in his Diſputations, and Writings, than moſt men had done; and it may be the other found the more ſevere, and rigorous Uſage from him, for their propagating that Calumny againſt him. He was a man of great Courage and Reſolution, and being moſt aſſured within himſelf, that he propoſed no end in all his actions and deſigns, but what was Pious and Juſt (as ſure no man had ever a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his Country) he never ſtudied the eaſieſt ways to thoſe ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or induſtry that way would diſcredit, at leaſt make the Integrity of the end ſuſpected, let the cauſe be what it will. He did court Perſons too little; nor cared to make his deſigns, and purpoſes, appear as candid as they were, by ſhewing them in any other dreſs than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not conſider enough what men ſaid, or were like to ſay of him. If the Faults, and Vices were fit to be look'd into, and diſcover'd, let the Perſons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were ſure to find no connivance of Favour from him. He intended the Diſcipline of the Church ſhould be felt, as well as ſpoken of, and that it ſhould be applied to the greateſt and moſt ſplendid Tranſgreſſors, as well as to the puniſhment of ſmaller Offences, and meaner Offenders; and thereupon call'd for, or cheriſh'd the diſcovery of Thoſe, who were not careful to cover their own Iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other Men, or their Power, or Will to chaſtiſe. Perſons of Honour, and great Quality of the Court, and of the Country, were every day cited into the High-Commiſſion Court, upon the fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their lives, and were there proſecuted to their Shame, and Puniſhment: and as the Shame (which they call'd an Inſolent Triumph upon their Degree and Quality, and levelling Them with the common People) was never forgotten, but watch'd for revenge; ſo the Fines impoſed there were the more queſtion'd, and repined againſt, becauſe they were aſſign'd

assign'd to the rebuilding, and repairing S. *Paul's* Church; and thought therefore to be the more Severely imposed, and the less Compassionately reduced and excused: which likewise made the jurisdiction, and rigour of the Star-Chamber more felt, and murmur'd against, and sharpned many mens humours against the Bishops, before they had any ill intention towards the Church.

THERE were three Persons most notorious for their declared Malice against the Government of the Church by Bishops, in their several Books, and Writings, which they had publish'd to Corrupt the People, with circumstances very Scandalous, and in language very Scurrilous, and Impudent; which all men thought deserv'd very exemplary Punishment: they were of the three several Professions which had the most influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Physick; none of them of interest, or any esteem with the worthy part of their several Professions, having been formerly all look'd upon under Characters of Reproach: yet when they were all Sentenced, and for the execution of that Sentence brought out to be Punish'd as common, and signal Rogues, exposed upon Scaffolds to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons (as the poorest, and most mechanick Malefactors used to be, when they were not able to redeem themselves by any Fine for their Trespasses, or to satisfy any damages for the Scandals they had raised against the good name, and reputation of others) men begun no more to consider their Manners, but the Men; and each Profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their Education, and Degrees, and Quality, would have secured them from such Infamous Judgements, and treasured up Wrath for the time to come. Pryn, Burton, *and* Bastwick.

THE remissness of *Abbot* and of other Bishops by his example, had introduced, or at least connived at a Negligence, that gave great scandal to the Church, and no doubt offended very many Pious men. The People took so little care of the Churches, and the Parsons as little of the Chancels, that, instead of beautifying, or adorning them in any degree, they rarely provided against the falling of many of their Churches; and suffer'd them at least to be kept so indecently, and slovenly, that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own Houses, the Rain and the Wind to infest them; and the Sacraments themselves to be administred where the People had most mind to receive them. This Prophane liberty and uncleanliness, the Arch-Bishop resolv'd to Reform with all expedition, requiring the other Bishops to concur with him in so Pious a work; and the work sure was very Grateful to all men of Devotion: yet, I know not how, the Prosecution of it with too much affectation of Expence, it may be, or with too much Passion between the Ministers and the Parishioners, raised an evil Spirit towards the Church, which the Enemies of it took much advantage of, as soon as they had an opportunity to make the worst use of it.

THE removing the Communion Table out of the body of the Church, where it had used to stand, and to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the Chancel, which frequently made the buying a new Table to be necessary; the inclosing it with a Rail of Joiners work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of Dogs, and all Servile uses; the obliging all Persons to come up to those Rails to receive the Sacrament, how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent Persons, who lov'd Order and Decency (for acceptable it was to such) yet introduced

firſt Murmurings amongſt the People, upon the very Charge and Expence of it; and if the Miniſter were not a man of diſcretion and reputation to compoſe, and reconcile thoſe Indiſpoſitions (as too frequently he was not, and rather inflamed, and increaſed the Diſtemper) it begot Suits, and Appeals at Law. The opinion that there was no Neceſſity of doing any thing, and the complaint that there was too Much done, brought the Power and Juriſdiction, that impoſed the doing of it, to be call'd in queſtion, contradicted, and oppoſed. Then the manner, and geſture, and poſture, in the Celebration of it, brought in new Diſputes, and adminiſtred new ſubjects of Offence, according to the cuſtom of the Place, and humour of the People: and thoſe Diſputes brought in new words and terms (Altar, Adoration, and Genuflexion, and other expreſſions) for the more perſpicuous carrying on thoſe Diſputations. New Books were written for, and againſt this new Practice, with the ſame earneſtneſs, and contention for Victory, as if the Life of Chriſtianity had been at ſtake. Beſides, there was not an equal Concurrence, in the proſecution of this matter, amongſt the Biſhops themſelves; ſome of them proceeding more remiſsly in it, and ſome not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but reſtraining thoſe who had a mind to it, from meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient Diſputes, when the Subordinate Clergy would take upon them, not only without the direction of their Dioceſans, but expreſly againſt their Injunctions, to make thoſe Alterations and Reformations themſelves, and by their own authority.

THE Arch-Biſhop guided purely by his zeal, and reverence for the Place of God's Service, and by the Canons, and Injunctions of the Church, with the cuſtom obſerv'd in the King's Chappel, and in moſt Cathedral-Churches, without conſidering the long intermiſſion, and diſcontinuance, in many other Places, proſecuted this Affair more Paſſionately than was fit for the ſeaſon; and had Prejudice againſt Thoſe, who out of fear, or foreſight, or not underſtanding the Thing, had not the ſame Warmth to promote it. The Biſhops who had been prefer'd by his Favour, or hoped to be ſo, were at leaſt as Sollicitous to bring it to paſs in their ſeveral Dioceſſes; and ſome of them with more Paſſion, and leſs Circumſpection, than they had his Example for, or than he Approved; proſecuting Thoſe, who oppoſed them, very Fiercely, and ſometimes Unwarrantably, which was kept in Remembrance. Whilſt other Biſhops, not ſo many in number, or ſo valuable in weight, who had not been Beholding to him, nor had hope of being ſo, were enough contented to give Perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to ſee the Execution of thoſe orders not minded; and not the leſs pleaſed to find, that the Prejudice of that whole Tranſaction reflected ſolely upon the Arch-Biſhop.

THE Biſhop of *Lincoln* (*Williams*) who had heretofore been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and generally unacceptable whilſt he held that Office, was, ſince his diſgrace at Court, and proſecution from thence, become very Popular; and having ſeveral Faults objected to him, the Puniſhment whereof threatned him every day, he was very willing to change the Scene, and to be brought upon the Stage for oppoſing theſe Innovations (as he call'd them) in Religion. It was an unlucky word, and couzen'd very many honeſt men into apprehenſions very Prejudicial to the King, and to the Church. He Publiſh'd a Diſcourſe and Treatiſe againſt the matter, and manner of the Proſecution

of that Business; a Book so full of good Learning, and that Learning so close, and solidly applied (though it abounded with too many light expressions) that it gain'd him reputation enough to be able to do Hurt; and shew'd that, in his retirement, he had spent his time with his Books very profitably. He used all the Wit, and all the Malice he could, to awaken the People to a jealousy of these Agitations, and Innovations in the exercise of Religion; not without Insinuations that it aim'd at greater Alterations, for which he knew the People would quickly find a name; and he was ambitious to have it believ'd, that the Arch-Bishop was his greatest Enemy, for his having constantly opposed his rising to any Government in the Church, as a man, whose hot and hasty Spirit he had long known.

THOUGH there were other Books written with good learning, and which sufficiently answer'd the Bishop's book, and to men of equal, and dispassionate Inclinations, fully vindicated the Proceedings which had been, and were still very fervently carried on; yet it was done by Men, whose names were not much reverenced, and who were taken notice of, with great insolence and asperity to undertake the Defence of all things which the People generally were Displeased with, and who did not affect to be much Cared for, by those of their own Order. So that from this unhappy Subject, not in it self of that important value to be either entred upon with that Resolution, or to be carried on with that Passion, proceeded upon the matter a Schism amongst the Bishops themselves, and a great deal of Uncharitableness in the learned, and moderate Clergy, towards one another: which, though it could not increase the malice, added very much to the ability and power of the Enemies of the Church to do it hurt, and also to the number of them. For without doubt, many who lov'd the establish'd Government of the Church, and the Exercise of Religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, nor did dislike the order and decency which they saw mended, yet they liked not any Novelties, and so were liable to entertain Jealousies that more was intended, than was hitherto proposed; especially when those Infusions proceeded from Men unsuspected to have any inclinations to Change, and known Assertors of the Government both in Church and State. They did observe the Inferior Clergy took more upon them, than they were wont, and did not live towards their Neighbours of Quality, or their Patrons themselves, with that Civility and Condescension, they had used to do; which disposed Them likewise to a withdrawing their good Countenance, and good Neighbourhood from them.

THE Arch-Bishop had not been long in that Post, when there was another great alteration in the Court by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, High Treasurer of *England*; a man so jealous of the Arch-Bishop's credit with the King, that he allways endeavour'd to lessen it by all the arts and ways he could; which he was so far from effecting, that, as it usually falls out, when passion and malice make Accusation, by suggesting many Particulars which the King knew to be Untrue, or believ'd to be no Faults, he rather confirm'd his Majesty's judgement of him, and prejudiced his own reputation. His death caused no grief in the Arch-Bishop; who was, upon it, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and Revenue, which he had reason to be sorry for, because it engaged him in Civil business, and matters of State, wherein he had little experience, and which he had hitherto avoided. But being obliged to it now

Upon the Earl of Portland's death the Arch-Bishop made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.

now by his Truſt, he entred upon it with his natural earneſtneſs and warmth, making it his principal care to advance, and improve the King's Revenue, by all the ways which were offer'd, and ſo hearken'd to all Informations and Propoſitions of that kind; and having not had experience of that Tribe of people, who deal in that Traffick (a confident, ſenſeleſs, and for the moſt part a naughty people) he was ſometimes miſled by them, to think better of ſome Projects than they deſerv'd: but then he was ſo entirely devoted to what would be Beneficial to the King, that all Propoſitions and Deſigns, which were for the Profit (only or principally) of particular Perſons how Great ſoever, were oppoſed, and croſs'd, and very often totally ſuppreſs'd, and ſtifled in their birth, by his Power, and Authority; which created him Enemies enough in the Court, and many of Ability to do Miſchief, who knew well how to recompenſe Diſcourteſies, which they allways call'd Injuries.

THE Revenue of too Many of the Court conſiſted principally in Encloſures, and Improvements of that nature, which He ſtill oppoſed paſſionately, except they were founded upon Law; and then, if it would bring Profit to the King, how old and obſolete ſoever the Law was, he thought he might juſtly adviſe the Proſecution. And ſo he did a little too much countenance the Commiſſion concerning Depopulation, which brought much charge and trouble upon the People, and was likewiſe caſt upon His account.

HE had obſerv'd, and knew it muſt be ſo, that the Principal Officers of the Revenue, who govern'd the affairs of Money, had allways acceſs to the King, and ſpent more time with him in Private than any of his Servants, or Counſellors, and had thereby frequent opportunities to do Good, or Ill offices to many men; of which He had had Experience, when the Earl of *Portland* was Treaſurer, and the Lord *Cottington* Chancellor of the Exchequer; neither of them being his Friends; and the latter ſtill enjoying his Place, and having his former Acceſs, and ſo continuing a joint Commiſſioner of the Treaſury with him, and underſtanding that Province much better, ſtill Oppoſed, and commonly Carried every thing againſt him: ſo that he was Weary of the toil, and vexation of that Buſineſs; as all other men were, and ſtill are of the Delays, which are in all diſpatches in that Office, whilſt it is executed by Commiſſion.

Biſhop Juxon *made Lord Treaſurer.*

THE Treaſurer's is the greateſt Office of Benefit in the Kingdom, and the Chief in Precedence next the Arch-Biſhop's, and the Great Seal: ſo that the eyes of all men were at gaze who ſhould have this great Office; and the greateſt of the Nobility, who were in the chiefeſt Employments, look'd upon it as the Prize of one of them; ſuch Offices commonly making way for more Removes, and Preferments: when on a ſuddain the Staff was put into the hands of the Biſhop of *London*, a man ſo unknown, that his Name was ſcarce heard of in the Kingdom, who had been, within two years before, but a private Chaplain to the King, and the Preſident of a poor College in *Oxford*. This Inflamed more men than were Angry before, and no doubt did not only ſharpen the edge of Envy and Malice againſt the Arch-Biſhop (who was the known Architect of this new Fabrick) but moſt unjuſtly Indiſpoſed many towards the Church it ſelf; which they look'd upon as the Gulph ready to ſwallow all the great Offices, there being Others in view, of that Robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the reſt.

IN the mean time the Arch-Biſhop himſelf was infinitely pleaſed with

what was done, and unhappily believ'd he had provided a ſtronger Support for the Church; and never abated any thing of his Severity, and Rigour towards men of all conditions; or in the Sharpneſs of his language, and expreſſions, which was ſo natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without ſome Commotion, when the Argument was not of moment, nor bear Contradiction in debate, even in the Council, where all men are equally free, with that Patience, and Temper that was neceſſary; of which, They who wiſh'd him not well, took many Advantages, and would therefore Contradict him, that he might be tranſported with ſome Indecent Paſſion; which, upon a ſhort recollection, he was allways Sorry for, and moſt readily, and heartily would make Acknowledgement. No man ſo willingly made unkind uſe of all thoſe Occaſions, as the Lord *Cottington*, who, being a maſter of Temper, and of the moſt profound Diſſimulation, knew too well how to lead him into a Miſtake, and then drive him into Choler, and then Expoſe him upon the matter, and the manner, to the judgement of the Company; and he choſe to do this moſt, when the King was preſent; and then he would Dine with him the next day.

THE King, who was exceſſively affected to Hunting, and the Sports of the Field, had a great deſire to make a great Park for Red, as well as Fallow Deer, between *Richmond* and *Hampton-Court*, where he had large Waſts of his own, and great parcels of Wood, which made it very fit for the uſe he deſign'd it to: but as ſome Pariſhes had Commons in thoſe Waſts, ſo, many Gentlemen, and Farmers, had good Houſes, and good Farms intermingled with thoſe Waſts of their own Inheritance, or for their Lives, or Years; and without taking of Them into the Park, it would not be of the largeneſs, or for the uſe propoſed. His Majeſty deſired to purchaſe thoſe Lands, and was very willing to buy them upon higher terms, than the People could ſell them at to any body elſe, if they had occaſion to part with them, and thought it no unreaſonable thing, upon thoſe terms, to expect this from his Subjects; and ſo he employ'd his own Surveyor, and other of his Officers, to treat with the Owners, many whereof were his own Tenants, whoſe Farms would at laſt expire.

THE major part of the People were in a ſhort time prevail'd with, but many very obſtinately refuſed; and a Gentleman, who had the beſt Eſtate, with a convenient Houſe, and Gardens, would by no means part with it; and the King being as earneſt to compaſs it, it made a great noiſe, as if the King would take away mens Eſtates at his own pleaſure. The Biſhop of *London*, who was Treaſurer, and the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were, from the firſt entring upon it, very averſe from the Deſign, not only for the murmur of the People, but becauſe the purchaſe of the Land, and the making a Brick-wall about ſo large a parcel of Ground (for it is near ten Miles about) would coſt a greater Sum of money, than they could eaſily provide, or than they thought ought to be ſacrificed to ſuch an occaſion: and the Lord *Cottington* (who was more ſollicited by the Country people, and heard moſt of their murmurs) took the Buſineſs moſt to heart, and endeavour'd by all the ways he could, and by frequent importunities, to divert his Majeſty from purſuing it, and put all delays, he could well do, in the bargains which were to be made; till the King grew very angry with him, and told him "he was reſolv'd to go through with it, and had all-"ready cauſed Brick to be burn'd, and much of the Wall to be built

"upon his Own land: upon which *Cottington* thought fit to acquieſce.

THE building the Wall before People conſented to part with their Land, or their Common, look'd to them as if by degrees they ſhould be Shut out from both, and increaſed the murmur and noiſe of the People who were Not concern'd, as well as of them who were: and it was too near *London* not to be the common diſcourſe. The Arch-Biſhop (who deſired exceedingly that the King ſhould be poſſeſs'd as much of the Hearts of the People as was poſſible, at leaſt that they ſhould have no juſt cauſe to Complain) meeting with it, reſolv'd to Speak with the King of it; which he did; and receiv'd ſuch an Anſwer from him, that he thought his Majeſty rather not inform'd enough of the Inconveniencies, and Miſchiefs of the thing, than poſitively Reſolv'd not to deſiſt from it. Whereupon one day he took the Lord *Cottington* aſide (being inform'd that he diſliked it, and, according to his natural cuſtom, ſpake with great warmth againſt it) and told him, "he ſhould do very well to "give the King good Counſel, and to withdraw him from a Reſolution, "in which his Honour, and Juſtice was ſo much call'd in queſtion. *Cottington* anſwer'd him very gravely, "that the thing deſign'd was very "Lawful, and he thought the King reſolv'd very well, ſince the Place "lay ſo conveniently for his Winter exerciſe, and that he ſhould by it "not be compell'd to make ſo long Journeys, as he uſed to do, in that Sea-"ſon of the year, for his Sport, and that nobody ought to diſſwade him "from it.

THE Arch-Biſhop inſtead of finding a Concurrence from him, as he expected, ſeeing himſelf Reproach'd upon the matter for his Opinion, grew into much Paſſion, telling him, "Such men, as he, would Ruin "the King, and make him looſe the Affections of his Subjects; that for "his own part, as he had begun, ſo he would go on to diſſwade the King "from proceeding in ſo Ill a counſel, and that he hoped it would appear "who had been his Counſellor. *Cottington* glad to ſee him ſo ſoon hot, and reſolv'd to inflame him more, very calmly replied to him, "that "he thought a man could not, with a good Conſcience, hinder the King "from purſuing his Reſolutions, and that it could not but proceed from "want of affection to his Perſon, and he was not ſure, that it might not "be high Treaſon. The other, upon the wildneſs of his diſcourſe, in great anger ask'd him, "Why? from whence he had receiv'd that do-"ctrine? he ſaid, with the ſame temper, "They who did not wiſh the "King's health, could not love him; and they, who went about to hin-"der his taking recreation, which preſerv'd his health, might be thought, "for ought he knew, guilty of the higheſt Crimes. Upon which the Arch-Biſhop in great rage, and with many reproaches left him, and either preſently, or upon the next opportunity told the King, "that he "now knew who was his great Counſellor for making his Park, and that "he did not wonder that men durſt not repreſent any Arguments to the "contrary, or let his Majeſty know how much he Suffer'd in it, when "ſuch Principles in Divinity, and Law, were laid down to Terrify them; and ſo recounted to him the Conference he had with the Lord *Cottington*, bitterly inveighing againſt Him, and his Doctrine, mentioning him with all the ſharp Reproaches imaginable, and beſeeching his Majeſty "that His counſel might not Prevail with him, taking ſome pains to make his Concluſions appear very Falſe, and Ridiculous.

THE King ſaid no more, but, "My Lord, you are deceiv'd, *Cotting-"ton* is too hard for you; upon my word he hath not only Diſſwaded me

"more,

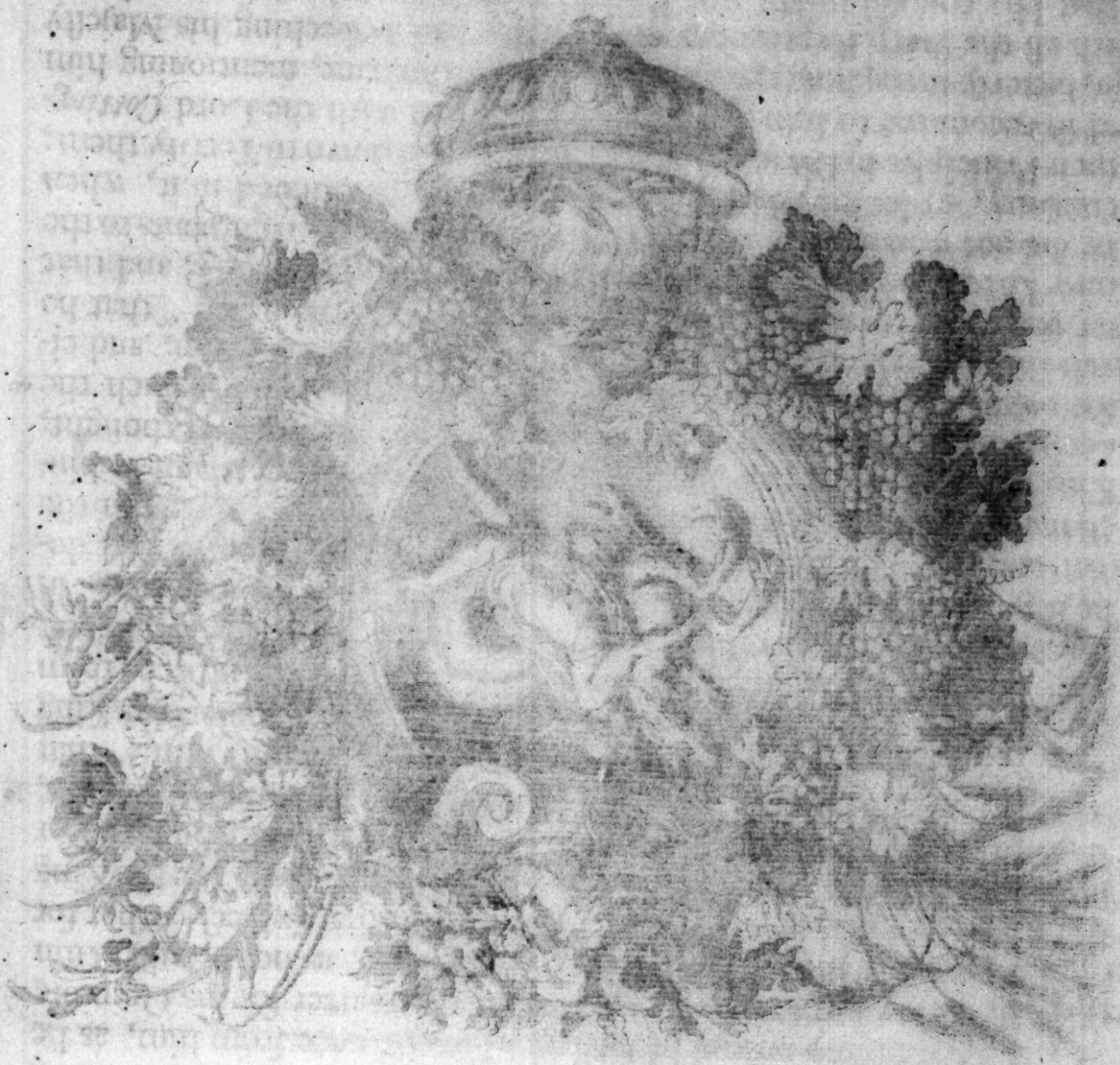
"more, and given more Reaſon againſt this Buſineſs, than all the men in "*England* have done, but hath really obſtructed the Work by not doing "his Duty, as I commanded him, for which I have been very much diſ- "pleaſed with him: you ſee how Unjuſtly your Paſſion hath tranſported "you. By which Reprehenſion he found how much he had been Abuſed, and Reſented it accordingly.

WHATSOEVER was the Cauſe of it, this excellent Man, who ſtood not upon the advantage ground before, from the time of his Promotion to the Arch-Biſhoprick, or rather from that of his being Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, exceedingly provoked, or underwent the Envy, and Reproach, and Malice of men of all Qualities, and Conditions; who agreed in nothing elſe: all which, though well enough Known to him, were not enough Conſider'd by him, who believ'd, as moſt men did, the Government to be ſo firmly Settled, that it could neither be Shaken from within, nor without, and that leſs than a general Confuſion of Law and Goſpel, could not hurt him; which was true too; but he did not Foreſee how eaſily that Confuſion might be brought to paſs, as it proved ſhortly to be. And with this general Obſervation of the outward viſible Proſperity, and the inward reſerv'd diſpoſition of the People to Murmur, and Unquietneſs, we Conclude this Firſt Book.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.



THE



THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May* in the Year 1660.

The Second Book.

ENGLAND

IN

CIVIL WARS

AND

REBELLION

OR THE

HISTORY

OF THE



THE

Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK II.

Pſal. LII. 2, 4.

Thy Tongue deviſeth Miſchiefs, like a ſharp Raſour, working deceitfully:
Thou loveſt all devouring words, O thou deceitful Tongue.

Pſal. LV. 21.

The words of his Mouth were ſmoother than Butter, but War was in his Heart: his words were ſofter than Oyl, yet were they drawn Swords.



Affairs in Scotland *after the King's return thence, relating chiefly to the compoſing a Liturgy and Canons.*

IT was towards the end of the Year 1633, when the King return'd from *Scotland*, having left it to the Care of ſome of the Biſhops there to provide ſuch a Liturgy, and ſuch a Book of Canons, as might beſt ſuit the nature and humour of the Better ſort of that People; to which the reſt would eaſily ſubmit: and that, as faſt as they made them ready, they ſhould tranſmit them to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to whoſe aſſiſtance the King joyn'd the Biſhop of *London*, and Doctor *Wren*, who, by that time, was become Biſhop of *Norwich*; a man of a ſevere, ſowr nature, but very Learned, and particularly verſed in the old Liturgies of the *Greek*, and *Latin* Churches. And after his Majeſty ſhould be this way certified of what was ſo ſent, he would recommend, and enjoyn the Practice and Uſe of both to that his Native Kingdom. The Biſhops there had ſomewhat to do, before they went about the preparing the Canons, and the Liturgy; what had paſs'd at the King's being there in Parliament, had left bitter Inclinations, and unruly Spirits in many of the moſt popular Nobility; who watch'd only for an opportunity to inflame the People, and were well-enough contented to ſee Combuſtible matter every day gather'd together, to contribute to that Fire.

THE promoting ſo many Biſhops to be of the Privy-Council, and to ſit in the Courts of Juſtice, ſeem'd at firſt wonderfully to facilitate all

that was in design, and to create an affection and reverence towards the Church, at least an application to and dependence upon the greatest Church-men. So that there seem'd to be not only a good preparation made with the People, but a general expectation, and even a desire that they might have a Liturgy, and more Decency observ'd in the Church. And this Temper was believ'd to be the more universal, because neither from any of the Nobility, nor of the Clergy, who were thought most averse from it, there appear'd any sign of Contradiction, nor that licence of Language against it, as was natural to that Nation; but an entire Acquiescence in all the Bishops thought fit to do; which was interpreted to proceed from a conversion in their Judgement, at least to a submission to Authority: whereas in truth, it appear'd afterwards to be from the observation they made of the Temper, and Indiscretion of those Bishops in the greatest Authority, that they were like to have more Advantages administred to them by Their ill Managery, than they could raise by any Contrivance of their own.

Touching the Scotish Canons.

IT was now two Years, or very near so much, before the Bishops in *Scotland* had prepared any thing to offer to the King towards their intended Reformation; and then they Inverted the proper method, and first presented a body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which was not yet ready, they choosing to finish the shorter work first. The King refer'd the consideration of the Canons, as he had before resolv'd to do, to the Arch-Bishop, and the other two Bishops formerly named, the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*; who, after their perusal of them, and some Alterations made, with the consent of those Bishops who brought them from *Scotland*, return'd them to the King; and his Majesty, impatient to see the good work entred upon, without any other Ceremony (after having given his Royal approbation) issued out his Proclamation for the due Observation of them within his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

IT was a fatal Inadvertency that these Canons, neither before, nor after they were sent to the King, had been ever Seen by the Assembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the Observation of them; nor so much as Communicated to the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom; it being allmost impossible that any new Discipline could be introduced into the Church, which would not Much concern the Government of the State, and even trench upon, or refer to the Muncipal Laws of the Kingdom. And, in this consideration, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had allways declared to the Bishops of *Scotland*, "that it was Their part to be sure, that nothing they should pro-
"pose to the King in the Business of the Church, should be contrary to
"the Laws of the Land, which He could not be thought to understand;
"and that they should never put any thing in execution, without the
"consent and approbation of the Privy-Council. But it was the unhappy Craft of those Bishops to get it believ'd by the King, that the work would be Grateful to the most considerable of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People (which they could hardly believe) in order to the obtaining his Majesty's Approbation, and Authority for the execution of that, which they did really believe would not find Opposition from the Nobility, Clergy, or People, against his Majesty's express Power, and Will, which without doubt was then in great Veneration in that Kingdom; and so they did not, in truth, dare to submit those Canons to any other Examination, than what the King should direct in *England*.

IT

IT was, in the next place, as ſtrange, that Canons ſhould be publiſh'd before the Liturgy was prepared (which was not ready in a year after, or thereabouts) when three or four of the Canons were principally for the Obſervation of, and punctual Compliance with the Liturgy; which all the Clergy were to be ſworn to ſubmit to, and to pay all obedience to what was enjoyn'd by it, before they knew what it contain'd. Whereas if the Liturgy had been firſt publiſh'd with all due Circumſtances, it is poſſible that it might have found a better reception, and the Canons have been leſs examin'd.

THE *Scotiſh* Nation, how capable ſoever it was of being led by ſome Great men, and miſled by the Clergy, would have been corrupted by neither into a barefaced Rebellion againſt their King, whoſe Perſon they lov'd, and reverenced his Government; nor could they have been wrought upon towards the leſſening the one, or the other, by any other Suggeſtions, or Infuſions, than ſuch as ſhould make them jealous, or apprehenſive of a deſign to introduce Popery; a great part of their Religion conſiſting in an entire deteſtation of Popery, in believing the Pope to be Antichriſt, and hating perfectly the Perſons of all Papiſts.

THE Canons now publiſh'd, beſides (as hath been touch'd before) that they had paſs'd no Approbation of the Clergy, or been Communicated to the Council, appear'd to be ſo many new Laws impoſed upon the whole Kingdom by the King's ſole Authority, and contrived by a few Private men, of whom they had no good opinion, and who were Strangers to the Nation; ſo that it was thought no other than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws from thence, of which they were moſt jealous, and which they moſt paſſionately abhor'd. Then they were ſo far from being confined to the Church, and the matters of Religion, that they believ'd there was no part of their Civil Government uninvaded by them, and no Perſons of what Quality ſoever unconcern'd, and, as they thought, unhurt in them. And there were ſome things in ſome particular Canons, how rational ſoever in themſelves, and how diſtant ſoever in the words and expreſſions from inclining to Popery, which yet gave too much advantage to Thoſe who maliciouſly watch'd the occaſion, to perſwade Weak men that it was an Approach, and Introduction to that Religion, the very Imagination whereof Intoxicated all men, and deprived them of all faculties to Examine, and Judge.

SOME of the ſaid Canons defined, and determin'd ſuch an unlimited "Power, and Prerogative to be in the King, according to the Pattern (in expreſs terms) "of the Kings of *Iſrael*, and ſuch a full Supremacy in "all Caſes Eccleſiaſtical, as hath never been pretended to by their former "Kings, or ſubmitted to by the Clergy, and Laity of that Nation; which made impreſſion upon men of all tempers, humours, and inclinations; "And that no Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhould become Surety, or "Bound for any man; that National, or General Aſſemblies ſhould be "call'd only by the King's Authority; that all Biſhops, and other Ec-"cleſiaſtical Perſons, who dy without Children, ſhould be obliged to "give a good part of their Eſtates to the Church, and, though they ſhould "have Children, yet to leave ſomewhat to the Church, and for advance-"ment of Learning; which ſeem'd rather to be matter of State, and Policy, than of Religion; thwarted their Laws and Cuſtoms, which had been obſerv'd by them; leſſen'd, if not took away the Credit of Church-men; and prohibited them from that liberty of Commerce in Civil affairs, which the Laws permitted to them; and reflected upon the

intereſts of Thoſe who had, or might have a right to Inherit from Clergy-men. "That none ſhould receive the Sacrament but upon their "Knees; that the Clergy ſhould have no private meetings for expounding Scripture, or for conſulting upon Matters Eccleſiaſtical; that no "man ſhould cover his head in the time of Divine Service; and that no "Clergy-man ſhould conceive Prayers *ex tempore*, but be bound to pray "only by the Form preſcribed in the Liturgy (which by the way was not ſeen nor framed) "and that no man ſhould teach a publick School, "or in a private Houſe, without a Licence firſt obtain'd from the Arch-"Biſhop of the Province, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs.

ALL theſe were new, and things with which they had not been acquainted; and though they might be fit to be commended to a regular, and orderly People piouſly diſpoſed, yet it was too ſtrong meat for Infants in Diſcipline, and too much nouriſhment to be adminiſtred at Once to weak, and queaſy Stomachs, and too much inclined to nauſeate what was moſt wholeſome. But then, to apply the old terms of the Church, to mention "the *Quatuor tempora*, and reſtrain all Ordinations to thoſe "four Seaſons of the Year; to enjoyn a Font to be prepared in every "Church for Baptiſm, and a decent Table for the Communion; and to "direct, and appoint the places where both Font and Table ſhould ſtand, "and decent Ornaments for either; to reſtrain any Excommunication "from being pronounced, or Abſolution from being given, without the "approbation of the Biſhop; to mention any practice of Confeſſion (which they look'd upon as the ſtrongeſt, and moſt inſeparable Limb of Antichriſt) and to enjoyn "that no Presbyter ſhould reveal any thing "he ſhould receive in Confeſſion, except in ſuch caſes, where, by the "Law of the Land, his own Life ſhould be Forfeited; were all ſuch matters of Innovation, and in their nature ſo Suſpicious, that they thought they had reaſon to be Jealous of the worſt that could follow; and the laſt Canon of all provided "that no perſon ſhould be receiv'd into Holy Or-"ders, or ſuffer'd to Preach, or Adminiſter the Sacraments without firſt "Subſcribing to thoſe Canons.

IT was now eaſy for Them, who had thoſe Inclinations, to ſuggeſt to men of all conditions that here was an entire new Model of Government in Church and State; the King might do what he would upon them all, and the Church was nothing but what the Biſhops would have it be: which they every day infuſed into the minds of the People, with all the Artifices which adminiſter Jealouſies of all kinds to thoſe, who are liable to be diſquieted with them: yet they would not ſuffer (which ſhew'd wonderful power, and wonderful dexterity) any diſorder to break out upon all this occaſion, but all was quiet, except ſpreading of Libels againſt the Biſhops, and propagating that Spirit as much as they could, by their Correſpondence in *England*; where they found too many every day tranſported by the ſame Infuſions, in expectation that theſe Seeds of Jealouſy from the Canons would grow apace, and produce ſuch a Reception for the Liturgy as they wiſh'd for.

Touching the Scotiſh *Liturgy.*

IT was about the month of *July*, in the Year 1637, that the Liturgy (after it had been ſent out of *Scotland*, and peruſed by the three Biſhops in *England*, and then approved and confirm'd by the King) was Publiſh'd, and appointed to be Read in all the Churches. And in this particular there was the ſame affected and premeditated Omiſſion, as had been in the preparation and publication of the Canons; the Clergy not at all conſulted in it, and, which was more ſtrange, not all the Biſhops acquainted

with it; which was leſs cenſured afterwards, when ſome of them renounced their Function, and became ordinary Presbyters, as ſoon as they ſaw the current of the time. The Privy-Council had no other notice of it, than all the Kingdom had, the Sunday before, when it was declared, "that the next Sunday the Liturgy ſhould be Read; by which they were the leſs concern'd to foreſee, or prevent any Obſtructions which might happen.

THE Proclamation had appointed it to be read the *Eaſter* before, but the Earl of *Traquaire* High Treaſurer of *Scotland* (who was the only Counſellor or Layman relyed upon by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* in that buſineſs) perſwaded the King to defer it till *July*, that ſome good preparation might be made for the more chearful Reception of it. And as this pauſe gave the diſcontented Party more heart, and more time for their ſeditious Negotiations, ſo the ill Conſequences of it, or the Actions which were ſubſequent to it, made Him ſuſpected to be Privy to all the Conſpiracy, and to be an Enemy to the Church; though in truth there neither appear'd then, nor in all the very unfortunate part of his life afterwards, any juſt ground for that accuſation, and ſuſpicion; but as he was exceedingly obliged to the Arch-Biſhop, ſo he was a man of great Parts, and well affected to the Work in hand in his own judgement; and if he had been as much depended upon, to have adviſed the Biſhops in the Proſecution, and for the Conduct of it, as he was to aſſiſt them in the carrying on whatſoever They propoſed, it is very probable, that either ſo Much would not have been undertaken together, or that it would have Succeeded better; for he was without doubt not inferior to any of that Nation in Wiſdom, and Dexterity. And though he was often provoked, by the Inſolence of ſome of the Biſhops, to a Diſlike of their overmuch Fervour, and too little Diſcretion, his Integrity to the King was without blemiſh, and his Affection to the Church ſo notorious, that he never deſerted it, till both It and He were over-run, and trod under foot; and they, who were the moſt notorious Perſecutors of It, never left Perſecuting Him to the death.

NOR was any thing done which he had propoſed, for the better Adjuſting things in the time of that Suſpenſion, but every thing left in the ſame ſtate of Unconcernedneſs as it was before; not ſo much as the Council's being better Inform'd of it; as if they had been ſure, that all men would have Submitted to it for Conſcience ſake.

The manner how that Liturgy was receiv'd at Edenborough.

ON the Sunday morning appointed for the work, the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and others of the Council, being preſent in the Cathedral Church, the Dean begun to read the Liturgy, which he had no ſooner entred upon, but a noiſe and clamour was raiſed throughout the Church, that no words could be heard diſtinctly, and then a ſhower of Stones, and Sticks, and Cudgels were thrown at the Dean's head. The Biſhop went up into the Pulpit, and from thence put them in mind of the Sacredneſs of the Place, of their Duty to God and the King; but he found no more Reverence, nor was the clamour and diſorder leſs than before. The Chancellor, from his Seat, commanded the Provoſt and Magiſtrates of the City to deſcend from the Gallery in which they ſate, and by their Authority to Suppreſs the Riot; which at laſt with great Difficulty they did, by driving the Rudeſt of thoſe who made the diſturbance out of the Church, and ſhutting the Doors; which gave the Dean opportunity to proceed in the reading of the Liturgy, that was not at all attended or hearkned to by thoſe who remain'd within the Church; and if

it had, they who were turn'd out continued their barbarous Noiſe, broke the Windows, and endeavour'd to break down the Doors; ſo that it was not poſſible for any to follow their Devotions.

WHEN all was done that at that time could be done there, and the Council and Magiſtrates went out of the Church to their Houſes, the Rabble follow'd the Biſhops with all the opprobrious language they could invent, of bringing in Superſtition and Popery into the Kingdom, and making the people Slaves; and were not content to uſe their Tongues, but employ'd their Hands too in throwing Dirt and Stones at them; and treated the Biſhop of *Edenborough*, whom they look'd upon as moſt Active that way, ſo Rudely, that with difficulty he got into a Houſe, after they had torn his Habit, and was from thence removed to his own, with great hazard of his Life. As this was the Reception it had in the Cathedral, ſo it fared not better in the other Churches of the City, but was entertain'd with the ſame Hollowing and Out-cries; and threatning the Men whoſe office it was to read it, with the ſame bitter Execrations againſt Biſhops and Popery.

HITHERTO no perſon of Condition or Name appear'd, or ſeem'd to countenance this ſeditious Confuſion; it was the Rabble, of which nobody was named, and which is more ſtrange, not one apprehended: and it ſeems the Biſhops thought it not of Moment enough to deſire, or require any Help, or Protection from the Council; but without conferring with them, or applying themſelves to them, they diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to the King, with a full and particular Information of all that had paſs'd, and a deſire that He would take that courſe he thought beſt for the carrying on his Service.

UNTIL this Advertiſement arrived from *Scotland*, there were very few in *England* who had heard of any Diſorders there, or of any thing done there which might produce any. The King himſelf had been allways ſo jealous of the Priviledges of that his Native Kingdom (as hath been touch'd before) and that it might not be diſhonour'd by a ſuſpicion of having any Dependence upon *England*, that he never ſuffer'd any thing relating to That to be Debated, or ſo much as Communicated to his Privy-Council in This (though many of that Nation were, without diſtinction, Counſellors of *England*) but handled all thoſe affairs Himſelf with two or three *Scots*-men, who allways attended in the Court for the buſineſs of that Kingdom, which was upon the matter ſtill diſpatch'd by the ſole advice and direction of the Marquis of *Hamilton*.

AND the truth is, there was ſo little curioſity either in the Court, or the Country, to know any thing of *Scotland*, or what was done there, that when the whole Nation was ſollicitous to know what paſs'd weekly in *Germany*, and *Poland*, and all other parts of *Europe*, no man ever enquired what was doing in *Scotland*, nor had that Kingdom a place or mention in one Page of any Gazette; and even after the Advertiſement of this preamble to Rebellion, no mention was made of it at the Council-Board, but ſuch a Diſpatch made into *Scotland* upon it, as expreſs'd the King's diſlike and diſpleaſure, and obliged the Lords of the Council there to appear more vigorouſly in the Vindication of his Authority, and Suppreſſion of thoſe Tumults. But all was too little. That People, after they had once begun, purſued the buſineſs vigorouſly, and with all imaginable Contempt of the Government; and though in the Hubbub of the firſt day there appear'd nobody of name or reckoning, but the Actors were really of the Dregs of the people, yet they diſcover'd by the countenance

tenance of that day, that few men of Rank were forward to engage themſelves in the quarrel on the behalf of the Biſhops; whereupon more conſiderable Perſons every day appear'd againſt them, and (as heretofore in the caſe of St *Paul*, *Acts* 13. 50. *the Jews ſtir'd up the devout and honourable Women*) the Women and Ladies of the beſt Quality declared themſelves of the Party, and, with all the reproaches imaginable, made war upon the Biſhops, as introducers of Popery and Superſtition, againſt which they avowed themſelves to be irreconcilable Enemies; and their Husbands did not long defer the owning the ſame Spirit; inſomuch as within few days the Biſhops durſt not appear in the Streets, nor in any Courts, or Houſes, but were in danger of their Lives; and ſuch of the Lords as durſt be in their company, or ſeem'd to deſire to reſcue them from violence, had their Coaches torn in pieces, and their Perſons aſſaulted, inſomuch as they were glad to ſend for ſome of thoſe great Men, who did indeed govern the Rabble, though they appear'd not in it, who readily came and redeem'd them out of their hands: ſo that by the time new Orders came from *England*, there was ſcarce a Biſhop left in *Edenborough*, and not a Miniſter who durſt read the Liturgy in any Church.

ALL the Kingdom flock'd to *Edenborough*, as in a general cauſe that concern'd their Salvation, and reſolv'd themſelves into a Method of Government, erected ſeveral Tables, in which Deputies ſate for the Nobility, the Gentlemen, the Clergy, and the Burgeſſes; out of either of which Tables a Council was elected to conduct their affairs, and a Petition drawn up in the names of the Nobility, Lairds, Clergy, and Burgeſſes, to the King, complaining of the introduction of Popery, and many other Grievances. And if the Lords of the Council iſſued out any Order againſt them, or if the King himſelf ſent a Proclamation for their repair to their Houſes, and for the preſervation of the Peace, preſently ſome Nobleman deputed by the Tables publiſhed a Proteſtation againſt thoſe Orders and Proclamations, with the ſame confidence, and with as much formality, as if the Government were regularly in Their hands.

THEY call'd a General Aſſembly, whether they ſummon'd the Biſhops to appear before them, and for not appearing, Excommunicated them; and then they united themſelves by Subſcribing a Covenant, which they pretended with their uſual confidence to be no other, than had been Subſcribed in the Reign of King *James*, and that his Majeſty himſelf had Subſcribed it; by which Impoſition people of all degrees, ſuppoſing it might be a means to Extinguiſh the preſent Fire, with all alacrity engaged themſelves in it; whereas in truth, they had inſerted a Clauſe never heard of, and quite contrary to the End of that Covenant, whereby they obliged themſelves to purſue the Extirpation of Biſhops, and had the confidence to demand the ſame in expreſs terms of the King in anſwer to a very gracious Meſſage the King had ſent to them. They publiſh'd bitter Invectives againſt the Biſhops, and the whole Government of the Church, which they were not contented to ſend into *England* to kindle the ſame Fire there, but, with their Letters, ſent them to all the Reform'd Churches, by which they raiſed ſo great a Prejudice to the King, that too many of them believ'd, that the King had a real deſign to change Religion, and introduce Popery. *The Scotiſh Covenant.*

IT is very true, there were very many of the Nobility, and Perſons of principal Quality of that Nation, and in *Edenborough* at that time, who did not appear yet, and concur in this Seditious behaviour, or own their being yet of their Party; but on the contrary ſeem'd very much

to diſlike their proceedings: but it is as true, that very few had the courage to do any thing in Oppoſition to them; or to concur in the Proſecution of any Regal Act againſt them; which did in ſome reſpects more advance their Deſigns, than if they had manifeſtly joyin'd with them. For theſe Men, many of whom were of the Council, by all their Letters into *England*, exceedingly undervalued the Diſorder, as being "very "eaſy to be Suppreſs'd in a ſhort time, when the Peoples eyes ſhould "be open'd; and that the removing the Courts to ſome other place, and "a gracious condeſcenſion in the King in offering Pardon for what was "paſt, would ſuddainly Subdue them, and every body would return "to his Duty: and the City of *Edenborough* it ſelf writ an humble Letter to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, excuſing the Diſorders which had been raiſed by the Ignorance and Rudeneſs of the meaneſt of the People, and beſeeching him "to intercede with his Majeſty for the ſuſpenſion of his Prejudice to them, till they ſhould manifeſt their duty "to him, by inflicting exemplary Puniſhment upon the chief Offenders, "and cauſing the Liturgy to be receiv'd and ſubmitted to in all their "Churches; which they profeſs'd they would in a ſhort time bring to paſs. So that by this means, and the Interpoſition of all thoſe of that Nation who attended upon his Majeſty in his Bed-Chamber, and in ſeveral Offices at Court, who all undertook to know by their Intelligences that all was Quiet, or would ſpeedily be ſo; his Majeſty (who well knew that they who appear'd moſt active in this Confederacy were much inferior to Thoſe who did not appear, and who profeſs'd great Zeal for his Service) hardly prevail'd with himſelf to believe that he could receive any Diſturbance from thence, till he found all his Condeſcenſions had raiſed their Inſolence, all his Offers rejected, and his Proclamation of Pardon ſlighted and contemn'd; and that they were Liſting men towards the raiſing an Army, under the obligation of their Covenant, and had allready choſen Colonel *Leſly*, a Soldier of that Nation of long Experience and eminent Command under the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, to be their General; who being lately Diſobliged (as they call'd it) by the King, that is, denied ſomewhat he had a mind to have, had accepted of the Command. Then at laſt the King thought it time to reſort to other Counſels, and to provide Force to Chaſtiſe them, who had ſo much deſpiſed all his gentler Remedies.

HE could now no longer defer the acquainting the Council-Board, and the whole Kingdom of *England*, with the Indignities he had ſuſtain'd in *Scotland*; which he did by Proclamations and Declararations at large, ſetting out the whole Proceedings which had been; and in the end of the Year 1638 declared his Reſolution to raiſe an Army to Suppreſs their Rebellion, for which he gave preſent order.

AND this was the firſt Alarm *England* receiv'd towards any Trouble, after it had enjoy'd for ſo many Years the moſt uninterrupted Proſperity, in a full and plentiful Peace, that any Nation could be bleſs'd with: and as there was no apprehenſion of troubles from Within, ſo it was ſecured from Without, by a ſtronger Fleet at Sea then the Nation had ever been acquainted with, which drew reverence from all the neighbour Princes. The Revenue had been ſo well improved, and ſo warily managed, that there was Mony in the Exchequer proportionable for the undertaking any noble Enterprize: nor did this firſt noiſe of War, and approach towards Action, ſeem to make any impreſſion upon the Minds of men, the *Scots* being in no degree either Lov'd or Fear'd by the People; and moſt

men hoped, that this would free the Court from being henceforth troubled with Thoſe men; and ſo they ſeem'd to embrace the Occaſion with notable alacrity: and there is no doubt, but if all of that Nation who were united in the Rebellion (ſome of which ſtaid yet in the Court) had march'd in their Army, and publickly Own'd the Covenant, which in their Hearts they adored, neither the King, nor the Kingdom, could have ſuſtain'd any great Damage by them; but the monument of their Preſumption and their Shame would have been raiſed together, and no other memory preſerv'd of their Rebellion but in their memorable Overthrow.

GOD Allmighty would not ſuffer this diſcerning Spirit of Wiſdom to govern at this time: the King thought it unjuſt to condemn a Nation for the tranſgreſſion of a part of it, and ſtill hoped to redeem it from the infamy of a General Defection by the exemplary Fidelity of a Superior Party, and therefore withdrew not his Confidence from any of Thoſe who attended his Perſon, who, intruth, lay leiger for the Covenant, and kept up the ſpirits of their Country-men by Their intelligence.

The King raiſes an Army againſt the Scots:

THE King haſtened the raiſing an Army, which was not long in doing. He choſe to make the Earl of *Arundel* his General, a man who was thought to be made choice of for his Negative Qualities: He did Not love the *Scots*; he did Not love the Puritans; which Qualifications were allay'd by another Negative, he did Not much love Any body elſe: but he was fit to keep the State of it; and his Rank was ſuch, that no man would decline the Serving under him.

THE Earl of *Eſſex* was made Lievtenent-General of the Army, the moſt Popular man of the Kingdom, and the Darling of the Sword-men; who, between a hatred and a contempt of the *Scots*, had nothing like an affection for any man of that Nation; and therefore was ſo well pleaſed with his Promotion, that he begun to love the King the better for conferring it upon him, and entred upon the province with great Fidelity and Alacrity, and was capable from that hour of any Impreſſion the King would have fix'd upon him.

THE Earl of *Holland* was General of the Horſe; who, beſides the Obligations he had to the Queen (who vouchſafed to own a particular truſt in him) was not then liable to the leaſt Suſpicion of want of affection, and zeal for the King's Service.

IN the beginning of the Spring, which was in the Year 1639, an Army was drawn together of near ſix thouſand Horſe, and about that number in Foot, all very well diſciplined Men, under as good and experienced Officers, as were to be found at that time in *Chriſtendom*. With this Army abundantly ſupplied with a Train of Artillery, and all other Proviſions neceſſary, the King advanced in the beginning of the Summer towards the Borders of *Scotland*.

and a Fleet:

THIS was not all the Strength that was provided for the Suppreſſing that Rebellion, but the King had likewiſe provided a good Fleet, and had cauſed a body of three thouſand Foot to be embark'd on thoſe Ships, all which were put under the Command of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was to infeſt the Country by Sea to hinder their Trade, and to make a deſcent upon the Land, and join with ſuch Forces as the Loyal Party of that Nation ſhould draw together to aſſiſt the King's, which his Own intereſt (as was believ'd) would give great life to, his Family being numerous in the Nobility, and united in an entire Dependence upon him.

The Earl of Essex possesses Berwick.

UPON the first March of the Army Northwards, the Earl of *Essex* was sent with a party of Horse and Foot, to use all possible expedition to possess himself of *Berwick*, which the King had been advertised the *Scots* would speedily be Masters of. The Earl lost no time, but march'd day and night with great order and diligence; and every day met several *Scots*-men of Quality well known to him, and sent Expresly to the King, who all severally made him very particular relations of the Strength of the *Scots* Army, the excellent Discipline that was observ'd in it, and the goodness of the Men, and that they were by that time possess'd of *Berwick*; and when he was within one days March of it, a Person of principal Condition, of very near relation to the King's Service, (who pretended to be sent upon matter of high Importance to his Majesty from Those who most intended his Service there) met him, and advised him very earnestly "not to advance farther with his Party, which, he said, "was so much Inferior in number to those of the Enemy, that "it would infallibly be cut off: that himself overtook the day before a "strong Party of the Army, consisting of three thousand Horse and Foot "with a Train of Artillery, all which he left at such a Place (which he named) "within three hours March of *Berwick*, where they resolv'd to "be the Night before, so that his proceeding farther must be Fruitless, "and expose him to inevitable Ruin. These Advertisements wrought no otherwise upon the Earl, than to hasten his Marches, insomuch that he came to *Berwick* sooner than he proposed to have done, entred the Place without the least Opposition, and by all the Enquiry he could make by sending out Parties, and other Advertisements, he could not discover that any of the Enemies Forces had been drawn that way, nor indeed that they had any considerable Forces together nearer than *Edenborough*.

THE Earl being thus possess'd of his Post, lost no time in advertising the King of it, and sent him a very particular account of the Informations he had receiv'd from so many Ear and Eye witnesses, who were all at that time in the Court, and very fit to be Suspected after the publishing of so many Falshoods; and these very Men had been constant in the same Reports, and as confident in reporting the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* and cutting off his Party, as they had been to Himself of the *Scots* March, and their being Masters of *Berwick*. The Joy was not conceal'd with which his Majesty receiv'd the News of the Earl's being in *Berwick*, the Contrary whereof those men made him apprehend with much Perplexity; but they underwent no other reproach for their Intelligence, than that their Fears had multiplied their Sight, and that they had been Frighted with other mens Relations; which Remissness, to call it no worse, was an ill Omen of the Discipline that was like to be observ'd.

IF the War had been now vigorously pursued, it had been as soon ended as begun, for at this time they had not drawn three thousand men together in the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor had in truth Arms compleat for such a number, though They had the possession of all the King's Forts and Magazines there, nor had they Ammunition to supply their few Fire-Arms; Horses they had, and Officers they had, which made all their Shew. But it was the fatal Misfortune of the King, which proceeded from the Excellency of his Nature, and his Tenderness of Blood, that he Defer'd so long his resolution of Using his Arms; and after he had taken that resolution, that it was not Prosecuted with more Vigour.

HE more intended the Pomp of his Preparations than the Strength of them, and did ſtill believe that the one would ſave the labour of the other. At the ſame time that he reſolv'd to raiſe an Army, he cauſed enquiry to be made, what Obligations lay upon his Subjects to aſſiſt him, both as he went himſelf in Perſon, and as it was an Expedition againſt the *Scots*; which, in the ancient Enmity between the two Nations, had been provided for by ſome Laws; and in the Tenure which many men held their Eſtates by, he found that the Kings had uſually when they went to make War in their own Perſons, call'd as many of the Nobility to attend upon them, as they thought fit.

THEREUPON he Summon'd moſt of the Nobility of the Kingdom, without any conſideration of their Affections how they ſtood diſpoſed to that Service, to Attend upon him by a day appointed, and throughout that Expedition; preſuming that the glory of ſuch a viſible appearance of the whole Nobility would look like ſuch an Union in the Quarrel, as wonld at once Terrify and Reduce the *Scots*; not conſidering that ſuch kinds of Uniting do often produce the greateſt Confuſions, when more and greater Men are call'd together than can be united in Affections and Intereſts; and in the neceſſary Differences which ariſe from thence, they quickly come to know each other ſo well, as they rather Break into ſeveral Diviſions, than Join in any one Publick intereſt; and from hence have allways riſen the moſt dangerous Factions, which have threatned and ruin'd the Peace of Nations: and it fell out no better here. If there had been none in the March but Soldiers, it is moſt probable that a noble Peace would have quickly enſued, even without Fighting; but the Progreſs was more illuſtrious than the March, and the Soldiers were the leaſt part of the Army, and leaſt conſulted with. *The King ſummons the* Engliſh *Nobility to attend him*

IN this Pomp the King continued his journey to *York*, where he had a full Court, thoſe Noblemen of the Northern Parts, and many others who overtook not the King till then, joining all in that City; where his Majeſty found it neceſſary to ſtay ſome days; and there the Fruit, that was to be gather'd from ſuch a Conflux, quickly Budded out. Some Rules were to be ſet down for the Government of the Army; the Court was too Numerous to be wholely left to its own Licence; and the multitude of the *Scots* in it, adminiſtred matter of Offence and Jealouſly to People of all conditions, who had too much cauſe to fear that the King was every day Betray'd; the common Diſcourſe by all the *Scots* being either to magnify the Good Intentions of their Country-men, and that they had all Duty for the King, or to undervalue the Power and intereſt of Thoſe who diſcover'd themſelves againſt the Church

IT was therefore thought fit by the whole body of the Council, that a ſhort Proteſtation ſhould be drawn, in which all men ſhould "profeſs "their Loyalty and Obedience to his Majeſty, and diſclaim and renounce "the having any Intelligence, or holding any Correſpondence with the "Rebels. No man imagin'd it poſſible that any of the *Engliſh* would refuſe to make that Proteſtation; and they who thought worſt of the *Scots*, did not think they would make any Scruple of doing the ſame, and conſequently that there would be no Fruit, or Diſcovery from that Teſt; but they were deceiv'd: the *Scots* indeed took it to a man, without grieving their Conſcience, or reforming their Manners. But amongſt the *Engliſh* Nobility the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook* (two Popular men, and moſt Undevoted to the Church, and, in truth, to the whole Government) poſitively refuſed in the King's own Preſence to make any ſuch

Proteſtation. They ſaid, "If the King ſuſpected their Loyalty he might "proceed againſt them as he thought fit, but that it was Againſt the Law "to impoſe any Oaths or Proteſtations upon them which were not En-"joyn'd by the Law; and, in that reſpect, that they might not Betray "the common Liberty, they would not Submit to it. This adminiſtred matter of new Diſpute in a very unſeaſonable time; and though there did not then appear More of the ſame mind, and they two were Committed, at leaſt Reſtrain'd of their liberty, yet this diſcovered too much the Humour and Spirit of the Court in their dayly diſcourſes upon that Subject; ſo that the King thought it beſt to diſmiſs thoſe two Lords, and require them to return to their Houſes: and if all the reſt who were not Officers of the Army, or of abſolute Neceſſity about the King's perſon, had been likewiſe Diſmiſs'd and ſent home, the Buſineſs had been better Proſecuted.

INDEED if the King himſelf had ſtay'd at *London*, or, which had been the next beſt, kept his Court and reſided at *York*, and ſent the Army on their proper Errand, and left the matter of the War wholely to Them, in all humane reaſon, his Enemies had been ſpeedily Subdued, and that Kingdom reduced to their Obedience.

BEFORE the King left *York*, Letters and Addreſſes were ſent from the *Scots*, "lamenting their ill Fortune that their Enemies had ſo great "credit with the King, as to perſwade him to believe that They were "or could be Diſobedient to him, a thing that could never enter into "their Loyal hearts; that They deſired nothing but to be admitted in-"to the Preſence of their gracious Soveraign, to lay their Grievances at "his Royal Feet, and leave the Determination of them entirely to his "own Wiſdom and Pleaſure. And though the humility of the Style gain'd them many Friends, who thought it great pity that any Blood ſhould be ſpilt in a Contention which his Majeſty might put an end to by his own Word as ſoon as he would hear their Complaints, yet hitherto the King preſerv'd himſelf from being Wrought upon, and March'd with convenient expedition to the very Borders of *Scotland*, and Encamp'd with his Army in an open Field call'd *the Berkes*, on the further ſide of *Berwick*, and lodged in his Tent with the Army; though every days March wrought very much upon the Conſtitution if not the Courage of the Court, and too many wiſh'd aloud, "that the Buſineſs were brought "to a fair Treaty.

The King goes to the Borders of Scotland *with his Army.*

Sends the Earl of Holland *as far as* Dunce.

UPON advertiſement that a Party of the *Scots* Army was upon the March, the Earl of *Holland* was ſent with a Body of three thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot, with a fit Train of Artillery, to meet it, and Engage with it; who March'd accordingly into *Scotland* early in a Morning as far a Place call'd *Dunce*, ten or twelve Miles into that Kingdom. It was in the beginning of *Auguſt* when the Nights are very ſhort, and, as ſoon as the Sun riſes, the Days for the moſt part hotter than is reaſonably expected from the Climate; and by the teſtimony of all men that day was the hotteſt that had been known. When the Earl came with his Horſe to *Dunce*, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the ſide of a Hill, where the Front could only be in view, and where, he was inform'd, the General *Leſly* and the whole Army was; and it was very true, they were all there indeed; but it was as true, that all did not exceed the number of three thouſand Men, very ill Arm'd, and moſt Country Fellows, who were on the ſuddain got together to make that Shew; and *Leſly* had placed them by the advantage of that Hill ſo ſpeciouſly,

that they had the appearance of a good Body of Men, there being all the ſemblance of great Bodies behind on the other ſide of the Hill; the falſehood of which would have been manifeſt as ſoon as they ſhould move from the place where they were, and from whence they were therefore not to ſtir.

THE Horſe had out-march'd the Foot, which, by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat, was not able to uſe great expedition: beſides there was ſome error in the Orders, and ſome accidents of the Night that had retarded them; ſo that when the Enemy appear'd firſt in view, the Foot and the Artillery was three or four Miles behind.

The Earl's Retreat from Dunce.

NOTHING can be ſaid in the Excuſe of the Counſel of that day, which Might have made the King a glorious King indeed. The Earl of *Holland* was a man of Courage, and at that time not at all ſuſpected to be Corrupted in his Affections; and though he himſelf had not ſeen more of War then two or three Campaigns in *Holland* before his coming to the Court, he had with him many as good Officers as the War of that age, which was very active, had made, and men of unqueſtionable Courage and Military knowledge. As he might very ſafely have made a Halt at *Dunce* till his Foot and Artillery came up to him, ſo he might ſecurely enough have engaged his Body of Horſe againſt their Whole inconſiderable Army, there being neither Tree nor Buſh to interrupt his Charge; but it was thought otherwiſe; and no queſtion it was generally believ'd, by the placing and drawing out their Front in ſo conſpicuous a place, by the appearance of other Troops behind them, and by the ſhewing great herds of Cattle at a diſtance upon the Hills on either ſide, that Their Army was very much Superior in number. And therefore as ſoon as the Earl came in view, he diſpatch'd Meſſengers one after another to the King, with an account of what he heard and ſaw, or believ'd he ſaw; and yet thought not fit to ſtay for an Anſwer; but with the joint Conſent of all his chief Officers (for it was never after pretended that any one Officer of name Diſſwaded it, though they were ſtill Aſhamed of it) Retired towards his Foot, to whom he had likewiſe ſent Orders not to Advance; and ſo Wearied and Tired by the length of the March, and more by the heat of the Weather, which was intolerable, they return'd to the Camp, where the King was; and the *Scots* drew a little back, to a more convenient Poſt for their reſidence.

THE Covenanters, who very well underſtood the Weakneſſes of the Court, as well as their own Want of Strength, were very reaſonably exalted with this Succeſs, and ſcatter'd their Letters abroad amongſt the Noblemen at Court, according to the Humours of the men to whom they writ; there being upon the matter an unreſtrain'd Intercourſe between the King's Camp and *Edenborough*.

The Covenanters write to the three General Officers.

THEY writ three ſeveral Letters to the three Generals, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Holland*. That to the Earl of *Eſſex* was in a dialect more Submiſs than to the others; they ſaid much to him of "his own Fame and Reputation, which added to their Affli-"ction that He ſhould be in Arms againſt them; That they had not the "leaſt imagination of entring into a War againſt *England*, their only "thought and hope was to Defend their own Rights and Liberties, which "were due to them by the Law of the Land, untill they might have Ac-"ceſs to his Majeſty to expoſe their Complaints to him, from which they "were hindred by the Power and Greatneſs of ſome of their own Coun-"try-men; being deſirous the Earl ſhould underſtand that their prin-

cipal

cipal Grievance was the Intereſt of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who, they knew, was not in any degree acceptable to the Earl; and therefore deſired him "to be ready to do them good offices to the King, that they "might be admitted to his preſence. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who was a punctual man in point of Honour, receiv'd this Addreſs ſuperciliouſly enough, ſent it to the King without returning any Anſwer, or holding any Conference, or performing the leaſt Ceremony, with or towards the Meſſengers.

THE Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* gave another kind of Reception to the Letters they receiv'd. To the former, after many profeſſions of high Eſteem of his Perſon, they enlarged upon "their great Affection to "the *Engliſh* Nation, and how they abhor'd the thought of a War be-"tween the two Nations; they beſought him "to preſent their Suppli-"cation (which they incloſed) to the King, and to procure their Depu-"ties admiſſion to his Majeſty. The Earl uſed them with more Reſpect than was ſuitable to the office of a General, and made many profeſſions of "his deſire to Interpoſe, and Mediate a good Peace between the Na-"tions: and it was confidently reported, and believ'd, that he had frequently made thoſe Profeſſions by ſeveral Meſſages he had ſent before into *Scotland*; and he had given Paſſes to many obſcure Perſons, to go into and return out of that Kingdom.

THEIR Letter to the Earl of *Holland* was in a more Confident ſtyle, as to a man from whom they Expected all good offices. They ſent him likewiſe a Copy of their Supplication to the King, and deſired him "to "uſe his credit that a Treaty might be entred into, and that his Majeſty "would appoint men of Religion and of publick Hearts to manage the "Treaty. From this time that Earl was found at leaſt enough inclined to that intereſt; and the King's readineſs to hear diſcourſes of a Pacification, and that Meſſengers would be ſhortly ſent to him with Propoſitions worthy of his Acceptation, abated thoſe Animoſities, and appetite to war, which had made all the noiſe in the March.

INDEED the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Neighbourly reſidence with his Fleet and Foot Soldiers before *Leith*, without any ſhew of Hoſtility, or any care taken to draw his Friends and Followers together for the King's Service; on the other ſide, the Viſits his Mother made him on board his Ship, who was a Lady of great Authority amongſt the Covenanters, and moſt addicted to Them and their Covenant, her Daughters being likewiſe married to thoſe Noblemen, who moſt furiouſly Perſecuted the Church, and Preſided in thoſe Councils; the King's refuſing to give leave to ſome Officers of Horſe, who had offer'd to make Inroads into the Country, and deſtroy the ſtock thereof, whereby they would be preſently obliged to make Submiſſion, and to ask Pardon; and laſtly the reception of the Earl of *Holland* after his ſhameful Retreat, with ſo much Satisfaction and Joy as his Majeſty had manifeſted upon his return (having after the firſt Meſſengers arrival from *Dunce*, when the Enemy was in view, ſent him Orders not to Engage) made it then ſuſpected, as it was afterwards believ'd by Thoſe who ſtood neareſt, that his Majeſty had intruth never any purpoſe to make the War in blood, but believ'd that by Shewing an Army to them which was able to Force them to any Conditions, they would have beg'd Pardon for the Conteſt they had made, and ſo he ſhould have Settled the Church, and all things elſe according to his Pleaſure: and ſure he might have done ſo, if he had but Sate ſtill, and been Conſtant to his own Intereſt, and poſitive in Denying

their

their insolent Demands. But the *Scots* in the Court had made Impression upon so many of the *English* Lords, that though at that time there were very few of them who had entred into an unlawful Combination against the King, yet there was allmost a general Dislike of the War, both by the Lords of the Court and of the Country; and they took this Opportunity to communicate their Murmurs to each other; none of the Persons who were most maligned for their Power and Interest with the King being upon the place; and all men believing, that nothing could be ask'd of the King but what must be satisfied at their charge, whose damage they consider'd though it was to be procured at the expence of the King's honour. When the Covenanters understood by their Intelligence, that the Season was ripe, they sent their Supplication (of which they had scatter'd so many Copies) to the King, and found themselves so Welcome to all persons, that their modesty was not like to suffer any violence in offering the conditions.

They Address to the King.

THE *Scots* had, from the beginning, practiced a new sturdy style of Address, in which, under the Licence of accusing the counsel and carriage of Others, whom yet they never named, they bitterly and insolently Reproach'd the most immediate actions and directions of his Majesty himself; and then made the greatest professions of Duty to his Majesty's person that could be invented. The King had not, at that time, one Person about him of his Council who had the least consideration of his own Honour, or Friendship for those who sat at the Helm of affairs; the Duke of *Lenox* only excepted: who was a Young man of small experience in affairs, though a man of great Honour, and very good Parts, and under the disadvantage of being look'd upon as a *Scots*-man; which he was not in his Affections at all, being born in *England* of an *English* Mother, and having had his Education there; and had indeed the manners and affections of an *English*-man, and a duty and reverence for the King and the Church accordingly; and would never trust himself in those Intrigues, as too mysterious for him.

THE rest who were about the King in any offices of attendance, were the Earl of *Holland*, whom we have had occasion to mention before in the first entrance upon this Discourse, and whom we shall have often occasion hereafter to speak of; and therefore shall say no more of him now, than that he neither Lov'd the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whom he believ'd the *Scots* intended to Revenge themselves upon; nor *Wentworth* the Deputy of *Ireland*; nor the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; nor allmost any thing that was then done in Church or State. Secretary *Coke*, who had all the Dispatches upon his hand, was near Eighty years of age; a man of gravity, who never had quickness from his Cradle; who lov'd the Church well enough as it was twenty years before; and understood nothing that had been done in *Scotland*, and thought that nothing that was or could be done there, was worth such a Journey as the King had put himself to. Sr *Harry Vane* was Comptroller of the House, and a busy and a bustling man; who had credit enough to do his business in all places, and cared for no man otherwise than as he found it very convenient for himself. There was no other of his Council of name but the General the Earl of *Arundel*, who was allways true to the Character under which he has been deliver'd, and thought he had been General long enough. All the Lustre of the Court was in that part of the Nobility which attended upon Command, and at their Own charge; and therefore the more Weary of it. The Earl of *Pembroke* hath been forgotten, who

abhor'd the War as obſtinately as he lov'd Hunting and Hawking, and ſo was like to promote all overtures towards Accommodation with great importunity: ſo the *Scots* found Perſons to treat with according to their Own wiſh. The Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill preſerving his Grandeur and Punctuality, poſitively Refuſed to meddle in the Treaty, or to be Communicated with, or ſo much as to be Preſent, or receive any Viſits from the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners till after the Pacification was concluded.

THE Covenanters were firm, and adhered ſtill to their old natural Principle, even in this their Addreſs; juſtified all they had done to be "according to Their native Rights, and for the better advancement of his "Majeſty's Service, which they had allwayes before their eyes; and deſired "to have thoſe receive exemplary puniſhment, who had done "them ill offices and miſrepreſented their carrage to the King; and "that ſome noble Lords might be appointed to treat upon all Particulars. And upon no other Submiſſion than this, a Treaty was preſently entred upon, and concluded.

A Treaty of Pacification entred upon and concluded.

WHOSOEVER will take upon him to relate all that paſs'd in that Treaty, muſt be beholding to his own Invention: the moſt material matters having paſs'd in Diſcourſe, and very little commited to Writing. Nor did any Two who were preſent agree in the ſame Relations of what was ſaid, and done; and which was worſe, not in the ſame Interpretation of the Meaning of what was comprehended in Writing. An Agreement was made, if that can be call'd an Agreement in which nobody meant what others believ'd he did: "The Armies were to be disbanded; "an Act of Oblivion paſs'd; the King's Forts and Caſtles to be reſtored; "and an Aſſembly and Parliament to be call'd for a full Settlement; no "perſons reſerv'd for Juſtice, becauſe no Fault had been committed. The King's Army, by the very Words of the Agreement, was not to be disbanded untill all ſhould be executed on Their part; and the King himſelf, at that time, reſolv'd to be preſent in the Aſſembly at leaſt, if not in the Parliament: but the Impatience of all was ſuch for Peace, that the King's Army was preſently Disbanded; his Majeſty making all poſſible haſt himſelf to *London*, and ſending the Earl of *Traquaire* to *Edenborough* to prepare all things for the Aſſembly; whilſt the *Scots* made all the Careſſes to many of the *Engliſh*, and Both breath'd out in mutual confidence their Reſentments to each other.

THE Marquis of *Hamilton* (whether upon the fame of the Treaty, or ſent for by the King, few knew) left his Fleet before *Leith* in a very peaceable poſture, and came to *the Berkes* ſome hours after the Treaty was Sign'd; which was very convenient to Him, for thereby he was free from the Reproach that attended it, and at liberty to find Fault with it; which he did freely to the King, and to ſome Others, whereby he preſerv'd himſelf in credit to do more Miſchief. Many were then of opinion, and ſtill are, that the Marquis at that time was very Unacceptable to his Country-men; and it is certain that the chief Managers at the Treaty did perſwade the *Engliſh* in whom they moſt confided, that their principal aim was to remove Him from the Court; which was a deſign willingly heard, and univerſally grateful. But whatever ſtate of grace he ſtood in when he came thither, he did himſelf ſo good offices before he parted, that he was no more in Their diſfavour. The King's Army was preſently Disbanded, and the *Scots* return'd to *Edenborough* with all they deſired; having gotten many more Friends in *England* than they had before; kept all their Officers, and as many of their Men,

as

as they thought fit in Pay; and Proſecuted all thoſe who had not ſhew'd the ſame Zeal in their Covenant as themſelves with great rigour, as men whoſe Affections they doubted; and inſtead of Remitting any thing of their rage againſt their Biſhops, they entred a publick Proteſtation, "that "they did not intend, by any thing contain'd in the Treaty, to Vacate any "of the Proceedings which had been in the late General Aſſembly at "*Glaſgow* (by which all the Biſhops ſtood Excommunicated) and renewed all their Menaces againſt them by Proclamation; and impoſed grievous Penalties upon all who ſhould preſume to harbour any of them in their Houſes: ſo that, by the time the King came to *London*, it appear'd plainly, that the Army was disbanded without any Peace made; and the *Scots* in equal Inclinations, and in more Reputation, to Affront his Majeſty than ever. Upon which a Paper publiſh'd by Them, and avow'd to contain the matter of the Treaty, was Burn'd by the Common Hangman; every body diſavowing the Contents of it, but nobody taking upon him to publiſh a Copy that they own'd to be True.

THE Miſchief that befell the King from this wonderful Atonement cannot be expreſs'd, nor was it ever diſcover'd what prevail'd over his Majeſty to bring it ſo Wofully to paſs: all men were Aſhamed who had contributed to it; nor had he diſmiſs'd his Army with ſo obliging circumſtances as was like to incline them to come willingly together again, if there were occaſion to uſe their ſervice. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had merited very well throughout the whole Affair, and had never made a falſe ſtep in Action or Counſel, was diſcharged in the Croud, without ordinary Ceremony; and an accident happening at the ſame time, or very ſoon after, by the death of the Lord *Aſton*, whereby the Command of the Forreſt of *Needwood* fell into the King's diſpoſal, which lay at the very door of that Earl's Eſtate, and would infinitely have gratified him, was denied to Him, and beſtow'd upon Another: all which wrought very much upon his high Nature, and made him ſuſceptible of ſome Impreſſions afterwards, which otherwiſe would not have found ſuch eaſy admiſſion. *The Ill Conſequences of it.*

THE Factions and Animoſities at Court were either greater, or more viſible, than they had been before. The Earl of *Newcaſtle* (who was Governour to the Prince, and one of the moſt Valuable men in the Kingdom, in his Fortune, in his Dependences, and in his Qualifications) had, at his Own charge, drawn together a goodly Troop of Horſe of two hundred; which for the moſt part conſiſted of the beſt Gentlemen of the North, who were either Allied to the Earl, or of immediate Dependence upon him, and came together purely upon His account; and call'd this Troop *the Prince of Wales's Troop*; whereof the Earl himſelf was Captain. When the Earl of *Holland* march'd with that Party into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* accompanied him with that Troop, and upon occaſion of ſome Orders, deſired that Troop, ſince it belong'd to the Prince of *Wales*, might have ſome Precedence; which the General of the Horſe refuſed to grant him, but required him to march in the rank he had preſcribed; and the other obey'd it accordingly, but with reſentment; imputing it to the little kindneſs that was between them. But as ſoon as the Army was Disbanded, he ſent a Challenge to the Earl of *Holland*, by a Gentleman very punctual, and well acquainted with thoſe Errands; who took a proper ſeaſon to mention it to him, without a poſſibility of ſuſpicion. The Earl of *Holland* was never ſuſpected to want Courage, yet in This occaſion he ſhew'd not that alacrity, but that the

delay expoſed it to notice; and ſo, by the King's Authority, the matter was Compoſed; though diſcourſed of with liberty enough to give the whole Court occaſion to expreſs their Affections to either Party.

THE King himſelf was very Melancholick, and quickly diſcern'd that he had loſt Reputation at home and abroad; and thoſe Counſellors who had been moſt Faulty, either through want of Courage or Wiſdom (for at that time few of them wanted Fidelity) never afterwards recover'd Spirit enough to do their Duty, but gave themſelves up to Thoſe who had ſo much Over-witted them; every man ſhifting the Fault from himſelf, and finding ſome Friend to excuſe him: and it being yet neceſſary, that ſo Infamous a matter ſhould not be cover'd with abſolute Oblivion, it fell to Secretary *Coke*'s turn (for whom nobody cared) who was then near fourſcore years of age, to be made the Sacrifice; and, upon preſence that he had Omitted the writing what he ought to have done, and Inſerted ſomewhat he ought Not to have done, he was put out of his Office; and within a ſhort time after, Sr *Henry Vane* (who was Treaſurer of the Houſe) by the dark Contrivance of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by the open and viſible Power of the Queen, made Secretary of State; which was the only thing that could make the Removal of the other old man Cenſured and Murmur'd at: and this was attended again with a declared and unſeaſonable Diſlike and Diſpleaſure in the Queen againſt the Lievtenant of *Ireland*, newly made Earl of *Strafford*; who out of ſome kindneſs to the old man, who had been much truſted by him and of uſe to him, and out of contempt and deteſtation of *Vane*, but principally out of a deſire to have that Miſcarriage expiated by a greater Sacrifice, oppoſed the Removal of Secretary *Coke* with all the intereſt he could, got it Suſpended for ſome time, and put the Queen to the exerciſe of her full power to Perfect her work; which afterwards produced many ſad Diſaſters. So that this unhappy Pacification kindled many Fires of Contention in Court and Country, though the Flame broke out firſt again in *Scotland*.

ON the other ſide, the *Scots* got ſo much Benefit and Advantage by it, that they brought all their other miſchievous Devices to paſs, with eaſe, and a proſperous Gale in all they went about. They had before little Credit abroad in any Forreign parts, and ſo could procure neither Arms nor Ammunition; and though they could lead the People at Home, out of the hatred and jealouſy of Popery, into unruly Tumults, yet they had not Authority enough over them to engage them in a firm reſolution of Rebellion: the Opinion of their unqueſtionable Duty and Loyalty to the King, was that which had given them reputation to Affront him: nor durſt they yet attempt to lay any Tax or Impoſition upon the People, or to put them to any Charge. But, after this Pacification, they appear'd much more Conſiderable abroad and at home; Abroad, where they were not ſo much conſider'd before, now that they had brought an Army into the Field againſt the King, and gain'd all they pretended to deſire without reproach or blemiſh, *France*, their old Ally, look'd upon them as good Inſtruments to diſturb their Neighbours; and Cardinal *Richlieu* (who had never look'd upon the Defeat and Overthrow at the Iſle of *Ree*, as any reparation for the Attempt and Diſhonour of the Invaſion) was very glad of the opportunity of Diſturbing a Reſt and Quiet, which had not been favourable to His deſigns; and ſent an Agent privately to *Edenborough*, to cheriſh and foment their Unpeaceable Inclinations; and receiv'd Another from thence, who ſollicited Supplies, and communicated Counſels:

Counſels: he ſent them Arms and Ammunition, and promiſed them Encouragement and Aſſiſtance proportionable to any Enterprize they ſhould frankly engage themſelves in. *Holland* entred into a cloſer correſpondence with them; and they found Credit there for a great ſtock of Arms and Ammunition, upon Security of payment within a Year; which Security they eaſily found a way to give. And thus Countenanced, and Supplied, they quickly got Credit and Power over the people at Home; and as ſoon as they had form'd ſome Troops of thoſe who had been liſted by them under good Officers (whereof ſtore reſorted to them of that Nation out of *Germany* and *Sweden*) and aſſign'd Pay to them, they made no longer ſcruple to Impoſe what Money they thought fit upon the People, and to levy it with all Rigour upon them who refuſed, or expreſs'd any unwillingneſs to ſubmit to the Impoſition; and made the reſidence of any amongſt them very uneaſy, and very inſecure, who were but ſuſpected by them not to wiſh well to their Proceedings: and ſo they renew'd all thoſe Forms for the Adminiſtration of the Government, which they had begun in the beginning of the Diſorders, and which they diſclaim'd upon making the Pacification; and refuſed to ſuffer the King's Governour of the Caſtle of *Edenborough* (which was put into his hands about the ſame time) either to repair ſome Works which were newly fall'n down, or ſo much as to buy Proviſion in the Town for the food of the Garriſon.

BUT that which was the greateſt Benefit and Advantage that accrew'd to them from the Agreement, and which was worth all the reſt, was the converſation they had with the *Engliſh* with ſo much Reputation, that they had perſwaded very many to believe, that they had all manner of Fidelity to the King, and had too much cauſe to complain of the hard Proceedings againſt them by the Power of ſome of their own Countrymen; and the Acquaintance they made with ſome particular Lords, to that degree, that They did upon the matter agree what was to be done for the future, and how to obſtruct any Oppoſition or Proceedings by thoſe who were look'd upon as Enemies by both Sides: for none in *Scotland* more Diſliked all that was done in Court, and the chief Actors there, than Thoſe Lords of *England* did; though They were not ſo well prepared for an Expedient for the cure.

THE People of *Scotland* being now reduced by Them to a more implicit Obedience, and nobody daring to oppoſe the moſt extravagant proceedings of the moſt violent perſons in Power, they loſt no time, as hath been ſaid, to make all preparations for a War they meant to purſue. Moſt of the King's Privy-Council and great Miniſters, who (though they had not vigorouſly perform'd their duty in ſupport of the Regal Power) till now had been ſo reſerv'd that they Seem'd not to approve the Diſorderly Proceedings, now as frankly wedded that Intereſt as any of the Leaders, and quickly became the Chief of the Leaders.

The Earl of Argyle joins with the Covenanters, notwithſtanding his great Obligations to the King.

AS the Earl of *Argyle*: who had been preſerv'd by the King's immediate Kindneſs and full Power, and reſcued from the Anger and Fury of his incenſed Father; who, being provoked by the Diſobedience and Inſolence of his Son, reſolv'd ſo to have diſpoſed of his Fortune, that little ſhould have accompanied the Honour after his death. But by the King's interpoſition, and indeed impoſition, the Earl, in ſtrictneſs of the Law in *Scotland*, having need of the King's grace and protection, in regard of his being become Roman-Catholick, and his Majeſty granting all to the Son which he could exact from the Father, the old man

was in the end compell'd to make over all his Eſtate to his Son; reſerving only ſuch a proviſion for Himſelf, as ſupported him according to his Quality during his Life, which he ſpent in the parts beyond the Seas. The King had too much occaſion afterwards to remember, that in the cloſe, after his Majeſty had determin'd what ſhould be done on either part; the old Man declared "he would ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure, "though he believ'd he was hardly dealt with; and then with ſome Bitterneſs put his Son in mind of his Undutyful carriage towards him, and charged him "to carry in his mind how Bountiful the King had been to "him; which yet, he told him, he was ſure he would forget: and thereupon ſaid to his Majeſty "Sir, I muſt know this Young man better than "you can do; you have brought Me low, that you may raiſe Him; which "I doubt you will live to repent; for he is a man of craft, ſubtilty, and "falſhood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to "do You a miſchief, he will be ſure to do it. The King conſider'd it only as the effect of his Paſſion, and took no other care to prevent it but by heaping every day new obligations upon him; making him a Privy-Counſellor, and giving him other Offices and power to do Hurt, thereby to Reſtrain him from doing it; which would have wrought upon any Generous Nature the Effect it ought to have done. The Earl (for his Father was now dead) came not to *Edenborough* during the firſt Troubles; and though he did not diſſemble his Diſpleaſure againſt the Biſhops, becauſe one of them had Affronted him, intruth, very Rudely, yet he renew'd all imaginable profeſſions of Duty to the King and a readineſs to engage in his Service, if thoſe Diſorders ſhould continue: but after the Pacification, and Disbanding of the King's Army, and the Covenanters declaring that they would adhere to the Acts of the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, he made haſt to *Edenborough* with a great train of his Family and Followers; and immediately ſign'd the Covenant, engaged for the proviſion of Arms, and raiſing Forces; and in all things behaved himſelf like a man that might very ſafely be confided in by that Party.

THERE wanted not perſons ſtill who perſwaded the King "that all "might yet be ended without Blood; that there were great Diviſions "amongſt the chief Leaders, through emulations and ambition of com-"mand; and that the acceſs of the Earl of *Argyle* to that Party, would "drive others as conſiderable from it, who never did, nor ever would "unite with Him in any deſign; and therefore adviſed "that his Majeſty "would require them to ſend ſome perſons intruſted by their Body to "attend him, and give an account of the Reaſons of their Proceedings. They demanded a ſafe Conduct for the ſecurity of the perſons they ſhould employ; which was ſent accordingly: and thereupon ſome perſons of the Nobility, and Others, were Commiſſion'd to wait on the King; amongſt which the Lord *Lowden* was principally relied on for his Parts and Abilities; a man who was better known afterwards, and whom there will hereafter be ſo often occaſion to mention, as it will not be neceſſary in this place further to enlarge upon him. They behaved themſelves, in all reſpects, with rhe Confidence of men employ'd by a Forreign State; refuſed to give any account but to the King himſelf; and even to Himſelf gave no other Reaſon for what was done, but the Authority of the doers, and the Neceſſity that required it; that is, that They thought it neceſſary: but then they Poliſh'd their ſturdy behaviour with all the profeſſions of Submiſſion and Duty, which their Language could afford.

AT this time the King happen'd to intercept a Letter, which had been ſign'd by the chief of the Covenanters, and particularly by the Lord *Lowden*, written to the *French* King; in which they complain'd "of the Hardneſs and Injuſtice of the Government that was exerciſed "over them; put him in mind of the Dependence this Kingdom former-"ly had upon that Crown; and deſired him now to take them into His "Protection, and give them Aſſiſtance; and that his Majeſty would give "entire credit to one *Colvil*, who was the Bearer of that Letter, and well "inſtructed in all Particulars: and the Letter it ſelf was ſeal'd, and di-rected *Au Roy*; a ſtyle only uſed from Subjects to their natural King. This Letter being ſeen and peruſed by the Lords of the Council, and the Lord *Lowden* being examin'd, and refuſing to give any other anſwer, than "that it was writ before the Agreement, and thereupon reſerv'd "and never ſent; that if he had committed any offence, he ought to be "Queſtion'd for it in *Scotland*, and not in *England*; and inſiſting upon "his ſafe Conduct, demanded liberty to return: All men were of opi-nion that ſo foul a Conſpiracy and Treaſon ought not to be ſo Slightly excuſed; and that both the Lord *Lowden*, and *Colvil* (who was likewiſe found in *London* and apprehended) ſhould be committed to the Tower: which was done accordingly; all men expecting that they ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy Tryal.

A Letter intercepted from ſome of the Scottiſh *Nobility to the* French *King.*

THIS Diſcovery made a very deep Impreſſion upon the King; and perſwaded him that ſuch a foul Application could never have been thought of, if there had not been more Poyſon in the heart than could be expell'd by eaſy Antidotes; and that the ſtrongeſt Remedies muſt be provided to root out this Miſchief: thereupon he firſt adviſed with that Committee of the Council which uſed to be conſulted in Secret affairs, What was to be done? That Summers action had waſted all the Money that had been carefully laid up; and to carry on that vaſt Expence, the Revenue of the Crown had been Anticipated; ſo that, though the raiſing an Army was viſibly Neceſſary, there appear'd no means How to raiſe that Army. No Expedient occurr'd to them ſo proper as a Parliament, which had been now intermitted near twelve years. And though thoſe Meetings had of late been attended by ſome Diſorders, the effects of Mutinous Spirits; and the laſt had been Diſſolv'd (as hath been ſaid before) with ſome circumſtances of Paſſion and Undutifulneſs, which ſo far Incenſed the King that he was leſs inclined to thoſe Aſſemblies; yet this long Intermiſſion, and the general Compoſure of mens minds in a happy Peace, and univerſal Plenty over the whole Nation (ſuperior ſure to what any other Nation ever enjoy'd) made it reaſonably believ'd, notwithſtanding the murmurs of the People againſt ſome exorbitancies of the Court, that Sober men, and ſuch as lov'd the Peace and Plenty they were poſſeſsd of, would be made choice of to ſerve in the Houſe of Commons; and then the temper of the Houſe of Peers was not to be apprehended: but eſpecially the opinion of the Prejudice and general Averſion over the whole Kingdom to the *Scots*, and the Indignation they had at Their preſumption in their deſign of Invading *England*, made it believ'd that a Parliament would expreſs a very ſharp ſenſe of their Inſolence and carriage towards the King, and provide Remedies proportionable.

UPON theſe Motives and Reaſons, with the unanimous conſent and advice of the whole Committee, the King reſolv'd to Call a Parliament; which he communicated the ſame day, or rather took the reſolution that day, in his full Council of State, which expreſs'd great Joy upon it; and

A Parliament call'd in England *to Sit in* April 1640.

and directed the Lord Keeper to iſſue out Writs for the meeting of a Parliament upon the Third day of *April* then next enſuing; it being now in the Month of *December*; and all expedition was accordingly uſed in ſending out the ſaid Writs, the notice of it being moſt Welcome to the whole Kingdom.

THAT it might appear that the Court was not at all apprehenſive of what the Parliament would, or could do; and that it was Convened by his Majeſty's grace and inclination, not by any motive of neceſſity; it proceeded in all reſpects in the ſame Unpopular ways it had done; Ship-money was levied with the ſame ſeverity; and the ſame rigour uſed in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, without the leaſt compliance with the humour of any man; which look'd like Steadineſs; and, if it were Then well purſued, degenerated too ſoon afterwards.

The Lord Keeper Coventry *Dies.*

IN this interval, between the ſealing of the Writs and the convention of a Parliament, the Lord Keeper *Coventry* died; to the King's great detriment, rather than to his Own. So much hath been ſaid already of this great Man, that there ſhall be no further enlargement in this place, than to ſay, that he was a very Wiſe and Excellent perſon, and had a rare Felicity, in being look'd upon generally throughout the Kingdom with great Affection, and ſingular Eſteem, when very few other men in any High Truſt were ſo; and it is very probable, if He had liv'd to the Sitting of that Parliament, when, whatever lurk'd in the Hearts of any, there was not the leaſt Outward appearance of any Irreverence to the Crown, that he might have had great Authority in the forming thoſe Counſels, which might have preſerv'd it from ſo unhappy a Diſſolution. His Loſs was the more manifeſt and viſible in his Succeſſor; the Seal being within a day or two given to Sr *John Finch*, Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas; a man exceedingly obnoxious to the People upon the buſineſs of Ship-money; and not of Reputation and Authority enough, to countenance and advance the King's Service.

Sir John Finch *made Lord Keeper.*

THESE Digreſſions have taken up too much time, and may ſeem Forreign to the proper ſubject of this Diſcourſe; yet they may have given ſome Light to the obſcure and dark paſſages of that Time, which were Underſtood by very few.

The Parliament met April *the Third*, 1640.

THE Parliament met according to Summons upon the Third of *April* in the Year 1640, with the uſual Ceremony and Formality: and after the King had ſhortly mention'd "his deſire to be again Acquainted "with Parliaments, after ſo long an Intermiſſion; and to receive the Ad- "vice and Aſſiſtance of his Subjects there; he refer'd the Cauſe of the preſent Convention to be enlarged upon by the Lord Keeper: who related the whole Proceedings of *Scotland*; "his Majeſty's condeſcenſions "the Year before, in Disbanding his Army upon their promiſes and pro- "feſſions; their Inſolencies ſince; and their Addreſs to the King of "*France*, by the Letter mention'd before; which the King had touch'd upon, and having forgot to make the Obſervation upon the Superſcription himſelf, he required the Keeper to do it; who told them after the whole Relation, "That his Majeſty did not expect Advice from "them, much leſs that They ſhould interpoſe in any office of Media- "tion, which would not be Grateful to him; but that they ſhould, as "ſoon as might be, give his Majeſty ſuch a Supply, as he might pro- "vide for the Vindication of his Honour, by raiſing an Army, which "the Seaſon of the Year, and the Progreſs the Rebels had already made,

call'd

"call'd for without delay; and his Majeſty aſſured them, if they would "gratify him with the diſpatch of This matter, that he would give them "time enough afterwards to repreſent any Grievances to him, and a fa-"vourable Anſwer to them: and ſo diſmiſs'd the Commons to chooſe their Speaker; to which Serjeant *Glanvile* was deſign'd, and choſen the ſame day: a man very equal to the work, very well acquainted with the proceedings in Parliament; of a quick conception, and of a ready and voluble expreſſion, dextrous in diſpoſing the Houſe, and very acceptable to them. The Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, was made Lord Steward of the King's Houſe; an Office neceſſary in the beginning of a Parliament; being to ſwear all the Members of the Houſe of Commons before they could ſit there. Two days after, the Commons preſented their Speaker to the King, who, in the accuſtom'd manner, approved their choice; upon which they return'd to their Houſe, being now form'd and qualified to enter upon any Debates.

Serjeant Glanvile *choſen Speaker.*

THE Houſe met allways at eight of the Clock, and roſe at twelve; which were the old Parliament hours; that the Committees, upon whom the greateſt burden of the buſineſs lay, might have the afternoons for Their preparation and diſpatch. It was not the Cuſtom to enter upon any Important buſineſs in the firſt Fortnight; both becauſe many Members uſed to be abſent ſo long; and that time was uſually thought neceſſary for the appointment and nomination of Committees, and for other Ceremonies and Preparations that were uſual: but there was no regard Now to that Cuſtom; and the appearance of the Members was very great, there having been a large time between the iſſuing out of the Writs and the meeting of the Parliament, ſo that all Elections were made, and return'd, and every body was willing to fall to the Work.

WHILST men gazed upon each other, looking who ſhould begin (much the greateſt part having never before ſate in Parliament) Mr *Pym*, a man of good reputation, but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in thoſe Aſſemblies as any man then living, brake the Ice, and in a ſet Diſcourſe of above two hours, after mention of the King with the moſt profound reverence, and commendation of his Wiſdom and Juſtice, he obſerv'd, "that by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments many Un-"warrantable things had been practiſed, notwithſtanding the great Vir-"tue of his Majeſty: and then enumerated all the Projects which had been ſet on foot; all the Illegal Proclamations which had been publiſh'd, and the Proceedings which had been upon thoſe Proclamations; the Judgment upon Ship-money; and many Grievances which related to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; ſumming up ſhortly, and ſharply, all that moſt reflected upon the Prudence, and the Juſtice of the Government; concluding, "that he had only laid that Scheme before them, that they "might ſee how much work they had to do to Satisfy their Country; "the method and manner of the doing whereof he left to their Wiſ-"doms. Mr *Grimſton* inſiſted only on the buſineſs of Ship-money; the irregular and prepoſterous engaging the Judges to deliver their Opinion to the King, and their being afterwards divided in their Judgments; and ſaid, "he was perſwaded, that They, who gave their opinions for the "Legality of it, did it againſt the *dictamen* of their own Conſcience. *Peard*, a bold Lawyer, of little note, inveigh'd more Paſſionately againſt it, calling it *an Abomination*: upon which, *Herbert*, the King's Solli-citor, with all imaginable addreſs, in which he then excell'd, put them in mind "with what Candour his Majeſty had proceeded in That, and

Mr Pym's, *and Others Speeches concerning Grievances.*

"all Other things, which related to the adminiſtration of Juſtice to all "his People; that, how perſwaded ſoever He was within himſelf of the "Juſtice as well as Neceſſity of levying Ship-money, he would not ſend "out a Writ for the doing thereof, till he receiv'd the affirmative Advice "of all the Judges of *England*; and when the payment was Oppoſed by "a Gentleman (and then he took occaſion to ſtroke and commend Mr *Hambden*, who ſate under him, for his great temper and modeſty in the proſecution of that Suit) "the King was very well contented that all the "Judges of *England* ſhould determine the Right; that never any Cauſe "had been debated and argued more Solemnly before the Judges; who, "after long Deliberation between themſelves, and being attended with "the Records, which had been cited on both Sides, deliver'd each man "his Opinion and Judgment publickly in the Court, and ſo largely, "that but two Judges argued in a day; and after all this, and a Judg-"ment with that Solemnity pronounced For the King, by which the "King was as Legally poſſeſs'd of that Right, as of any thing elſe he had; "that any particular man ſhould preſume to ſpeak againſt it with that "Bitterneſs, and to call it *an Abomination*, was very Offenſive, and Un-"warrantable; and deſired that that Gentleman, who had uſed that Ex-"preſſion, might Explain himſelf, and then withdraw. Very many call'd him to the Bar; and the Sollicitors Diſcourſe was thought to have ſo much Weight in it, that Mr *Peard* very hardly eſcaped a ſevere Reprehenſion: which is mention'd only that the temper and ſobriety of that Houſe may be taken notice of, and their Diſſolution, which ſhortly after fell out, the more lamented.

THOUGH the Parliament had not ſate above ſix or ſeven days, and had managed all their Debates, and their whole Behaviour with wonderful order and ſobriety, the Court was Impatient that no advance was yet made towards a Supply; which was foreſeen would take up much time, whenſoever they went about it, though never ſo cordially; and therefore they prevail'd with the Houſe of Peers, which was more entirely at the King's diſpoſal, that they would demand a Conference with the Houſe of Commons, and then propoſe to them, by way of advice, "that they would begin with giving the King a Supply, in regard of the "urgency and even neceſſity of his affairs, and afterwards proceed upon "their Grievances, or any thing elſe as they thought fit: and the Houſe of Peers accordingly did give their advice to this purpoſe at a Conference. This Conference was no ſooner reported in the Houſe of Commons, than their whole Temper ſeem'd to be ſhaken. It was the undoubted Fundamental priviledge of the Commons in Parliament, that all Supplies ſhould have their riſe and beginning from Them; this had never been infringed, or violated, or ſo much as queſtion'd in the worſt Times; and that now after ſo long intermiſſion of Parliaments, that all Priviledges might be forgotten, the Houſe of Peers ſhould begin with an action their Anceſtors never attempted, adminiſtred too much cauſe of Jealouſy of ſomewhat elſe that was intended; and ſo with an unanimous conſent they declared it to be "ſo high a Breach of Priviledge, that they could "not proceed upon any other matter untill they firſt receiv'd Satisfaction "and Reparation from the Houſe of Peers; and which the next day they demanded at a Conference. The Lords were ſenſible of their error; which had been foreſeen, and diſſwaded by many of them; they "ac-"knowledg'd the Priviledge of the Commons as fully as they demanded "it, and hoped they had not broken it by offering their advice to them

The Houſe of Peers adviſe the Commons to begin with a Supply:

This voted a Breach of Priviledge by the Commons.

"without mentioning the nature of the Supply, the proportion or man-
"ner of raiſing it, which they confeſs'd belong'd entirely to Them: in
fine, they deſired them, "that this might be no occaſion of waſting their
"time, but that they would proceed their Own way, and in their Own
"method, upon the affairs of the Kingdom. This gave no ſatisfaction;
was no reparation; and ſerv'd Their turn who had no mind to give any
Supply without diſcovering any ſuch diſſatisfaction, which would have
got them no credit, the Houſe generally being exceedingly diſpoſed to
pleaſe the King, and to do him ſervice. But this Breach of Priviledge,
which was craftily enlarged upon as if it ſwallow'd up all their other Pri-
viledges, and made them wholely ſubſervient to the Peers, was univer-
ſally reſented. A Committee was appointed to examine Preſidents of for-
mer times, in caſe of violation of their Priviledges by the Lords, though
not of that magnitude, and thereupon to prepare a Proteſtation to be
ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, and to be entred into their own Journal;
and in the mean time no proceedings to be in the Houſe upon any publick
buſineſs, except upon ſome report from a Committee.

AFTER ſome days had paſs'd in this manner, and it not being in view when this debate would be at an end, the King thought of another expe- dient, and ſent a meſſage in writing to the Commons by Sr *Henry Vane*, who was now both Secretary of State and Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and at that time of good credit there; wherein his Majeſty took notice, "that there was ſome difference between the two Houſes, which re-
"tarded the tranſaction of the great affairs of the Kingdom, at a time
"when a forreign Army was ready to invade it: That he heard the pay-
"ment of Ship-money, notwithſtanding that it was adjudged his right,
"was not willingly ſubmitted to by the People; to manifeſt therefore
"his good affection to his Subjects in general, he made this Propoſition,
"That if the Parliament would grant him twelve Subſidies to be paid
"in three years, in the manner propoſed (that was, five Subſidies to be
"paid the firſt year, four the ſecond, and three to be paid the laſt year)
"his Majeſty would then releaſe all his title or pretence to Ship-money
"for the future, in ſuch a manner as his Parliament ſhould adviſe.

The King's Propoſition to the Houſe of Commons.

THOUGH Exceptions might have been taken again in point of Pri-
viledge, becauſe his Majeſty took notice of the difference between the
two Houſes; yet that Spirit had not Then taken ſo deep root: ſo that they
reſolv'd to enter, the next day after the delivery of it, upon a full debate
of his Majeſty's meſſage; they who deſired to obſtruct the giving any
Supply, believing they ſhould eaſily prevail to reject this propoſition,
upon the greatneſs of the ſum demanded, without appearing not to
favour the Cauſe in which it was to be employ'd, which they could not
have done with any advantage to themſelves, the number of that Claſſis
of men being then not conſiderable in the Houſe. It was about the firſt day of *May* that the Meſſage was deliver'd, and the next day it was re-
ſumed about nine of the Clock in the Morning, and the debate continued
till four of the Clock in the Afternoon; which had been ſeldom uſed be-
fore, but afterwards grew into cuſtom. Many obſerv'd "that they were
"to purchaſe a releaſe of an Impoſition very Unjuſtly laid upon the King-
"dom, and by purchaſing it, they ſhould upon the matter confeſs it had
"been Juſt; which no man in his heart acknowledg'd; and therefore
wiſh'd "that the Judgment might be firſt examin'd, and being once de-
"clared Void, what they ſhould preſent the King with, would appear a
"Gift, and not a Recompence: but this was rather modeſtly inſinuated,

This debated.

than inſiſted upon; and the greater number reflected more on the Proportion demanded, which ſome of thoſe who were thought very well to underſtand the ſtate of the Kingdom, confidently affirm'd to be more than the whole ſtock in Money of the Kingdom amounted to; which appear'd ſhortly after to be a very groſs Miſcomputation. There were very few, except thoſe of the Court (who were ready to give all that the King would ask, and indeed had little to give of their own) who did not believe the Sum demanded to be too great, and wiſhed that a leſs might be accepted, and therefore were willing, when the day was ſo far ſpent, that the Debate might be adjourn'd till the next morning; which was willingly conſented to by all, and ſo the Houſe roſe. All this agitation had been in a Committee of the whole Houſe, the Speaker having left the Chair, to which Mr *Lenthall*, a Lawyer of no eminent account, was call'd. But there was not, in the whole day, in all the variety of contradictions, an offenſive or angry word ſpoken: except only that one private Country Gentleman little known, ſaid, "he obſerv'd that the Supply "was to be employ'd in the ſupporting *Bellum Epiſcopale*, which he "thought the Biſhops were fitteſt to do themſelves: but as there was no reply, or notice taken of it, ſo there was nobody, who ſeconded that envious reflexion, nor any other expreſſion of that kind.

THE next day as ſoon as the Houſe met, and Prayers were read, it reſolv'd again into a Committee of the whole Houſe, the ſame Perſon being again call'd to the Chair: it was expected, and hoped, that there would have been ſome new meſſage from the King, that might have facilitated the debate; but nothing appearing of that kind, the Propoſition was again read, and men of all ſides diſcourſed much of what had been ſaid before, and many ſpoke with more reflection upon the Judgment of Ship-money than they had done the day paſt, and ſeem'd to wiſh, "that "whatſoever they ſhould give the King ſhould be a free teſtimony of "their affection and duty, without any releaſe of Ship-money, which de- "deſerv'd no conſideration, but in a ſhort time would appear void and null. And this ſeem'd to agree with the ſenſe of ſo great a part of the Houſe, that Mr *Hambden* the moſt Popular man in the Houſe (the ſame who had defended the Suit againſt the King in his own name, upon the Illegality of Ship-money) thought the matter ripe for the Qneſtion, and deſired the Queſtion might be put, "Whether the Houſe would conſent to "the Propoſition made by the King, as it was contain'd in the meſſage? which would have been ſure to have found a Negative from all who thought the Sum too great, or were not pleaſed that it ſhould be given in recompence of Ship-money.

WHEN many call'd to have this Queſtion, Serjeant *Glanvile* the Speaker (who ſate by amongſt the other Members whilſt the Houſe was in a Committee, and had rarely uſed to ſpeak in ſuch ſeaſons) roſe up, and in a moſt pathetical Speech, in which he excell'd, endeavour'd to perſwade the Houſe "to comply with the King's deſire, for the good of the "Nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments for ever, which this ſea- "ſonable teſtimony of their affections would infallibly do. He made it manifeſt to them how very inconſiderable a Sum twelve Subſidies amounted to, by telling them, "that he had computed what he was to "pay for thoſe twelve Subſidies; and when he named the Sum, he being known to be poſſeſs'd of a great eſtate, it ſeem'd not worth any farther Deliberation. And in the warmth of his Diſcourſe, which he plainly diſcern'd made a wonderful impreſſion upon the Houſe, he let fall ſome

ſharp

ſharp expreſſions againſt the Impoſition of Ship-money, and the Judgment in the point, which he ſaid plainly "was againſt Law, if he under-"ſtood what Law was (who was known to be very Learned) which expreſſion, how neceſſary and artificial ſoever to reconcile the affections of the Houſe to the matter in queſtion, very much irreconciled him at Court, and to Thoſe upon whom he had the greateſt dependence.

THERE was ſcarce ever a Speech that more gather'd up and united the inclinations of a Popular Council to the Speaker: and if the Queſtion had been preſently put, it was believ'd the number of the Diſſenters would not have appear'd great. But after a ſhort ſilence, ſome men, who wiſh'd well to the Main, expreſs'd a diſlike of the Way, ſo that other men recover'd new courage, and call'd again with ſome earneſtneſs, "that "the Queſtion formerly propoſed by Mr *Hambden* ſhould be put; which ſeem'd to meet with a concurrence. Mr *Hyde* then ſtood up, and deſired "that Queſtion might not be put; ſaid, it was a Captious queſtion, to "which only one ſort of men could clearly give their Vote, which were "They who were for a rejection of the King's Propoſition, and no more "reſuming the debate upon that Subject: but that They who deſired to "give the King a Supply, as he believ'd moſt did, though not in ſuch a "Proportion, nor, it may be, in that Manner, could receive no Satis-"faction by that queſtion; and therefore He propoſed, to the end that "every man might frankly give his Yea, or his No, that the queſtion "might be put only, upon the giving the King a Supply, which being "carried in the Affirmative, another queſtion might be upon the Pro-"portion, and the Manner; and if the firſt were carried in the Negative, "it would produce the ſame effect, as the other queſtion propoſed by "Mr *Hambden* would do.

THIS method was receiv'd by ſome with great approbation, but oppoſed by others with more than ordinary Paſſion, and diverted by other Propoſitions, which being ſeconded took much time, without pointing to any Concluſion. In the end Serjeant *Glanvile* ſaid, "that there had "been a Queſtion propoſed by his Country man, that agreed very well "with His ſenſe, and moved that the Gentleman might be call'd upon "to propoſe it again. Mr *Hyde* ſtated the caſe again as he had done, anſwer'd ſomewhat that had been ſaid againſt it, and moved "that Queſtion "might be put. Whereupon for a long time there was nothing ſaid, but a confuſed clamour, and call, *M^r* Hambden's *Queſtion*, *M^r* Hyde's *Queſtion*; the call appearing much ſtronger for the laſt, than the former: and it was generally believ'd that the Queſtion had been put, and carried in the Affirmative, though it was poſitively oppoſed by *Herbert* the Sollicitor General, for what reaſon no man could imagine, if Sr *Henry Vane* the Secretary had not ſtood up, and ſaid, "that, as it had been all-"ways his cuſtom to deal plainly and clearly with that Houſe in all "things, ſo he could not but now aſſure them, that the putting, and car-"rying that Queſtion, could be of no uſe; for that he was moſt ſure, and "had Authority to tell them ſo, that if they ſhould paſs a Vote for the "giving the King a ſupply, if it were not in the Proportion and Manner "propoſed in his Majeſty's meſſage, it would not be accepted by him; "and therefore deſired that Queſtion might be laid aſide; which being again urged by the Sollicitor General upon the Authority of what the other had declared, and the other Privy-Counſellors ſaying nothing, though they were much diſpleaſed with the Secretaries averment, the buſineſs was no more preſs'd: but it being near five of the Clock in the

afternoon, and every body weary, it was willingly conſented to that the Houſe ſhould be adjourn'd till the next morning.

BOTH Sr *Henry Vane*, and the Sollicitor General (whoſe opinion was of more weight with the King than the others) had made a worſe repreſentation of the humour and affection of the Houſe than it deſerv'd, and undertook to know, that if they came together again, they would paſs ſuch a Vote againſt Ship-money, as would blaſt that Revenue and other branches of the Receipt; which Others believ'd they would not have had the confidence to have Attempted; and very Few, that they would have had the credit to have Compaſs'd. What follow'd in the next Parliament, within leſs than a year, made it believ'd, that Sr *Henry Vane* acted that part Maliciouſly, and to bring all into Confuſion; he being known to have an implacable hatred againſt the Earl of *Strafford* Lievtenant of *Ireland*, whoſe deſtruction was then upon the anvil. But what tranſported the Sollicitor, who had none of the ends of the other, could not be imagin'd, except it was his pride, and peeviſhneſs, when he found that he was like to be of leſs Authority there, than he look'd to be; and yet he was heard with great attention, though his Parts were moſt prevalent in puzzling and perplexing that diſcourſe he meant to croſs. Let their motives be what they would, they Two, and they only, wrought ſo far with the King, that without ſo much Deliberation as the affair was worthy of, his Majeſty the next morning, which was on the Fifth of *May*, near a month after their firſt meeting, ſent for the Speaker to attend him, and took care that he ſhould go directly to the Houſe of Peers, upon ſome apprehenſion that if he had gone to the Houſe of Commons, that Houſe would have entred upon ſome ingrateful diſcourſe; which they were not inclined to do: and then ſending for that Houſe to attend him, the Keeper, by his Majeſty's command, Diſſolv'd the Parliament.

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

THERE could not a greater damp have ſeiſed upon the Spirits of the whole Nation, than this Diſſolution cauſed; and men had much of the Miſery in view, which ſhortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more ſober and diſpaſſionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purpoſes with them; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given, which put the King upon that reſolution. But it was obſerv'd, that in the countenances of Thoſe who had moſt oppoſed all that was deſired by his Majeſty, there was a marvellous Serenity; nor could they conceal the Joy of their hearts: for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the King would be ſhortly compell'd to call another Parliament, and they were as ſure, that ſo many, ſo unbiaſs'd men, would never be elected again.

WITHIN an hour after the diſſolving, Mr *Hyde* met Mr *Saint-John*, who had naturally a great cloud in his Face, and very ſeldom was known to ſmile, but Then had a moſt chearful aſpect, and ſeeing the other melancholick, as intruth he was from his heart, ask'd him, "What troubled "him? who anſwer'd, "That the ſame that troubled Him, he believ'd "troubled moſt Good men; that in ſuch a time of Confuſion, ſo wiſe a "Parliament, which alone could have found Remedy for it, was ſo un-"ſeaſonably diſmiſs'd: the other anſwer'd with a little warmth, "That "all was well; and that it muſt be Worſe, before it could be Better; and "that this Parliament could never have done, what was neceſſary to "be done: as indeed it would not, what He and His friends thought neceſſary.

* THE

THE King, when he had better reflected upon what was like to fall out, and was better inform'd of the temper and duty of the Houſe of Commons, and that they had voted a Supply, if Sr *Henry Vane* had not hindred it by ſo poſitive a declaration that his Majeſty would refuſe it, was heartily Sorry for what he had done; declared with great anger, "that he had never given him ſuch Authority; and that He knew well "that the giving him any Supply would have been welcome to him, be- "cauſe the reputation of his Subjects aſſiſting him in that conjuncture, "was all that he look'd for and conſider'd. He conſulted the ſame day, or the next, whether he might by his Proclamation recall them to meet together again: but finding that impoſſible, he fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raiſing of Money, in which he had ſo wonderful ſucceſs, that, in leſs than three weeks, by the voluntary loan of the particular Lords of the Council, and of other Private Gentlemen about the City, ſome relating to the Court, and others ſtrangers to it, there was no leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds paid into the Exchequer to be iſſued out as his Majeſty ſhould direct: a Sum that ſufficiently manifeſts the plenty of that Time, and greater than moſt Princes in *Europe* could have commanded in ſo ſhort a time; and was an unanſwerable evidence, that the hearts of his Subjects were not then alien'd from their duty to the King, or a juſt jealouſy for His honour.

The King's trouble for it afterwards.

ALL diligence was uſed in making Levies, in which few of the General Officers which had been employ'd the year before were made uſe of; though it was great pity that the Earl of *Eſſex* was not again taken in; which had infallibly preſerv'd him from ſwerving from his Duty, and he would have diſcharged his truſt with Courage and Fidelity, and therefore probably with Succeſs: but he was of a haughty Spirit, and did not think his laſt Summers Service ſo well requited, that he was earneſtly to ſollicit for another Office; though there is no doubt but he would have accepted it if it had been offer'd.

An Army raiſed.

A GENERAL was appointed, the Earl of *Northumberland*; and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horſe: which made the great Officers of the former year, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Holland* (who thought themſelves free from any Overſights that had been committed) more capable of Infuſions by thoſe who were ready to work according to the Occurrences upon their ſeveral conſtitutions. But the reputation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had indeed arrived at a wonderful general eſtimation, was believ'd to be moſt inſtrumental in it: and the Lord *Conway* was thought an able Soldier, and of great Parts. Beſides, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland* were thought leſs governable by thoſe Councils to which the main was then to be intruſted, the Earl of *Strafford* bearing a part in them; to whom the firſt was very averſe, and the latter irreconcileable.

The Earl of Northumberland made General.

DISPATCHES were ſent into *Ireland* to quicken the Preparations there, which the Earl had left in a great forwardneſs, under the care of the Earl of *Ormond* his Lievtenant General: Moneys iſſued out for the levies of Horſe and Foot there, and for the making a Train: all which were as well advanced, as, conſidering the general Diſcompoſure, could be reaſonably expected.

THE King, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, thought they had well provided for the worſt in making of the Lord *Conway* to be General of the Horſe: a man very dear to the two Earls; and indeed, by a very extraordinary fate, he had got a very particular intereſt

The Lord Conway General of the Horſe.

tereſt and eſteem in many Worthy men of very different qualifications. He had been born a Soldier in his Father's Garriſon of the *Brill*, when he was Governour there; and bred up, in ſeveral Commands, under the particular care of the Lord *Vere*, whoſe Nephew he was; and though he was married young, when his Father was Secretary of State, there was no Action of the *Engliſh* either at Sea or Land, in which he had not a conſiderable Command; and allways preſerv'd a more than ordinary Reputation, in ſpight of ſome great Infirmities, which uſe to be a great allay to the credit of active men; for he was a voluptuous man in eating and drinking, and of great licence in all other exceſſes, and yet was very acceptable to the ſtricteſt, and the graveſt men of all conditions. And which was ſtranger than all this, he had allways (from his Pleaſure, to which his nature exceſſively inclined him, and from his Profeſſion, in which he was diligent enough) reſerv'd ſo much time for his Books and Study, that he was well verſed in all parts of Learning, at leaſt appear'd like ſuch a one in all occaſions, and in the beſt companies. He was of a very pleaſant and inoffenſive Converſation, which made him generally very acceptable: ſo that the Court being at that time full of Faction, very few loving one another, or thoſe who reſorted to any who were not lov'd by them, He alone was even domeſtick with all, and not ſuſpected by either of the Lords or the Ladies factions.

THE War was generally thought to be as well provided for, as, after the laſt years miſcarriage, it could be, by His being made General of the Horſe; and no man was more pleaſed with it, than the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had contracted an extraordinary opinion of this man, and took great delight in his company, he being well able to ſpeak in the affairs of the Church, and taking care to be thought by him a very zealous defender of it; when they who knew him better, knew he had no kind of ſenſe of Religion, and thought all was alike. He was ſent down with the firſt Troops of Horſe, and Foot, which were levied, to the Borders of *Scotland*, to attend the motion of the Enemy, and had a Strength ſufficient to ſtop them if they ſhould attempt to paſs the River, which was not fordable in above one or two places, there being good Garriſons in *Berwick* and *Carliſle*. And in this poſture he lay near *Newburn* in the out-skirts of *Northumberland*.

WHILST theſe things were thus publickly acted, private agitations were not leſs vigorouſly intended. The Treaty and Pacification of the former year, had given an opportunity of forming Correſpondences, and contriving Deſigns, which before had been more clandeſtine; and the late meetings in Parliament had brought many together, who could not otherwiſe have met, and diſcover'd humours and affections, which could not elſe have been ſo eaſily communicated. The Court was full of Faction and Animoſity, each man more intending the ruin of his Adverſary, and ſatisfying his private Malice, than advancing his Maſter's Service, or complying with his Publick duty, and to that purpoſe directing all their endeavours, and forming all their intercourſe; whilſt every man unwiſely thought him whom he found an Enemy to his Enemies, a Friend to all his other affections; or rather by the narrowneſs of his underſtanding, and extent of his paſſion, contracted all his other affections to that one of Revenge.

AND by this means thoſe Emiſſaries and Agents for the Confuſion which was to follow, were furniſh'd with opportunity and art to Intangle all thoſe (and God knows they were a great many) who were tranſported

with

with thoſe vulgar and vile Conſiderations: cheap, ſenſeleſs Libels were ſcatter'd about the City, and fix'd upon Gates and publick remarkable places, traducing and vilifying Thoſe who were in higheſt truſt and employment: Tumults were raiſed, and all licence both in actions and words taken; inſomuch as a Rabble of mean, unknown, diſſolute perſons, to the number of ſome thouſands, attempted the Houſe of the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*, with open profeſſion and proteſtation, "that they would tear him in pieces; which (though one of that Rabble, a Saylor, was apprehended and executed in *Southwark*, upon an Indictment of High Treaſon) was ſo juſt a cauſe of Terrour, that the Arch-Biſhop, by the King's command, lodged for ſome days and nights in *White-Hall*; which place likewiſe was not unthreatned in their ſeditious meetings and diſcourſes. This infamous, ſcandalous, headleſs Inſurrection, quaſh'd by the deſerv'd death of that Varlet, was not thought to be contrived or fomented by any perſons of Quality: yet it was diſcourſed after in the Houſe of Commons by Mr *Strode* (one of thoſe *Ephori* who moſt avow'd the curbing and ſuppreſſing of Majeſty) with much pleaſure and content; and it was mention'd in the firſt draught of the firſt Remonſtrance (when the ſame was brought in by Mr *Pym*) not without a touch of approbation, which was for that reaſon ſomewhat alter'd, though it ſtill carried nothing of cenſure upon it in that piece.

A Tumult about Lambeth *Houſe.*

THINGS ſtanding thus both in Court and City, and the *Scots* preparing with great induſtry for Invaſion, and we, at leaſt, for a Defence, on a ſuddain the Lord *Lowden* (who before was ſaid to be committed for deſiring protection and aid from the *French* King, by a Letter under his hand) was diſcharged from his Impriſonment; without imparting that reſolution to the Council; and after a few days admittance and kind reception at *White-Hall*, was diſmis'd into *Scotland*; his authority and power with that People being as conſiderable as any man's, and his conduct as neceſſary for the enterprizes they had in hand. This Stratagem was never underſtood; and was then variouſly ſpoken of: many believing he had undertaken great matters for the King in *Scotland*, and to quiet that Diſtemper: others, that it was an act entirely compaſs'd by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was like to ſtand in need of great Supporters, by that extraordinary obligation to endear himſelf with that Nation; or to communicate ſomewhat to that Nation, if his condition before were ſo good that it needed no endearment. They who publiſh'd their thoughts leaſt, made no ſcruple of ſaying, "that if the policy were good and neceſſary "of his firſt commitment, it ſeem'd as juſt and prudent to have coutinued "him in that reſtraint.

THE progreſs in the King's advance for *Scotland*, was exceedingly hindred by the great and dangerous ſickneſs of the Earl of *Northumberland* the General, whoſe recovery was either totally deſpair'd of by the Phyſician, or pronounced to be expected very ſlowly; ſo that there would be no poſſibility for him to perform the Service of the North: whereupon he ſent to the King, to deſire that he would make choice of another General. And though the Lord *Conway* in all his Letters ſent advertiſement, "that the *Scots* had not advanced their Preparations to "that degree that they would be able to march that Year, yet the King had much better Intelligence that they were in readineſs to move; and ſo concluded that it was neceſſary to ſend another General; and deſign'd the Earl of *Strafford* for that Command, and to leave the Forces in *Ireland*, which were raiſed to make a diverſion in *Scotland*, to be govern'd

by the Earl of *Ormond*. The Earl of *Strafford* was ſcarce recover'd from a great ſickneſs, yet was willing to undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to ſee how few men were forward to ſerve the King with that vigour of mind they ought to do; but knowing well the malicious deſigns which were contrived againſt himſelf, he would rather ſerve as Lievtenant-General under the Earl of *Northumberland*, than that He ſhould reſign his Commiſſion: and ſo, with and under that qualification, he made all poſſible haſt towards the North, before he had ſtrength enough for the journey.

The Lord Conway *routed at* Newburn.

BUT before he could arrive with the Army, that infamous irreparable Rout at *Newburn* was fall'n out; where the Enemy march'd at a time and place, when and where they were expected, through a River deep though fordable, and up a Hill, where our Army was ranged to receive them: through thoſe difficulties and diſadvantages, without giving or taking any Blows (for the five or ſix men of ours who were kill'd, fell by their Canon, before the paſſing of the River) they put our whole Army to the moſt ſhameful and confounded Flight that was ever heard of; our Foot making no leſs haſt from *Newcaſtle*, than our Horſe from *Newburn*; both leaving the Honour, and a great deal of the Wealth of the Kingdom, ariſing from the Coal-mines, to Thoſe who had not confidence enough (notwithſtanding the evidence they had ſeen of our fear) to poſſeſs that Town in two days after; not believing it poſſible that ſuch a place, which was able to have maintain'd the War alone ſome time, could be ſo kindly quitted to them: The Lord *Conway* never after turning his face towards the Enemy, or doing any thing like a Commander, though his Troops were quickly brought together again, without the loſs of a dozen men, and were ſo aſhamed of their flight, that they were very willing as well as able to have taken what revenge they would upon the Enemy, who were poſſeſs'd with all the fears imaginable, and would hardly believe their own ſucceſs, till they were aſſured that the Lord *Conway* with all his Army reſted quietly in *Durham*, and then they preſumed to enter into *Newcaſtle*.

The Scots *Army enter* Newcaſtle:

BUT it ſeem'd afterwards to be a full vindication of the Honour of the Nation, that, from this infamous Defeat at *Newburn*, to the laſt entire Conqueſt of *Scotland* by *Cromwell*, the *Scots* Army ſcarce perform'd one ſignal action againſt the *Engliſh*, but were allways beaten by great inequality of numbers as oft as they encountred, if they were not ſupported by *Engliſh* Troops.

IN this poſture the Earl of *Strafford* found the Army about *Durham*, bringing with him a body much broken with his late ſickneſs, which was not clearly ſhaken off, and a mind and temper confeſſing the dregs of it, which being marvellouſly provoked and inflamed with indignation at the late Diſhonour, render'd him leſs gracious, that is, leſs inclined to make himſelf ſo, to the Officers, upon his firſt entrance into his charge; it may be, in that maſs of diſorder, not quickly diſcerning to whom kindneſs and reſpect was juſtly due. But thoſe who by this time no doubt were retain'd for that purpoſe, took that opportunity to incenſe the Army againſt him; and ſo far prevail'd in it, that in a ſhort time it was more inflamed againſt Him than againſt the Enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to exceſs of Conſcience, and that their being not ſatisfied in the grounds of the Quarrel was the only cauſe that they fought no better. In this Indiſpoſition in all parts, the Earl found it neceſſary to retire with the Army to the

skirts

skirts of *Yorkshire*, and himself to *York* (whither the King was come) leaving *Northumberland* and the Bishoprick of *Durham* to be possess'd by the Victors; who being abundantly satisfied with what they never hoped to possess, made no hast to advance their new Conquests. *The King's Army retreating towards York.*

It was very much wonder'd at, that the Earl of *Strafford*, upon his first arrival at the Army, call'd no persons to a Council of War for that shameful business of *Newburn*, or the more shameful quitting of *Newcastle* (where were not ten barrels of Musquet-Bullets, nor Moulds to make any; the Enemy having been long expected there, and our Army not less than a Month in that Town; time enough, if nothing had been done before, to have made that place tenable for a longer time than it could have been distress'd). Whether the Earl saw that it would not have been in His power to have proceeded finally and exemplarily upon that inquisition, and Therefore chose rather not to enter upon it; or whether he found the Guilt to be so involv'd, that though some were more Obnoxious, few were unfaulty; or whether he plainly discern'd to what the Whole tended, and so would not trouble himself further in discovering of that, which, instead of a Reproach, might prove a Benefit to the persons concern'd; I know not: but publick Examination it never had.

The *Scots* needed not now advance their Progress; their Game was in the hands (no prejudice to their skill) of better Gamesters. Besides, they were not to make the least inroad, or to do the least trespass to their Neighbours of *Yorkshire*; who were as sollicitous, that by any access or concurrence of the strength of that large County, they should not be driven farther back; and therefore instead of drawing their Train'd Bands together (which of themselves would have been a greater or better Army than was to contend with them) to defend their County, or the Person of the King then with them, they prepared Petitions of advice and good counsel to him to call a Parliament, and to remove all other Grievances but the *Scots*. At the same time some Lords from *London* (of known, and since publish'd affections to that Invasion) attended his Majesty at *York* with a Petition, sign'd by others, eight or ten in the whole, who were craftily perswaded by the Leigers there, Mr *Pym*, Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Saint-John*, to concur in it, being full of duty and modesty enough; without considering that nothing else at that time could have done mischief; and so suffer'd themselves to be made Instruments towards those Ends which intruth they abhor'd.

In these distractions and discomposures, between an Enemy proud and insolent in success, an Army corrupted, or at least disheartned, a County mutinous and inclined to the Rebels, at least not inclined to reduce them, and a Court infected with all three, the King could not but find himself in great straits; besides that his Treasure, which had hitherto kept that which was best from being worse, was quite spent. The raising and disbanding the first Army so unfortunately and wretchedly, had cost full three hundred thousand pounds, which the good husbandry of the Ministers of the Revenue had treasured up for an emergent occasion: and the borrowing so much money for the raising and supplying this latter Army, had drawn assignments and anticipations upon the Revenue to that degree, that there was not left wherewithall to defray the necessary expence of the King's Houshold. A Parliament would not be easily thought of, on this consideration, that it could not come together speedily enough to prevent that mischief to which it should be chiefly applied: for if we were not then in a condition to defend our selves, into

forty days (the ſooneſt a Parliament could meet) an Army elate with victory, when no Town was fortified, or paſs ſecured, might run over the Kingdom; eſpecially the People being every where ſo like to bid them welcome.

A great Council of the Peers ſummon'd to York.

A NEW Invention (not before heard of, that is, ſo old, that it had not been practiſed in ſome hundreds of years) was thought of, to call a great Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majeſty at *York*, that by their advice that great affair might be the more proſperouſly managed. Whether it was then conceiv'd, that the Honour of the King and Kingdom being ſo viſibly upon the Stage, thoſe Branches of Honour, which could not outlive the Root, would undoubtedly reſcue and preſerve it; or whether it was believ'd, that upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion the Peers would ſuffice to raiſe Money; as it was in that meeting propoſed by one of them, "that They might give Subſidies: Whether the advice was given by thoſe who had not the confidence in plain terms to propoſe a Parliament, but were confident That would produce one; or whether a Parliament was then reſolv'd on, and They call'd to be obliged by it, and ſo to be obliged to ſome ſober undertaking in it; or what other ground or intention there was of that Council, was never known: or whether indeed it was reſolv'd out of trouble and agony of afflicted thoughts, becauſe no other way occurr'd. But ſuch a Reſolution was taken, and Writs immediately iſſued under the Great Seal of *England* to all the Peers to attend his Majeſty at *York* within twenty days; and preparations were made in all places accordingly.

The ſtate of affairs at Court at that time.

WHILST the Lords are on their way thither, it will not be amiſs to conſider the general ſtate of affairs in that time, and the Perſons to whom the managing the Publick Buſineſs was principally then, and for ſome time had been intruſted; that ſo upon view of the materials, we may be the better enabled to gueſs how thoſe dextrous workmen were like to employ themſelves. It hath been ſaid already, that upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament but four months before, the Lords of the Council beſtirr'd themſelves in levying the Ship-money, and lending great ſums of money for the War.

The Convocation continued after the Parliament: makes Canons.

THE Convocation-Houſe (the regular and legal aſſembling of the Clergy) cuſtomarily beginning and ending with Parliaments, was, after the determination of the laſt, by a new Writ continued, and ſate for the ſpace of above a month under the proper title of a Synod; made Canons, which was thought it might do; and gave Subſidies, out of Parliament, and enjoin'd Oaths, which certainly it might Not do: in a word, did many things which in the beſt of times might have been queſtion'd, and therefore were ſure to be condemn'd in the worſt (what fewel it was to the fire that enſued, ſhall be mention'd in its place) and drew the ſame Prejudice upon the whole body of the Clergy, to which before only ſome few Clergy-men were expoſed.

The Papiſts activity and boldneſs about that time.

THE Papiſts had for many years enjoy'd a great calm, being upon the matter abſolv'd from the Severeſt parts of the Law, and diſpenſed with for the Gentleſt; and were grown only a part of the Revenue, without any probable danger of being made a ſacrifice to the Law. They were look'd upon as good Subjects at Court, and as good Neighbours in the Country; all the reſtraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not prudent managers of this Proſperity, being too elate and tranſported with the Protection and Connivance they receiv'd: though I am perſwaded their Numbers encreaſed not, their Pomp

and

and Boldneſs did, to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the State, they appear'd more publickly, entertain'd and urged Conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they reſorted at common hours to Maſs to *Somerſet* Houſe, and return'd thence in great multitudes, with the ſame barefacedneſs as others came from the *Savoy* or other neighbour Churches: they attempted and ſometimes obtain'd Proſelytes of weak uninform'd Ladies, with ſuch circumſtances as provoked the Rage, and deſtroy'd the Charity of great and powerful Families, which longed for their Suppreſſion: they grew not only ſecret Contrivers, but publick profeſs'd Promoters of, and Miniſters in, the moſt odious, and the moſt grievous Projects: as in that of Soap, formed, framed, and executed, by allmoſt a Corporation of that Religion; which under that licence and notion, might be, and were ſuſpected to be, qualified for other agitations. The Prieſts, and ſuch as were in Orders (Orders that in themſelves were puniſhable by Death) were departed from their former modeſty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkned to; inſomuch as a Jeſuit at *Paris* who was coming for *England*, had the boldneſs to viſit the Embaſſadour there, who knew him to be ſuch, and offering his ſervice acquainted him with his Journey, as if there had been no Laws There for his reception. And for the moſt invidious Protection and Countenance of that whole Party, a Publick Agent from *Rome* (firſt Mr *Con* a *Scotiſh*-man, and after him the Count of *Rozetti* an *Italian*) reſided at *London* in great Port; publickly viſited the Court; and was avowedly reſorted to by the Catholicks of all conditions, over whom he aſſumed a particular juriſdiction; and was careſs'd, and preſented magnificently by the Ladies of Honour who inclined to that Profeſſion. They had likewiſe, with more noiſe and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made Publick Collections of Money to a conſiderable ſum, upon ſome recommendations from the Queen, and to be by her Majeſty preſented as a free will Offering from his Roman-Catholick Subjects to the King, for the carrying on the War againſt the *Scots*; which drew upon Them the rage of that Nation, with little devotion and reverence to the Queen her ſelf; as if She deſired to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion in one Kingdom as well as the other, by the Arms of the Roman-Catholicks. To conclude, they carried themſelves ſo, as if they had been ſuborn'd by the *Scots* to root out their Own Religion.

THE bulk and burthen of the State affairs, whereby the Envy attended them likewiſe, lay principally upon the ſhoulders of the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*; ſome others being join'd to them, as the Earl of *Northumberland* for ornament, the Lord Biſhop of *London* for his place, being Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, the two Secretaries, Sr *Henry Vane* and Sr *Francis Windebank*, for ſervice and communication of Intelligence; only the Marquis of *Hamilton* indeed, by his ſkill and intereſt, bore as great a part as he had a mind to do, and had the ſkill to meddle no farther than he had a mind. Theſe perſons made up the Committee of State (which was reproachfully after call'd *the Junto*, and enviouſly then in the Court *the Cabinet Council*) who were upon all occaſions, when the Secretaries receiv'd any extraordinary Intelligence, or were to make any extraordinary Diſpatch, or as often otherwiſe as was thought fit, to meet: whereas the Body of the Council obſerv'd ſet days and hours for Their meeting, and came not elſe together except ſpecially ſummon'd

The perſons then compoſing the Committee of State:

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury,

BUT, as I said before, the Weight and the Envy of all great matters rested upon the three first. The Arch-Bishop, besides the sole disposal of whatsoever concern'd the Church, which was an invidious province, having been from the death of the Earl of *Portland* (at which time he was made Commissioner of the Treasury) more engaged in the Civil business, than I am perswaded he desired to be; and throughout the whole business passionately concern'd for the Church of *Scotland*, and so, conversant in those transactions: by all which means, besides that he had usually about him an uncourtly quickness, if not sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what men said or thought of him; a more than ordinary Prejudice and Uncharitableness was contracted against him; to which the new Canons, and the circumstances in making them, made no small addition.

The Earl of Strafford,

THE Earl of *Strafford* had for the space of allmost six years entirely govern'd *Ireland*, where he had been compell'd, upon reason of State, to exercise many acts of Power; and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Mount-Norris*; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter, if it had not concern'd a person notoriously unbelov'd, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant peice of Sovereignty, that in a time of Peace had been ever executed by any Subject. When and why he was call'd out of *Ireland* to assist in Council here, I have touch'd before. He was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony to have many Friends at Court, and therefore could not but have Enemies enough: he had Two that profess'd it, the Earl of *Holland*, and Sr *Henry Vane*; the first could never forget or forgive a sharp suddain Saying of his (for I cannot call it counsel or advice) when there had been some difference a few years before between his Lordship and the Lord *Weston*, in the managing whereof the Earl of *Holland* was confined to his House, "that "the King should do well to cut off his head: which had been aggravated (if such an injury were capable of aggravation) by a succession of Discountenances mutually perform'd between them to that time. Sr *Henry Vane* had not far to look back to the time that the Earl had with great earnestness opposed his being made Secretary, and prevail'd for above a months delay; which, though it was done with great reason and justice by the Earl, on the behalf of an old Fellow-servant, and his very good Friend, Sr *John Coke* (who was to be, and, afterwards, was remov'd to let Him in) yet the justice to the One, lessen'd not the sense of unkindness to the Other: after which, or about the same time (which it may be made the other to be the more virulently remembred) being to be made Earl of *Strafford*, he would needs in that Patent have a new creation of a Barony, and was made Baron of *Raby*, a House belonging to Sr *Henry Vane*, and an Honour he made account should belong to himself; which was an act of the most unnecessary provocation (though he contemn'd the man with marvellous scorn) that I have known, and I believe was the chief occasion of the loss of his head. To these a Third adversary (like to be more pernicious than the other Two) was added, the Earl of *Essex*, naturally enough disinclined to his Person, his Power, and his Parts, upon some rough carriage of the Earl of *Strafford*'s towards the late Earl of *Saint Albans*, to whom he had a friendship, and therefore openly profess'd to be revenged. Lastly he had an Enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, the whole

Scot-

Scotiſh Nation, provoked by the Declaration he had procured of *Ireland*, and ſome high carriage and expreſſions of his againſt them in that Kingdom. So that He had reaſon to expect as hard meaſure from ſuch Popular Councils as he ſaw were like to be in requeſt, as all thoſe Diſadvantages could create towards him. And yet no doubt his confidence was ſo great in Himſelf, and in the form of Juſtice (which he could not ſuſpect would be ſo totally confounded) that he never apprehended a greater cenſure than a Sequeſtration from all Publick Employments, in which it is probable he had abundant ſatiety: and this confidence could not have proceeded (conſidering the full knowledge he had of his Judges) but from a proportionable ſtock of, and ſatisfaction in, his own Innocence.

THE Lord *Cottington*, though he was a very wiſe man, yet having ſpent the greateſt part of his life in *Spain*, and ſo having been allways ſubject to the unpopular imputation of being of the *Spaniſh* Faction; indeed was better skill'd to make his Maſter great abroad, than gracious at home; and being Chancellor of the Exchequer from the time of the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the Fourth year, had his hand in many hard ſhifts for Money; and had the diſadvantage of being ſuſpected at leaſt a Favourer of the Papiſts (though that Religion thought it ſelf nothing beholding to him) by which he was in great umbrage with the People: and then though he were much leſs hated than either of the other two, and the leſs, becauſe there was nothing of kindneſs between the Arch-Biſhop and him; and indeed very few particulars of moment could be proved againſt him: yet there were two objections againſt him, which render'd him as odious as any to the great Reformers; the one, that he was not to be reconciled to or made uſe of in any of their deſigns; the other, that he had two good Offices, without the having of which their Reformation could not be perfect: for beſides being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was likewiſe Maſter of the Wards, and had raiſed the Revenue of that Court to the King to be much greater than it had ever been before His adminiſtration; by which husbandry all the rich Families of *England*, of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were exceedingly incenſed, and even indevoted to the Crown, looking upon what the Law had intended for their Preſervation, to be now applied to their Deſtruction; and therefore reſolv'd to take the firſt opportunity to raviſh that Jewel out of the Royal Diadem, though it were faſten'd There by the known Law, upon as unqueſtionable a Right, as the Subject enjoy'd any thing that was moſt his Own. *The Lord Cottington,*

THE Marquis of *Hamilton*, if he had been then weigh'd in the Scales of the People's hatred, was at that time thought to be in greater danger than any one of the other; for he had more Enemies, and fewer Friends, in Court or Country, than any of the other. His intereſt in the King's affection was at leaſt equal, and thought to be ſuperior, to any man's; and he had receiv'd as invidious inſtances, and marks of thoſe affections. He had more out-faced the Law in bold Projects and Preſſures upon the People, than any other man durſt have preſumed to do, as eſpecially in the projects of Wine and Iron; about the laſt of which, and the moſt groſs, he had a ſharp conteſt with the Lord *Coventry* (who was a good Wreſtler too) and at laſt compell'd him to let it paſs the Seal: the entire profit of which allways reverted to Himſelf, and to ſuch as were his Penſioners. He had been the ſole manager of the buſineſs of *Scotland* till the Pacification; the readieſt man, though Then abſent, *The Marquis of Hamilton.*

abſent, to adviſe that Pacification, and the moſt viſible Author of the breach of it. Laſtly, the Diſcoveries between the Lord *Mackey* and *David Ramſay*, by which the Marquis was accuſed of deſigning to make himſelf King of *Scotland*, were freſh in many mens memories, and the late paſſages in that Kingdom had revived it in others; ſo that He might reaſonably have expected as ill a preſage for himſelf from thoſe Fortune-tellers, as the moſt Melancholick of the other: but as he had been allways moſt careful and ſollicitous for Himſelf, ſo he was moſt likely to be apprehenſive on his Own behalf, and to provide accordingly.

AND here I cannot omit a Story which I receiv'd from a very good hand, by which his great ſubtilty and induſtry for himſelf may appear, and was indeed as great a piece of Art (if it were Art) as I believe will be found amongſt the modern Politicians. After the calling the Council of the Peers at *York* was reſolv'd upon, and a little before the time of their apearance, the Marquis came to the King, and with ſome cloudineſs (which was not unnatural) and trouble in his countenance, he defired his Majeſty to give him leave to Travel; the King ſurprized was equally troubled at it, and demanded his reaſon: he told him, "he well foreſaw a Storm, in which His ſhipwrack "was moſt probable amongſt others; and that he, never having any "thing before his eyes but his Majeſty's Service, or in his vows, but an "entire ſimple obedience to His commands, might happily by his Own "unskilfulneſs in what was fit by any other rule, be more obnoxious "than other men; and therefore, that with his Majeſty's leave, he "would withdraw himſelf from the hazard at leaſt of that Tempeſt. The King, moſt graciouſly inclined to him, bid him "be moſt confi-"dent, that though he might (which he was reſolv'd to do) gratify "his People with any reaſonable indulgence, he would never fail his "good Servants in that protection which they had equal reaſon to expect "from him. The Marquis with ſome quickneſs replied, "that the "knowledge of that gracious diſpoſition in his Majeſty, was the prin-"cipal cauſe that he beſought leave to be abſent; and that otherwiſe "he would not ſo far deſert his own Innocence, which he was ſure "could be only ſullied and diſcredited with Infirmities and Indiſcre-"tions, not tainted or defaced with Deſign and Malice. But (ſaid he) "I know your Majeſty's goodneſs will interpoſe for me to your Own "prejudice: and I will rather run any fortune, from whence I may "again return to ſerve you, than be (as I foreſee I ſhould be) ſo im-"mediate a cauſe of damage and miſchief to ſo Royal a Maſter. He told him, "that he knew there were no leſs fatal arrows aim'd at "the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford* than at him-"ſelf; and that he had advertiſed the firſt, and adviſed the laſt, to "take the ſame courſe of withdrawing whereby He meant to ſecure "himſelf: but (he ſaid) the Earl was too great-hearted to Fear, and he "doubted the other was toobold to Fly.

THE King was much diſturb'd with the probability and reaſon of what was ſaid; which the other as ſoon obſerving, "There is (ſaid he) "one way by which I might ſecure my ſelf without leaving the King-"dom, and by which your Majeſty, as theſe times are like to go, "might receive ſome advantage; but it is ſo contrary to my nature, "and will be ſo ſcandalous to my honour in the opinion of men, that, "for my own part, I had rather run my fortune. His Majeſty, glad

that

that ſuch an expedient might be found (as being unwilling to hazard his ſafety againſt ſo much reaſon as had been ſpoken, by compelling him to ſtay; and as unwilling, by ſuffering him to go, to confeſs an apprehenſion that he might be impoſed upon) Impatiently ask'd "What "that way was? The Marquis replied, "That he might endear him- "ſelf to the other Party by promiſing his Service to them, and ſeem- "ing to concur with them in Opinions and Deſigns; the which he "had reaſon to believe the principal Perſons would not be averſe to, "in hope that his ſuppoſed intereſt in his Majeſty's opinion might be "look'd upon as of moment to them for their particular Recommen- "dations. But, he ſaid, this he knew would be look'd upon with ſo "much Jealouſy by other men, and ſhortly with that Reproach, that "he might by degrees be leſſen'd even in his Majeſty's own truſt; and "therefore it was a province he had no mind to undertake: and ſo re- new'd his Suit again very earneſtly for leave to travel.

THE King, for the reaſons aforeſaid, much delighted with this Expedient, and believing likewiſe, that intruth he might by this means frequently receive Informations of great uſe, and having a ſingular eſteem of the Fidelity and Affection of the Marquis, told him poſitively, "That he ſhould not leave him; that he was not only contented, "but commanded him to Ingratiate himſelf by any means with the "other People; and aſſured him "that it ſhould not be in any body's "power to infuſe the leaſt jealouſy of him into his Royal breaſt. The which reſolution his Majeſty obſerv'd ſo conſtantly, that the other enjoy'd the liberty of doing whatſoever he found neceſſary for his own behoof: and with wonderfull craft and low condeſcenſions to the ends and the appetites of very inferior people, and by ſeaſonable inſinuations to ſeveral leading perſons (of how different inclinations ſoever) of ſuch particulars as were grateful to them, and ſeem'd to advance their diſtinct and even contrary Intereſts and Pretences, he grew to have no leſs credit in the Parliament than with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; and was with great vigilance, induſtry, and dexterity, preſerv'd from any Publick Reproach in thoſe charges which ſerv'd to ruin other men, and which with more reaſon and juſtice might have been applied to Him than any other; and yet for a long time he did not incur the jealouſy of the King; to whom he likewiſe gave many advertiſements, which if there had been perſons enough who would have concurr'd in prevention, might have proved of great uſe.

The King declares to the great Council at York *his reſolutions to call a Parliament.*

IN this ſtate and condition were Things and Perſons when the Lords came to *York* to the great Council in *September*; and the firſt day of their meeting (that the counſel might not ſeem to ariſe from them who were reſolv'd to give it, and that the Queen might receive the honour of it, who, the King ſaid, had by a Letter adviſed him to it; as his Majeſty exceedingly deſired to endear her to the People) the King declared to them, "that he was reſolv'd to call a Parliament "to aſſemble at *Weſtminſter* the third day of *November* following; which was as ſoon as was poſſible. So the firſt work was done to their hands, and they had now nothing to do but to diſpoſe matters in order againſt that time, which could not well be done without a more overt converſation with the *Scots*. For though there was an intercourſe made, yet it paſs'd for the moſt part through hands whom the chief had no mind to truſt: as the Lord *Savile*; whom his bitter hatred to

the Earl of *Strafford*, and as paſſionate hope of the Preſidentſhip of the North which the Earl had, made applicable to any end; but otherwiſe a perſon of ſo ill a fame, that many deſired not to mingle in counſels with him. For, beſides his no reputation, they begun now to know that he had long held correſpondence with the *Scots* before their coming in, and invited them to enter the Kingdom with an Army; in order to which, and to raiſe his own credit, he had counterfeited the hands of ſome other Lords, and put their names to ſome undertakings of joining with the *Scots*; and therefore they were reſolv'd to take that negotiation out of his hands (without drawing any prejudice upon him for his preſumption) which they had quickly an opportunity to do. For the firſt day of the Lords meeting, a Petition is preſented to his Majeſty full of dutiful and humble expreſſions from the *Scots*, who well knew their time, and had allways (how rough and undutiful ſoever their Actions were) given the King as good and as ſubmiſſive Words as can be imagin'd. This Petition, full of as much Submiſſion as a Victory it ſelf could produce (as was urged by ſome Lords) could not but beget a Treaty, and a Treaty was reſolved on ſpeedily to be at *Rippon*, a place in the King's Quarters: but then, ſpecial care was taken, by caution given to his Majeſty, that no ſuch ungracious perſons might be intruſted by him in this Treaty as might beget Jealouſies in the *Scots*, and ſo render it fruitleſs: and therefore the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, *Briſtol*, and *Berkſhire*, the Lords *Mandevile*, *Wharton*, *Dunſmore*, *Brook*, *Savile*, *Paulet*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick* (the Lord *Say* being ſick, and ſo not preſent at *York*) were choſen by the King; all Popular men, and not one of them of much intereſt in the Court, but only the Earl of *Holland*, who was known to be fit for any counſel that ſhould be taken againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, who had among them ſcarce a Friend or perſon civilly inclined towards him.

The Scots Petition the King: upon it a Treaty appointed at Rippon.

The Commiſſioners meet and tranſact.

WHEN theſe Commiſſioners from the King arrived at *Rippon*, there came others from the *Scots* Army of a quality much inferior, there being not above two Noblemen, whereof the Kord *Lowden* was the chief, two or three Gentlemen and Citizens, and *Alexander Henderſon* their Metropolitan, and two or three other Clergy-men. The *Scots* applied themſelves moſt particularly to the Earls of *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*, though in publick they ſeem'd equally to careſs them all; and beſides the duty they profeſs'd to the King in the moſt ſubmiſs expreſſions of reverence that could be uſed, they made great and voluminous expreſſions "of their affection to the "Kingdom and People of *England*; and remembred the infinite obli- "gations they had from time to time receiv'd from this Nation; eſpe- "cially the aſſiſtance they had from it in their reformation of Religion, "and their attaining the light of the Goſpel; and therefore as it could "never fall into Their hearts to be ungrateful to it, ſo they hoped that the good People of *England* would not entertain any ill opinion of "their coming into this Kingdom at this time in a Hoſtile manner, as "if they had the leaſt purpoſe of doing wrong to any particular perſon, "much leſs to alter any thing in the Government of the Kingdom; pro- "teſting that they had the ſame tenderneſs of Their Laws and Li- "berties, and Priviledges, as of their Own; and that they did hope, "as the Oppreſſions upon their native Country, both in their Civil and "Spiritual Rights, had obliged them to This manner of Addreſs to the

"King,

"King, to whom all acceſs had been denied them by the power of their "Enemies; ſo, that this very manner of their coming in might be for "the good of This Kingdom, and the benefit of the Subjects thereof, in "the giving them opportunities to vindicate their own Liberties and "Laws; which, though not Yet ſo much invaded as thoſe of *Scotland* "had been, were enough infringed by Thoſe very men who had brought "ſo great Miſery and Confuſion upon that Kingdom; and who in- "tended, when they had finiſh'd their work There, and in *Ireland*, to "eſtabliſh the ſame ſlavery in *England* as they had brought upon the "other two Kingdoms. All which would be prevented by the Removal "of three or four Perſons from about the King; whoſe Own gra- "cious diſpoſition and inclination would bountifully provide for the "Happineſs of all his Dominions, if Thoſe ill men had no influence upon "his Counſels.

THERE was not a man of all the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners to whom this kind of diſcourſe was not grateful enough, and who did not promiſe to Himſelf ſome convenience that the Alterations which were like to happen might produce. And with thoſe Lords with whom they deſired to enter into a greater confidence, they conferr'd more openly and particularly, of the three Perſons towards whom their greateſt prejudice was, the Arch-Biſhop, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton* (for in their whole diſcourſes they ſeem'd equally at leaſt incenſed againſt Him, as againſt either of the other two) whom they reſolv'd ſhould be removed from the King. They ſpake in confidence "of "the exceſs of the Queen's power, which in reſpect of her Religion, and "of the Perſons who had moſt intereſt in her, ought not to prevail "ſo much upon the King as it did in all affairs. That the King could "never be happy, nor his Kingdom flouriſh, till he had ſuch Perſons "about him in all Places of truſt, as were of Honour and Experience in "affairs, and of good Fortunes and Intereſts in the affections of the Peo- "ple; who would allways inform his Majeſty that his own greatneſs "and happineſs conſiſted in the execution of Juſtice, and the happineſs "of his Subjects; and who are known to be zealous for the preſerva- "tion and advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, which every honeſt "man thought at preſent to be in great danger, by the exorbitant power "of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops who "were govern'd by him. It was no hard matter to inſinuate into the Perſons with whom they held this diſcourſe, that They were the very men who they wiſh'd ſhould be in moſt credit about the King; and they concluded that their affections were ſo great to this Kingdom; and they ſo deſired that all Grievances might be redreſs'd here, that though they ſhould receive preſent Satisfaction in all that concern'd Themſelves, they would not yet return, till proviſion might likewiſe be made for the juſt intereſt of *England*, and the reformation of what was amiſs There in reference to Church and State.

THIS appear'd ſo hopeful a Model to moſt of the King's Commiſſioners (who having no method perſcribed to them to treat in, were indeed ſent only to hear what the *Scots* would propoſe, the King himſelf then intending to determine what ſhould be granted to them,) they never conſider'd the Truth of any of their allegations, nor deſired to be inform'd of the Ground of their proceedings; but patiently hearkned to all they ſaid in publick, of which they intended to give an account to the King; and willingly heard all they ſaid in private, and made ſuch

uſe of it as they thought moſt conduced to their Own ends. The *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners propoſed, "that for the avoiding the effuſion of "Chriſtian blood, there might be ſome way found to prevent all acts "of Hoſtility on either ſide; which could not poſſibly be done, except "ſome order was given for the payment of Their Army, which was yet "reſtrain'd to cloſe and narrow Quarters. And the truth is, they were in daily fear that thoſe Quarters would have been beaten up, and ſo the ill Courage of thoſe men too eaſily diſcover'd, who were more taught to ſing Pſalms, and to Pray, than to uſe their Arms; their hopes of prevailing being, from the beginning, founded upon an aſſurance that they ſhould not be put to Fight.

THERE had been in that infamous rout at *Newburn* two or three Officers of Quality taken Priſoners, who, endeavouring to charge the Enemy with the courage they ought to do, being deſerted by their Troops could not avoid falling into the *Scots* hands; two of which were *Wilmot*, who was Commiſſary-General of the Horſe, and *O Neal* who was Major of a Regiment; both Officers of name and reputation, and of good eſteem in the Court with all Thoſe who were incenſed againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, towards whom they were both very indevoted. Theſe Gentlemen were well known to ſeveral of the principal Commanders in the *Scots* Army (who had ſerv'd together with them in *Holland* under the Prince of *Orange*) and were treated with great civility in their Camp; and when the Commiſſioners came to *Rippon*, they brought them with them, and preſented them to the King by his Commiſſioners, to whom they were very acceptable; and did thoſe who deliver'd them more Service by the Reports they made of them in the Army when they return'd to their Charges, and in the Court, than they could have done by remaining Priſoners with them; and contributed very much to the irreconciling the Army to the Earl of *Strafford*, who was to command it.

AFTER few days the Commiſſioners return'd to the King at *York*, and gave him an account of what had paſs'd, and of the extraordinary affection of the *Scots* to his Majeſty's Service; and *Wilmot* and *O Neal* magnified the good diſcipline and order obſerv'd in the Army, and made their numbers to be believ'd much ſuperior to what in truth they were.

The Counſellors about the King at York.

THREE of the Commiſſioners, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, who were all inſpired by the *Scots*, and liked well all that they pretended to deſire. Beſides thoſe, the King had nobody to conſult with but the Lord Keeper *Finch*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Sr *Harry Vane* principal Secretary of State. The firſt of which, the Lord Keeper, was obnoxious to ſo many reproaches, that though his affection and fidelity was very entire to the King, all his care was to provoke no more Enemies, and to ingratiate himſelf to as many of thoſe as he perceiv'd were like to be able to protect him, which he knew the King would not be able to do; and towards this he labour'd with all induſtry and dexterity. The Duke of *Richmond* was young, and uſed to diſcourſe with his Majeſty in his Bed-chamber rather than at the Council-Board, and a man of Honour and Fidelity in all places; and in no degree of confidence with his Country-men, becauſe he would not admit himſelf into any of their Intrigues. The Marquis had leave to be wary, and would give his Enemies no new advantages.

NOR

NOR indeed was there any man's advice of much credit with the King, but that of the Earl of *Strafford*; who had no reaſon to declare his opinion upon ſo nice a ſubject in the preſence of the Earl of *Holland* and Sr *Harry Vane*; and thought there was only one way to be purſued (which was not to be communicated at the Council) and that was to drive the *Scots* out of the Kingdom by the Army: and without conſidering what was done at the Treaty (which had not yet agreed upon any Ceſſation) he ſent a good Party of Horſe, commanded by Major *Smith*, to fall upon a *Scotiſh* Quarter in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, who defeated two or three of their Troops and took all their Officers Priſoners, and made it manifeſt enough that the Kingdom might be rid of the reſt, if it were vigorouſly purſued; which the Earl of *Strafford* heartily intended. But *Leſly*, the *Scotiſh* General, complain'd "that He "himſelf had forborn to make any ſuch attempt out of reſpect to the "Treaty; and the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners thought Themſelves neglected, and affronted by it. And when it was found that the Officer who conducted that enterprize was a Roman-Catholick, it made more noiſe; and they prevail'd with the King to reſtrain his General from giving out any more ſuch Orders.

THE King begun ſo far to diſlike the temper of his Commiſſioners, that he thought the Parliament would be more jealous of his Honour, and more ſenſible of the Indignities he ſuffer'd by the *Scots*, than the Commiſſioners appear'd to be; and therefore he ſent them back to *Rippon* again to renew the Treaty, and to conclude a Ceſſation of Arms upon as good terms as they could; ſo that the *Scots* Army might not advance into *Yorkſhire*, nor enlarge their Quarters any way beyond what they were already poſſeſs'd of: and this conceſſion being agreed to, they ſhould not enter upon any other particulars, but adjourn the Treaty to *London*; which was the only thing the *Scots* deſired, and without This they could never have brought their deſigns to paſs. When the other Lords return'd to *Rippon*, the Earl of *Pembroke* (as a man of a great fortune, and at that time very popular) was ſent with two or three other Lords to *London*, with a Letter from the King, and a ſubſcription from the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaty (which was then more powerful) to borrow two hundred thouſand pounds from the City, for the payment of both Armies whilſt the Ceſſation and Treaty ſhould continue; "which they hoped would quickly be at an end, and the *Scots* "return into their own Country. The City was eaſily perſwaded to furniſh the money, to be repaid out of the firſt that ſhould be raiſed by the Parliament; which was very ſhortly to meet.

THE Commiſſioners at *Rippon* quickly agreed upon the Ceſſation; and were not unwilling to have allow'd fifty thouſand pounds a month for the ſupport of the *Scots* Army, when they did aſſign but thirty thouſand pounds a month for the payment of the King's; and to have taken the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners words for their Muſters, which made their numbers ſo much ſuperior to the other: but that ſum of fifty thouſand pounds a month was afterwards reduced to about five and twenty thouſand; and the whole amounting to above fifty thouſand pounds a month, was a ſum too great for the Kingdom to pay long, as was then generally believ'd. It was pretended that two months would put an end to the Treaty; ſo that the two hundred thouſand pounds, which the City had ſupplied, would diſcharge all the Diſbanding: and in this hope the King confirm'd the Ceſſation, and ſent a ſafe Conduct for ſuch

A Ceſſation agreed on.

The Treaty adjourn'd to London, *whither the King returns.*

Commiſſioners as the *Scots* ſhould think fit to ſend to *London* for the carrying on the Treaty.

ALL which being done, the King and the Lords left *York*, that they might be at *London* before the beginning of the Parliament; the Earl of *Strafford* ſtaying ſtill in the North to put the Army into as good a poſture as he could, and to ſuppreſs the Mutinous ſpirit it was inclined to; and if it were poſſible, to diſpoſe that great County (of which he had the entire command) to a better temper towards the King's Service, and to a greater indignation towards the *Scots*; of whom they did not uſe to have too charitable an opinion. But in both theſe applications he underwent great mortifications; the Officers of the Army every day asking his leave to repair to *London*, being choſen to ſerve in Parliament; and when he denied to give them Paſſes, they went away without them: and the Gentlemen of the Country who had moſt depended upon him, and been obliged by him, withdrawing their application and attendance, and entring into combination with his greateſt Enemies againſt him.

IT is not to be denied, the King was in very great Straits, and had it not in his power abſolutely to chooſe which way he would go; and well foreſaw, that a Parliament in that conjuncture of affairs would not apply natural and proper Remedies to the Diſeaſe: for though it was not imaginable it would run the courſes it afterwards did, yet it was viſible enough he muſt reſign very much to their affections and appetite (which were not like to be contain'd within any modeſt bounds) and therefore no queſtion his Majeſty did not think of calling a Parliament at firſt, but was wrought to it by degrees: Yet the great Council could not but produce the other; where the unskilfulneſs and paſſion of ſome for want of diſcerning Conſequences, and a general ſharpneſs and animoſity againſt Perſons, did more miſchief than the power or malice of Thoſe who had a form'd deſign of Confuſion: for without doubt that Fire at that time (which did ſhortly after burn the whole Kingdom) might have been cover'd under a buſhel. So as intruth there was no Counſel ſo neceſſary then, as for the King to have continued in his Army, and to have drawn none thither but ſuch as were more afraid of diſhonour than danger; and to have truſted the juſtice and power of the Law with ſuppreſſing of Tumults, and quieting Diſorders in his rear.

IT is ſtrange, and had ſomewhat of a Judgment from Heaven in it, that all the induſtry and learning of the late years had been beſtow'd in finding out and evincing, that in caſe of Neceſſity any extraordinary way for Supply was Lawful; and upon that ground had proceeded when there was No neceſſity; and now when the Neceſſity was apparent, Money muſt be levied in the ordinary courſe of Parliament, which was then more extraordinary than the other had been; as *York* muſt be defended from an Enemy within twenty five miles of it, by Money to be given at *London* ſix Weeks after, and to be gather'd within ſix Months. It had been only the ſeaſon and evidence of Neceſſity that had been queſtion'd; and the view of it in a Perſpective of State at a diſtance that no eyes could reach, denied to be ground enough for an Impoſition: as no man could pull down his neighbours houſe becauſe it ſtood next Furſe, or Thatch, or ſome combuſtible matter which might take fire; though he might do it when that combuſtible matter was really a'fire. But it was never denied that *flagrante bello*, when an Ene-

my

my had actually invaded the Kingdom, and ſo the Neceſſity both ſeen and felt, all mens goods are the goods of the Publick, to be applied to the Publick ſafety, and as carefully to be repair'd by the Publick ſtock. And it is very probable (ſince the Factions within, and the Correſpondence abroad was ſo apparent, that a Parliament then call'd would do the buſineſs of the *Scots*, and of Thoſe who invited them hither) that if the King had poſitively declared, that he would have no Parliament as long as that Army ſtaid in *England*, but as ſoon as they were retired into their own Country he would ſummon one, and refer all matters to Their advice, and even be adviſed by Them in the compoſing the diſtractions of *Scotland*: I ſay, it is probable, that they would either willingly have left the Kingdom, or ſpeedily have been compell'd; there being at that time an Army in *Ireland* (as was ſaid before) ready to have viſited *Scotland*.

NEITHER would the Indiſpoſition of the King's Army (which was begot only by thoſe Infuſions, that there muſt of neceſſity be a Parliament, which would prevent farther Fighting) have laſted, when they found thoſe Authors confuted; for the Army was conſtituted of good Officers, which were more capable of being deceiv'd by their Friends, than impoſed upon by their Enemies; and they had their Soldiers in good devotion, and the buſineſs of *Newburn* would rather have ſpurr'd them on than reſtrain'd them And it had been much the beſt courſe that could have been taken, if, after the fright at *Newburn*, the King as well as the Earl of *Strafford* had made haſt to *Durham* and kept that Poſt, without ſtaying at *York*; and after ſome exemplary Juſtice and Diſgrace upon the chief Officers who were Faulty, till the Army had recover'd their Spirits (which in a very ſhort time it did with ſhame and indignation enough) had march'd directly againſt the *Scots*; by which they would have ſpeedily diſpoſſeſs'd them of their new Conqueſt, and forced them to have run diſtracted into their own Country; as may be reaſonably concluded from their behaviour whenever they were aſſaulted afterwards by the *Engliſh*.

AND it is as ſtrange that the experience of the laſt Summer, when the attendance of ſo great a number of the Nobility (who had no mind to the War, and as little devotion to the Court) was the true ground and cauſe of that ridiculous Pacification, did not prevail with the King never to convene the ſame company to him again; which could do him very little good if they had deſired it; and could not but do him more harm than even the worſt of them at that time intended to do: For it might very eaſily have been foreſeen, that the calling ſo many diſcontented, or diſobliged, or diſaffected men together, with a liberty to conſult and adviſe, very few whereof had that inclination and reverence for the Perſon of the King they ought to have had, though ſcarce any of them had at that time that miſchief in their hearts which they afterwards diſcover'd againſt him, or indeed had the leaſt purpoſe to Rebel: I ſay the calling ſuch men together, could not but make men much worſe than they came, and put worſe thoughts into their heads than they brought with them, when the Miſcarriage as well as the Misfortune of the Court would be the common argument and diſcourſe; and when they would quickly diſcern, that it was like to be in every one of Their powers to contribute to the Deſtruction, at leaſt to the Diſgrace, of Men they had no kindneſs for, and moſt of them great animoſity againſt.

BUT the King was without the preſence and attendance of any man in whoſe judgment and wiſdom he had a full confidence; for the Earl of *Strafford* was at the Army; and they who firſt propoſed the calling the Peers, knew well enough that the King knew Parliaments too well to be inclined to call one if they ſhould propoſe it; and therefore They propoſed another expedient, which he knew not; and ſo was ſurprized with the advice (which he thought could do no harm) and gave direction for the iſſuing out of the Writs, before he enough conſider'd whether it might not intruth produce ſome miſchief he had not well thought of; as he quickly found. Nor did the *Scots* themſelves reſolve to give him more diſquiet in the enſuing Parliament, than the major part of his great Council that he brought together reſolv'd to concur with them in: and with that diſpoſition, which they could never have contracted if they had remain'd by themſelves, they all haſten'd to the place where they might do the Miſchief they intended.

THE next Error to this was, that at the meeting of the great Council at *York*, and before any conſent to the Treaty at *Rippon*, there was not a ſtate made, and information given of the whole Proceedings in *Scotland*, and thereupon ſome debate and judgment by the whole Council before the Sixteen departed, for their information and inſtruction: and this had been ſtrangely omitted before at the Pacification, inſomuch as many who had been employ'd in that firſt at *the Berkes*, and in the laſt at *Rippon*, confeſs'd that none of them (and they were of the Prime Quality) then did, or ever after, know any thing of the Laws and Cuſtoms of that Kingdom (by which they might have judged whether the King had exceeded his juſt power, or any thing of the matter of fact in the ſeveral tranſactions) but what they had receiv'd at thoſe meetings from the perſons who were naturally to make their own defence, and ſo by accuſing others to make their own caſe the more plauſible; in which it could not be expected they would mention any thing to their own diſadvantage.

BY Them they were told "of a Liturgy impoſed upon them by their "Biſhops, contrary to, or without Act of Parliament, with ſtrange cir- "cumſtances of Severity and Rigour: of ſome clauſes in that Liturgy, "different from that of the Church of *England*; with pretty ſmart comments of advice, and animadverſions upon thoſe Alterations: "of a "Book of Canons, in which an extraordinary and extravagant power "was aſſerted to the Biſhops: of a High Commiſſion Court, which ex- "ceeded all limits, and cenſured all degrees of men: of the inſolent "Speeches of this Biſhop to that Nobleman, and of the Ill Life of ano- "ther: of their Own great Humility and Duty to their ſacred Sovereign, "without whoſe Favour and Protection they would not live: and laſtly, "of their ſeveral moſt ſubmiſs Addreſſes, by Petition and all other "ways to his Majeſty; being deſirous, when their Grievances were but "heard, to lay Themſelves and their Complaints at his Royal Feet, "and to be moſt entirely diſpoſed by him in ſuch manner, as to His wiſ- "dom alone ſhould be thought fit: but that by the power and inter- "poſition of their Adverſaries, all their Supplications had been rejected, "and They never yet admitted to be heard.

WITH theſe and the like Artifices the good Lords were ſo wrought upon, and tranſported, that they eaſily Conſented to whatſoever was propoſed; nor was there any Propoſition made and inſiſted on by them at the firſt or ſecond Treaty, which was not for the matter fully Con-

ſented

ſented to: whereas, if their Lordſhips had been fully advertiſed of the whole truth (though there had been ſome Inadvertencies and Incogitancy in the circumſtances of the tranſaction) his Majeſty had full power, by the Laws of *Scotland* then in force, to make that Reformation he intended. All their Petitions and Addreſſes had found moſt gracious acceptance, and receiv'd moſt gracious anſwers. But on the contrary, They had invaded all the Rights of the Crown, alter'd the Government, affronted the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of Juſtice, and his Majeſty's own Regal Authority, with unheard of Inſolences and Contempts; rejected all his offers of Grace and Pardon, and without cauſe or provocation denounced War againſt him; beſieged and taken the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, and other Places which held for his Majeſty. I ſay, if This had been made as evident to them as ſurely it might have been made, it is not poſſible but thoſe Noble perſons would have preſerv'd themſelves from being deluded by them; at leaſt many of the Inconveniences which after enſued would have been prevented, if the form and method of their Proceedings had been preſcribed, or better look'd into.

BUT it muſt be confeſs'd, that in that conjuncture ſuch neceſſary Evidence and Information could very hardly be given: for though it muſt not be doubted that there were many particular Perſons of Honour of that Nation who abhor'd the Outrages which were committed, and retain'd within their own breaſts very Loyal wiſhes for his Majeſty's Proſperity; yet it cannot be denied that thoſe perſons, who by the Places they held (of King's Advocate, and other Offices) ought to have made that Information of matter of Law, and matter of Fact, were Themſelves the moſt active Promoters of the Rebellion; and the Defection was ſo general, and ſo few declared, or were active on his Majeſty's behalf, that they who were not corrupted in their inward Fidelity, were ſo Terrified, that they durſt not appear in any Office that might provoke Thoſe who ſolely had the power and the will to deſtroy them.

THE laſt and moſt confounding Error was the removing the Treaty to *London*, and upon any terms conſenting that the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners ſhould reſide there before a Peace concluded. By which means, they had not only opportunity to publiſh all their Counſels and Directions in their Sermons to the People (who reſorted thither in incredible numbers) and to give their Advice, from time to time, to Thoſe of the *Engliſh* who knew not ſo well yet to compaſs their Own ends, but were ready (when any buſineſs was too big and unweildy to be managed by the few who were yet throughly engaged) to interpoſe in the name of Their Nation, and with reference to Things or Perſons to make ſuch demands from and on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as under no other ſtyle would have receiv'd any countenance: and this brought that univerſal Terror with it (as will appear to the life in the proceſs of this Hiſtory) upon Thoſe of neareſt relation to the King's Service, as well as Thoſe at a greater diſtance, who clearly diſcern'd and deteſted the Villany and Wickedneſs of thoſe tranſactions, that their warineſs and wiſdom could not be great enough to preſerve them, if they did not ſtupidly look on without ſeeming to underſtand what they could in no degree controul or prevent.

IN all Conſpiracies there muſt be great ſecrecy, conſent, and union; yet it can hardly be conceiv'd, with what entire Confidence in each

other, the numerous and not very rich Nobility of *Scotland* (for of the Common People, who are naturally very dependent on the other, there can be no wonder) concurr'd in the carrying on this Rebellion: their ſtrange Condeſcenſion and Submiſſion to their ignorant and inſolent Clergy, who were to have great Authority becauſe they were to inflame all ſorts of men upon the obligations of Conſcience; and in order thereunto, and to revenge a little Indiſcretion and Ill Manners of ſome of the Biſhops, had liberty to erect a Tribunal the moſt Tyrannical over all ſorts of men, and all the Families of the Kingdom: ſo that the Preacher reprehended the Husband, govern'd the Wife, chaſtiſed the Children, and inſulted over the Servants, in the Houſes of the Greateſt men. They refer'd the management and conduct of the whole Affair to a Committee of a few, who had never before exerciſed any Office or Authority in the Publick, with that perfect reſignation and obedience, that nobody preſumed to enquire What was to be done, or to murmur at, or cenſure any thing that Was done; and the General himſelf, and the Martial affairs, were ſubject to this *Regimen* and Diſcipline as well as the Civil: yet They who were intruſted with this Superiority, paid all the Outward reſpect and reverence to the perſon of the General, as if all the power and diſpoſal had been in Him alone.

THE few *Engliſh* (for there were yet but very few who were intruſted from the Beginning of the enterprize, and with all that was Then projected) were men of reſerv'd and dark natures, of great induſtry and addreſs, and of much reputation for probity and integrity of life, and who truſted none, but thoſe who were contented to be truſted to that degree as they were willing to truſt them, without being inquiſitive into more than they were ready to communicate, and for the reſt depended upon their diſcretion and judgment; and ſo prepared and diſpoſed, by ſecond and third hands, many to concur and contribute to ſeveral preparatory actions, who would never have conſented to the concluſions which naturally reſulted from thoſe premiſes.

THIS united ſtrength, and humble and active temper, was not encounter'd by an equal providence and circumſpection in the King's Councils, or an equal temper and dutiful diſpoſition in the Court; nor did they who reſolv'd honeſtly and ſtoutly to diſcharge the offices of good Servants and good Subjects to the utmoſt oppoſition of all unlawful attempts, communicate their purpoſes to men of the ſame Integrity, that ſo they might unite their counſels as well in the manner and way, as their reſolutions in the end. But every one thought it enough to preſerve his own innocence, and to leave the Reſt to thoſe who ſhould have authority to direct. The King was perplex'd and irreſolute, and according to his natural conſtitution (which never diſpoſed him to jealouſy of any man of whom he had once thought well) was full of hope, that his condition was not ſo bad as it ſeem'd to be. The Queen wiſh'd much better to the Earl of *Holland*, than to the Arch-Biſhop or the Earl of *Strafford*, neither of Them being in any degree acceptable to her; ſo that ſhe was little concern'd for the danger that threatned them: but when ſhe ſaw the King's Honour and Dignity invaded in the proſecution, ſhe withdrew her favour from the Earl of *Holland*: but then ſhe was perſwaded, by thoſe who had moſt credit with her, to believe, that by the removal of the great

Mini-

Miniſters, Her power and authority would be encreaſed, and that the prevailing Party would be willing to depend upon her; and that by gratifying the principal Perſons of them with ſuch Preferments as they affected, ſhe would quickly reconcile all ill humours: and ſo ſhe hearkned to any overtures of that kind; which were allways carried on without the conſent or privity of thoſe who were concern'd, who intruth more diſliked Her abſolute power with the King, than any other Exceſs of the Court, and look'd upon it as the greateſt Grievance. Every man There conſider'd only what application would be moſt like to raiſe his Own fortune, or to do Thoſe harm with whom he was angry, and gave himſelf wholely up to thoſe Artifices which might promote either. To preſerve themſelves from the diſpleaſure and cenſure of the Parliament, and to render themſelves gracious to Thoſe who were like to be powerful in it, was all men's buſineſs and ſollicitude. And in this very unequal and diſproportion'd condition and temper, was the King's and the *Scotiſh* Army, the Court and the Country, when the Parliament met.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.





THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION

AND

CIVIL WARS

IN

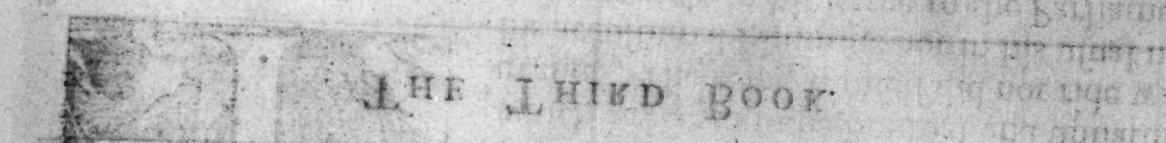
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

THE THIRD BOOK.

THE THIRD BOOK





THE

History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK III.

Duet. xii. 30.

Take heed to thy Self, that thou be not ſnared by following them, and that thou enquire not after their Gods, ſaying, How did theſe Nations ſerve their Gods? even So will I do likewiſe.

Judg. ii. 3.

—— But they ſhall be as Thorns in your Sides, and their Gods ſhall be a Snare unto you.



THE Parliament met upon the Third of *November* 1640, with a fuller appearance than could be reaſonably expected, from the ſhort time for Elections after the iſſuing out the Writs; inſomuch as at the firſt not many Members were abſent. It had a ſad and a melancholick aſpect upon the firſt entrance, which preſaged ſome unuſual and unnatural events. The King himſelf did not ride with his accuſtom'd Equipage nor in his uſual majeſty to *Weſtminſter*, but went privately in his Barge to the Parliament Stairs, and after to the Church, as if it had been to a return of a prorogued or adjourn'd Parliament. And there was likewiſe an untoward, and intruth an unheard of accident, which broke many of the King's meaſures, and infinitely diſorder'd his Service beyond a capacity of reparation. From the time the calling a Parliament was reſolv'd upon, the King deſign'd Sr *Thomas Gardiner*, who was Recorder of *London*, to be Speaker in the Houſe of Commons; a man of gravity and quickneſs, that had ſomewhat of authority and gracefulneſs in his perſon and preſence, and in all reſpects equal to the Service. There was little doubt but that he would be choſen to ſerve in one of the four places for the City of *London*, which had very rarely rejected their Recorder upon that occaſion; and leſt that ſhould fail, diligence was uſed in one or two other places that he might be elected. The oppoſition was ſo great, and the Faction ſo ſtrong, to hinder his being elected in the City, that four others

The Parliament met November the Third 1640.

others were chosen for that Service, without hardly mentioning his name: nor was there less industry used to prevent his being chosen in other places; Clerks were corrupted not to make out the Writ for one place, and ways were found out to hinder the Writ from being executed in another, time enough for the return before the meeting: so great a fear there was, that a man of entire affections to the King, and of prudence enough to manage those affections, and to regulate the contrary, should be put into the Chair. So that the very morning the Parliament was to meet, and when the King intended to go thither, he was inform'd that Sr *Thomas Gardiner* was not return'd to serve as a Member in the House of Commons, and so was not capable of being chosen to be Speaker; so that his Majesty deferr'd his going to the House till the afternoon, by which time he was to think of another Speaker.

UPON the perusal of all the Returns into the Crown Office, there were not found many Lawyers of eminent Name (though many of them proved very Eminent men afterwards) or who had serv'd long in former Parliaments, the experience whereof was to be wish'd; and men of that Profession had been most commonly thought the most proper for that Service, and the putting it out of that Channel at that time was thought too hazardous: so that, after all the deliberation the shortness of that time would admit, Mr *Lenthall*, a Bencher of *Lincolns*-Inn (a Lawyer of competent practice, and no ill reputation for his affection to the Government both of Church and State) was pitch'd upon by the King, and with very great difficulty rather prevail'd with than perswaded to accept the charge. And no doubt a Worse could not have been deputed of all that Profession who were then return'd; for he was a man of a very narrow, timorous nature, and of no experience or conversation in the affairs of the Kingdom, beyond what the very drudgery in his Profession (in which all his design was to make himself rich) engaged him in. In a word, he was in all respects very unequal to the Work, and not knowing how to preserve his Own dignity, or to restrain the licence and exorbitance of Others, his Weakness contributed as much to the growing Mischiefs, as the Malice of the principal contrivers. However, after the King had that afternoon recommended the distracted condition of the Kingdom (with too little Majesty) to the wisdom of the two Houses of Parliament, to have such reformation and remedies applied as They should think fit, proposing to them, as the best rule for their Counsels, "that all things should be reduced to the practice of the "time of Queen *Elizabeth*; the House of Commons no sooner return'd to their House, than they chose Mr *Lenthall* to be their Speaker; and two days after, with the usual ceremonies and circumstances, presented him to the King, who declared his acceptation; and so both Houses were ready for the Work.

Mr Lenthall *made Speaker.*

THERE was observ'd a marvellous elated countenance in many of the Members of Parliament before they met together in the House; the same men who six months before were observ'd to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talk'd Now in another dialect both of Things and Persons; and said "that they must now be of another temper than "they were the last Parliament; that they must not only sweep the "House clean below, but must pull down all the Cobwebs which hung

"in the top and corners, that they might not breed duſt, and ſo make a "foul Houſe hereafter; That they had now an opportunity to make "their Country happy, by removing all Grievances, and pulling up the "Cauſes of them by the Roots, if all men would do their duties; and uſed much other ſharp diſcourſe to the ſame purpoſe: by which it was diſcern'd, that the warmeſt and boldeſt counſels and overtures, would find a much better reception than thoſe of a more temperate allay; which fell out accordingly: and the very firſt day they met together, in which they could enter upon buſineſs, Mr *Pym*, in a long, form'd diſcourſe, lamented the miſerable ſtate and condition of the Kingdom, aggravated all the particulars which had been done amiſs in the Government, as "done and contrived maliciouſly, and upon deliberation, to "change the whole Frame, and to deprive the Nation of all the Liberty "and property which was their Birthright by the Laws of the Land, "which were now no more conſider'd, but ſubjected to the arbitrary "power of the Privy-Council, which govern'd the Kingdom according "to Their will and pleaſure; theſe Calamities falling upon us in the "reign of a pious and virtuous King, who lov'd his People, and was a "great lover of Juſtice. And thereupon enlarging in ſome ſpecious commendation of the nature and goodneſs of the King, that he might wound him with leſs ſuſpicion, he ſaid, "We muſt enquire from what Foun-"tain theſe Waters of bitterneſs flow'd; what perſons They were who "had ſo far inſinuated themſelves into his Royal affections, as to be able "to pervert his excellent Judgment, to abuſe his Name, and wickedly "apply His authority to countenance and ſupport their Own corrupt de-"ſigns. Though he doubted there would be Many found of this *claſſis*, "who had contributed their joint endcavours to bring this miſery upon "the Nation; Yet he believ'd there was One more ſignal in that admi-"niſtration than the reſt, being a man of great parts and contrivance, "and of great induſtry to bring what he deſign'd to paſs; a man, who "in the memory of many preſent, had ſate in that Houſe an earneſt vin-"dicator of the Laws, and a moſt zealous aſſertor and champion for the "Liberties of the People; but that it was long ſince he turn'd Apo-"ſtate from thoſe good affections, and according to the cuſtom and na-"ture of Apoſtates, was become the greateſt Enemy to the Liberties of "his Country, and the greateſt promoter of Tyranny that any age had "produced. And then he named "the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lievte-"nant of *Ireland*, and Lord Preſident of the Council eſtabliſh'd in "*York* for the Northern Parts of the Kingdom; who, he ſaid, had in "both Places, and in all other Provinces wherein his ſervice had been "uſed by the King, raiſed ample monuments of his Tyrannical nature; "and that he believ'd, if they took a ſhort ſurvey of his actions and "behaviour, they would find him the principal Author and Promoter "of all thoſe Councils which had expoſed the Kingdom to ſo much "ruin: and ſo inſtanced in ſome high and imperious actions done by him in *England* and in *Ireland*, ſome proud and over confident expreſ-ſions in diſcourſe, and ſome paſſionate advices he had given in the moſt ſecret Councils and debates of the affairs of State; adding ſome lighter paſſages of his vanity and amours; that they who were not inflamed with anger and deteſtation againſt him for the former, might have leſs eſteem and reverence for his prudence and diſcretion: and ſo concluded, "That they would well conſider how to provide a Remedy "proportionable to the Diſeaſe, and to prevent the farther Miſchiefs

Mr. Pym *begins the debate of Grievances.*

"they were to expect from the continuance of this great man's power "and credit with the King, and his influence upon His counsels.

FROM the time that the Earl of *Strafford* was named, most men believ'd, that there would be some Committee appointed to receive information of all his miscarriages, and that, upon report thereof, they would farther consider what course to take in the examination and prosecution thereof: but they had already prepared and digested their business to a riper period.

Mr PYM had no sooner finish'd his discourse, than Sr *John Clotworthy* (a Gentleman of *Ireland*, and utterly unknown in *England*, who was, by the contrivance and recommendation of some powerful persons, return'd to serve for a Burrough in *Devonshire*, that so he might be enabled to act This part against the Lord Lievtenant) made a long and confused relation "of his Tyrannical carriage in that Kingdom; of the "Army he had raised there to invade *Scotland*; how he had threatned "the Parliament, if they granted not such Supplies as he required; of "an Oath he had framed to be administred to all the *Scotish* nation "which inhabited that Kingdom, and his severe proceedings against "some Persons of Quality who refused to take that Oath; and that he had with great pride and passion publickly declared at his leaving that "Kingdom, If ever he should return to that Sword, he would not leave "a *Scotish*-man to inhabit in *Ireland*: with a multitude of very exalted expressions, and some very high actions in his administration of that Government, in which the Lives as well as the Fortunes of men had been disposed of out of the common road of Justice: all which, made him to be look'd upon as a man very terrible, and under whose authority men would not choose to put themselves.

SEVERAL other Persons appearing ready to continue the discourse, and the morning being spent, so that, according to the observation of Parliament hours, the time of rising was come, an Order was suddainly made "that the door should be shut, and nobody suffer'd to go out of "the House; which had rarely been practised: care having been first taken, to give such advertisement to some of the Lords that that House might likewise be kept from rising; which would otherwise very much have broken their measures.

THEN Sr *John Hotham*, and some other *Yorkshire* men, who had receiv'd some disobligation from the Earl in the Country, continued the Invective, mentioning many particulars of his imperious carriage, and that he had, in the face of the Country, upon the execution of some illegal Commission, declared, "that they should find the little finger of the "King's Prerogative heavier upon them than the loyns of the Law; which expression, though upon after-examination it was found to have a quite contrary sense, marvellously increased the Passion and Prejudice towards him.

IN conclusion, after many hours of bitter inveighing, and ripping up the course of his life Before his coming to Court, and his actions After, it was moved, according to the the secret Resolution taken before, "that he might be forthwith Impeach'd of High Treason; which was no sooner mention'd, than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House: nor was there, in all the debate, one person who offer'd to stop the Torrent by any favourable testimony concerning the Earl's carriage, save only that the Lord *Falkland* (who was very well known to be far from having any kindness for him) when the Pro-

position

position was made for the Present accusing him of High Treason, modestly desired the House to consider, "Whether it would not suit better "with the gravity of their Proceedings, first to digest many of those "particulars which had been mentioned, by a Committee, before they "sent up to accuse him? declaring himself to be abundantly satisfied "that there was enough to charge him: which was very ingenuously, and frankly answer'd by Mr *Pym*, "That such a delay might probably "blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed farther "than they had done already; that the Earls power and credit with "the King, and with all those who had most credit with King or Queen, "was so great, that when he should come to know that so much of his "Wickedness was discover'd, his own Conscience would tell him What "he was to expect; and therefore he would undoubtedly procure the "Parliament to be Dissolv'd, rather than undergo the Justice of it, or "take some other desperate course to preserve Himself, though with the "hazard of the Kingdom's ruin: Whereas, if they presently sent up to "impeach him of High Treason before the House of Peers, in the Name "and on the Behalf of all the Commons of *England*, who were repre-"sented by them, the Lords would be obliged in Justice to commit him "into safe custody, and so sequester him from resorting to Council, or "having access to his Majesty; and then they should proceed against "him in the usual form with all necessary expedition.

To those who were known to have no kindness for him, and seem'd to doubt whether all the particulars alledged, being proved, would amount to High Treason, it was alledged, "That the House of Com-"mons were not Judges, but only Accusers, and that the Lords were "the proper Judges whether such a complication of enormous crimes in "one person did not amount to the highest offence the Law took notice "of, and therefore that it was fit to present it to Them. These reasons of the hast they made, so clearly deliver'd, gave that universal satisfaction, that without farther considering the Injustice and Unreasonableness of it, they voted unanimously (for ought appear'd to the contrary by any avow'd contradiction) "that they would forthwith send up to "the Lords and accuse the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treason, and seve-"ral other Crimes and Misdemeanours, and desire that he might be "presently sequestred from the Council, and committed to safe custody; and Mr *Pym* was made choice of for the Messenger to perform that office. This being determin'd, the doors were open'd, and most of the House accompanied him on the Errand.

The Commons impeach the Earl of Strafford of High Treason.

It was about three of the Clock in the afternoon, when the Earl of *Strafford* (being infirm, and not well disposed in his health, and so not having stirr'd out of his house that morning) hearing that both Houses still sate, thought fit to go thither. It was believ'd by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste then to accuse the Lord *Say*, and some others, of having induced the *Scots* to invade the Kingdom; but he was scarce entred into the House of Peers, when the message from the House of Commons was call'd in, and when Mr *Pym* at the Bar, and in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, impeach'd *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* (with the addition of all his other Titles) of High Treason, and several other heinous Crimes and Misdemeanours, of which he said the Commons would in due time make proof in form; and in the mean time desired in Their name, that he might be sequestred from all Councils, and be put into safe custody: and

ſo withdrawing, the Earl was, with more clamour than was ſuitable to the gravity of that Supream Court, call'd upon to Withdraw, hardly obtaining leave to be firſt heard in his place, which could not be denied him.

HE then lamented "his great Misfortune to lie under ſo heavy a "charge; profeſs'd his Innocence and Integrity, which he made no doubt "he ſhould make appear to them; deſired that he might have his Li- "berty, untill ſome Guilt ſhould be proved; and deſired them to conſi- "der, what miſchief they ſhould bring upon Themſelves, if upon ſuch "a general charge, without the mention of any one crime, a Peer of the "Realm ſhould be committed to Priſon, and ſo deprived of his Place "in that Houſe, where he was ſummon'd by the King's Writ to aſſiſt in "their Counſels; and of what conſequence ſuch a Precedent might be "to their Own Priviledge and Birthright: and then withdrew. The

The Earl is committed to the Black-rod.

Peers with very little debate reſolv'd "he ſhould be committed to the "cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher of the Black-rod, there to remain un- "till the Houſe of Commons ſhould bring in a particular Charge againſt "him: which determination of the Houſe was pronounced to him at the Bar upon his Knees, by the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, upon the Wool-ſack: and ſo being taken away by *Maxwell*, Gentleman Uſher, Mr *Pym* was call'd in, and inform'd what the Houſe had done; after which (it being then about four of the Clock) both Houſes adjourn'd till the next day.

WHEN this work was ſo proſperouſly over, they begun to conſider, that notwithſtanding all the Induſtry that had been uſed to procure ſuch Members to be choſen, or return'd though not choſen, who had been moſt refractory to the Government of the Church and State; yet that the Houſe was ſo conſtituted, that when the firſt heat (which allmoſt all men brought with them) ſhould be a little allay'd, violent counſels would not be long hearkned to: and therefore, As they took great care by the Committee of Elections to remove as many of thoſe Members as they ſuſpected not to be inclinable to their Paſſions, vpon pretence "that they were not regularly choſen, that ſo they might bring in others more pliable in Their places; in which no rule of Juſtice was ſo much as pretended to be obſerv'd by them; inſomuch as it was often ſaid by leading men amongſt them, "that they ought in thoſe caſes of Ele- "ctions to be guided by the fitneſs and worthineſs of the Perſon, what- "ſoever the deſire of thoſe was, in whom the Right of Election re- "main'd; and therefore one man hath been admitted upon the ſame rule by which another hath been rejected: So they declared, "That no "perſon, how Lawfully and Regularly ſoever choſen and return'd, ſhould "be and ſit as a Member with them, who had been a party or fa- "vourer of any Project, or who had been employ'd in any Illegal Com- "miſſion.

BY this means (contrary to the Cuſtoms and Rights of Parliament) many Gentlemen of good Quality were removed, in whoſe places commonly others were choſen of more agreeable diſpoſitions: but in this likewiſe there was no rule obſerv'd; for no perſon was hereby removed, of whom there was any hope that he might be applied to the violent courſes which were intended. Upon which occaſion the King charged them in one of his Declarations, "that when, under that notion of Pro- "jectors, they expell'd many, they yet never queſtion'd Sr *Henry Mild- "may*, or Mr *Laurence Whitaker*; who had been moſt ſcandalouſly en-

gaged in thoſe Preſſures, though ſince more ſcandalouſly in all enterprizes againſt his Majeſty; to which never any anſwer or reply was made.

THE next art, was to make the Severity and Rigour of the Houſe as formidable as was poſſible, and to make as many men apprehend themſelves obnoxious to the Houſe, as had been in any truſt or employment in the Kingdom. Thus they paſs'd many general Votes concerning Ship-money, in which, all who had been High Sheriffs, and ſo collected it, were highly concern'd. The like ſharp Concluſions were made upon all Lords Lievtenants and their Deputies, which were the prime Gentlemen of Quality in all the Counties of *England*. Then upon ſome diſquiſition of the Proceedings in the Star-chamber, and at the Council-Table, all who concurr'd in ſuch a Sentence, and conſented to ſuch an Order, were declared Criminal, and to be proceeded againſt. So that, in a moment, All the Lords of the Council, All who had been Deputy-Lievtenants, or High Sheriffs, during the late years, found themſelves within the mercy of theſe grand Inquiſitors: and hearing new terms of art, that a complication of ſeveral Miſdemeanours might grow up to Treaſon, and the like, it was no wonder if men deſired by all means to get Their favour and protection.

WHEN they had ſufficiently ſtartled men by theſe Proceedings, and upon half an hour's debate, ſent up an Accuſation againſt the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* of High Treaſon, and ſo removed Him likewiſe from the King's Council, they reſted ſatisfied with their general Rules, Votes, and Orders, without making haſt to proceed either againſt Things or Perſons; being willing, rather to keep men in Suſpenſe, and to have the advantage of their Fears, than, by letting them ſee the Worſt that could befall them, loſe the benefit of their Application. For this reaſon they uſed their utmoſt skill to keep off any debate of Ship-money, that that whole buſineſs might hang like a Meteor over the heads of thoſe that were in any degree faulty in it; and it was obſervable, when, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to divert it, that buſineſs was brought into debate, and upon that (which could not be avoided) the Lord *Finch* named as an avow'd Factor and Procurer of that odious Judgement; who, if Their rule were true, "that an endeavour to alter "the Government by Law, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power, were "Treaſon, was the moſt notoriouſly and unexcuſably guilty of that crime of any man that could be named; Before they would endure the mention of an accuſation of High Treaſon, they appointed a Committee, with great deliberation and ſolemnity, to bring in a charge Formally prepared (which had not been done in the caſe of the Lord Arch-Biſhop, or the Earl of *Strafford*) and then gave him a day to be heard for himſelf at the Houſe of Commons Bar, whereby, againſt all order, he was to take notice of what was handled in the Houſe concerning himſelf; and then finding that, by their own Rules, He would be likewiſe accuſed of High Treaſon, they continued the Debate ſo long, that the Lords Houſe was riſen, ſo that the Accuſation was not carried up till the next morning; and before that time, the Lord Keeper (being well inform'd of what had paſs'd) had withdrawn himſelf; and ſhortly after went into *Holland*: the Lord *Littleton*, then Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas, being made Keeper of the great Seal of *England* in his place.

The Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury *accuſed of High Treaſon.*

The Lord Keeper Finch *withdrew beyond Sea;*

ABOUT the ſame time, Sr *Francis Windebank*, one of the Principal

Secretaries of State, and then a Member of the Houſe of Commons, was accuſed of many tranſactions on the behalf of the Papiſts, of ſeveral natures (whoſe extraordinary Patron indeed he was) and he being then preſent in the Houſe, ſeveral Warrants under his own hand were produced for the diſcharge of Proſecutions againſt Prieſts, and for the releaſe of Prieſts out of Priſon: whereupon, whilſt the matter ſhould be debated, according to cuſtom he was order'd to Withdraw, and ſo went into the uſual place, the Committee-Chamber; immediately whereupon, the Houſe of Commons went to a Conference with the Lords upon ſome other occaſion, and returning from that Conference, no more reſumed the debate of the Secretary, but having conſider'd ſome other buſineſs roſe at their uſual hour; and ſo the Secretary had liberty to go to his own houſe; from whence, obſerving the diſpoſition of the Houſe, and well knowing what they were able to ſay againſt him, he had no more mind to truſt himſelf in that company, but the ſame night withdrew himſelf from any place where enquiry might be made for him, and was no more heard of till the news came of his being landed in *France*.

as did likewiſe Secretary Windebank.

So that within leſs than ſix weeks, for no more was yet elapſed, theſe terrible Reformers had cauſed the two greateſt Counſellors of the Kingdom, and whom they moſt fear'd, and ſo hated, to be removed from the King, and impriſon'd, under an accuſation of High Treaſon; and frighted away the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and One of the Principal Secretaries of State, into Forreign Kingdoms, for fear of the like; beſides the preparing all the Lords of the Council, and very many of the principal Gentlemen throughout *England*, who, (as was ſaid before) had been High Sherriffs, and Deputy Lievtenants, to expect ſuch meaſure of Puniſhment from Their general Votes and Reſolutions, as their future Demeanour ſhould draw upon them, for their paſt Offences: by which means, they were like to find no vigorous Reſiſtance or Oppoſition in their farther deſigns.

I COULD never yet learn the true reaſon, why they ſuffer'd Secretary *Windebank* to eſcape their Juſtice (for the Lord *Finch*, it was viſible he was in their favour, and they would gladly have preſerv'd him in the place) againſt whom they had more pregnant teſtimony of Offences within the verge of the Law, than againſt any perſon they have accuſed ſince this Parliament, and of ſome that, it may be, might have proved Capital, and ſo their appetite of Blood might have been ſatisfied: For, beſides his frequent Letters of interceſſion in his Own name, and ſignification of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, on the behalf of Papiſts and Prieſts, to the Judges, and to other Miniſters of Juſtice; and Protections granted by Himſelf to Prieſts, that nobody ſhould moleſt them; He harbour'd ſome Prieſts in his own Houſe, knowing them to be ſuch; which, by the Statute made in the Twenty ninth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, is made Felony: and there were ſome Warrants under his Own hand for the releaſe of Prieſts out of *Newgate*, who were actually attainted of Treaſon, and condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; which by the ſtrict Letter of the Statute, the Lawyers ſaid, would have been very Penal to him.

I REMEMBER one Story brought into the Houſe concerning him, that adminiſtred ſome mirth; A Meſſenger (I think his name was *Newton*) who principally attended the ſervice of apprehending Prieſts, came one day to him in his Garden, and told him, "that he had brought "with him a Prieſt, a ſtirring and active perſon, whom he had appre-

"hended

"hended that morning; and desired to know, to what Prison he should "carry him. The Secretary sharply ask'd him, "Whether he would "never give over this Blood-thirsty humour? and in great anger calling him Knave, and taking the Warrant from him by which he had apprehended him, departed without giving any other direction. The Messenger appall'd, thought the Priest was some person in favour, and therefore took no more care of him, but suffer'd him to depart. The Priest, freed from this fright, went securely to his Lodgings, and within two or three days was arrested for Debt, and carried in execution to Prison. Shortly after, Secretary *Windebank* sent for the Messenger, and ask'd him, "What was become of the Priest he had at such a time "brought before him? he told him, "that he conceived his Honour "had been offended with the apprehension of him, and therefore he "had look'd no farther after him. The Secretary in much Passion told him, "the discharging a Priest was no light matter, and that if he spee-"dily found him not, he should answer the default with his life; that "the Priest was a dangerous Fellow, and must not escape in that fa-"shion. The Messenger, besides his natural inclination to that exercise, terrified with those threats, left no means untried for the discovery, and at last heard where the man was in execution in Prison: thither he went and demanded the Priest (who was not there known to be such) as his Prisoner formerly, and escaped from him; and by virtue of his first Warrant took him again into his custody, and immediately carried him to the Secretary; and within few days after, the Priest was discharged, and at liberty. The Jaylor, in whose custody he had been put for debt, was arrested by the Parties griev'd, and he again sued the Messenger, who appeal'd for Justice to the House of Commons against the Secretary.

THIS Case had been presented to the Committee, and was ready to be reported, with all those Warrants under his own hand before mention'd, at the time when Secretary *Windebank* was in the House. Besides that, he was charged by the Lords, by Message or at a Conference, for Breach of Priviledge at the Dissolution of the last Parliament, and signing Warrants for the searching the Studies and Papers of some Members; for which, according to the Doctrine then receiv'd, he might have been put into the custody of the Serjeant of the House. But, as the last occasion was not laid hold of, because it would have inevitably involv'd his brother Secretary Sr *Harry Vane*, who was under the same charge, and against whom indeed That charge was aim'd: So it seems, they were contented he should make an escape from any Trial for the rest; either, because they thought his Place would be sooner void by his Flight than by his Trial, which would have taken up some time, and required some formality, they having design'd that Place to Mr *Hollis*; or, that they thought he would, upon any examination, draw in somewhat to the Prejudice of Sr *Henry Vane*, whom they were to protect: and so they were well content with his Escape.

HAVING made their first entrance upon business with this vigour, they proceeded every day with the same fervour; and he who expresst most Warmth against the Court and the Government, was heard with the most Favour; every day producing many form'd elaborate Orations, against all the Acts of State which had been done for many years preceding. That they might hasten the Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, which was their First great design, they made a close Committee

of

of ſuch Members, as they knew to be moſt for their purpoſe, who ſhould, under an obligation of Secrecy, prepare the heads of a charge againſt him; which had been ſeldom or never heard of before in Parliament: and that they might be ſure to do their buſineſs effectually, they ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Peers, to deſire them "to nominate "a ſelect Committee likewiſe of a few, to examine upon oath ſuch Wit- "neſſes, as the Committee of the Houſe of Commons for preparing the "Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford* ſhould produce before them, and "in their Preſence and upon ſuch Interrogatories as they ſhould offer; which, though it was without Precedent, or example, the Lords preſently conſented to, and named ſuch men as knew well What they had to do. Then they cauſed Petitions to be every day preſented, by ſome who had been Griev'd by any ſevere Sentences in the Star-Chamber, or Committed by the Lords of the Council; againſt Lords Lievtenants of Counties, and their Deputy-Lievtenants, for having levyed Money upon the Country, for conducting and clothing of Soldiers, and other actions of a Martial nature (which had been done by thoſe Officers ſo qualified, from the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was practiſed throughout her Reign) and againſt Sheriffs, for having levied Ship-money. Upon all which Petitions (the matter being preſs'd and aggravated ſtill upon every particular by ſome Member of note and authority, upon which) all the acts how formal and judicial ſoever, without ſo much as hearing the Sentences or Judgements read, were voted "to be Ille- "gal, and againſt the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and that "all who were guilty of ſuch Proceedings, ſhould be Proſecuted for "their preſumption, and ſhould likewiſe pay Damages to the perſons "injured.

By which general Votes (all paſs'd within a ſhort time after the ſitting of the Parliament) they had made themſelves ſo terrible, that all Privy-Counſellors, as well for what they had done at the Board, as in the Star-chamber (where indeed many notable Sentences had paſs'd, with ſome exceſs in the Puniſhment) all Lords Lievtenants, who for the moſt part were likewiſe Counſellors, whereof all were of the Houſe of Peers; and then all who were Deputy-Lievtenants, or had been Sheriffs ſince the firſt iſſuing out of Writs for the collection of Ship-money, whereof very many were then of the Houſe of Commons; found themſelves involv'd under ſome of thoſe Votes, and liable to be proceeded againſt upon the firſt Provocation; whereby they were kept in ſuch aw, both in the one Houſe, and the other, as if they were upon their good behaviour, that they durſt not appear to diſlike, much leſs to oppoſe whatſoever was propoſed.

All perſons impriſon'd for Sedition by the Star-Chamber upon the moſt ſolemn examination and the moſt grave deliberation, were ſet at liberty, that they might proſecute their appeals in Parliament. In the mean time, though there were two Armies in the bowels of the Kingdom, at ſo vaſt an expence, care was taken only to provide money to Pay them, without the leaſt mention that the one ſhould return into *Scotland*, and the other be disbanded, that ſo that vaſt expence might be determin'd: but on the contrary, frequent inſinuations were given, "that many great things were firſt to be done before the Armies could "be disbanded; only they deſired the King "that all Papiſts might "be forthwith caſhier'd out of his Army, which his Majeſty could not deny; and ſo ſome Officers of good account were immediately diſmiſs'd.

It

The Temper of both Houses at that time, and the Character of the then Leading men in both:

IT will not be impertinent nor unnatural to this present Discourse, to set down in this place the present temper and constitution of both Houses of Parliament, that it may be the less wonder'd at, that so prodigious an alteration should be made in so short a time, and the Crown fallen so low, that it could neither support it Self and its Own Majesty, nor Them who would appear faithful to it.

In the House of Peers the Earl of Bedford,

OF the House of Peers, the great contrivers and designers were, first the Earl of *Bedford*, a wise man, and of too great and plentiful a fortune to wish a subversion of the Government; and it quickly appear'd, that he only intended to make Himself and his Friends great at Court, not at all to lessen the Court it Self.

the Lord Say,

THE Lord Viscount *Say*, a man of a close and reserv'd nature, of a mean and a narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the highest Ambition; but whose Ambition would not be satisfied with Offices and Preferments, without some condescensions and alterations in Ecclesiastical matters. He had for many years been the Oracle of those who were call'd Puritans in the worst sense, and steer'd all Their counsels and design's. He was a notorious Enemy to the Church, and to most of the eminent Church-men, with some of whom he had particular contests. He had allways opposed and contradicted all acts of State, and all Taxes and Impositions, which were not exactly Legal, and so had as eminently and as obstinately refused the payment of Ship-money as Mr *Hambden* had done; though the latter, by the choice of the King's Council, had brought his Cause to be first heard and argued, with which Judgment, it was intended the whole right of That matter should be concluded, and all other Causes over-ruled. The Lord *Say* would not acquiesce, but press'd to have his Own case argued, and was so sollicitous in Person with all the Judges, both privately at their Chambers, and publickly in the Court at *Westminster*, that he was very grievous to them. His Commitment at *York*, the year before, because he refused to take an Oath, or rather subscribe a Protestation, against holding Intelligence with the *Scots*, when the King first march'd against them, had given him much credit. In a word, he had very great authority with all the Discontented party throughout the Kingdom, and a good reputation with many who were not discontented, who believ'd him to be a wise man and of a very useful temper, in an age of Licence, and one who would still adhere to the Law.

the Lord Mandeville,

THE Lord *Mandevile*, eldest Son to the Lord Privy-Seal, was a person of great civility, and very well bred, and had been early in the Court under the favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, a Lady of whose Family he had married: he had attended upon the Prince when he was in *Spain*, and had been call'd to the House of Peers in the life time of his Father, by the name of the Lord *Kimbolton*, which was a very extraordinary favour. Upon the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Wife being likewise dead, he married the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*. A man in no grace at Court, and look'd upon as the greatest Patron of the Puritans, because of much the greatest Estate of all who favour'd them, and so was esteem'd by them with great application and veneration: though he was of a life very licentious, and unconformable to Their profess'd Rigour, which they rather dispensed with, than they would withdraw from a House where they receiv'd so eminent a Protection, and such notable Bounty. Upon this latter Marriage the Lord *Mandevile* totally estranged himself from the Court, and upon all occa-

sions appear'd enough to dislike what was done there, and engaged himself wholely in the conversation of those who were most notoriously of that Party, whereof there was a kind of Fraternity of many persons of good condition, who chose to live together in one Family, at a Gentleman's House of a fair fortune, near the place where the Lord *Mandevile* liv'd, whither others of that *Class's* likewise resorted, and maintain'd a joint and mutual correspondence and conversation together with much familiarity and friendship: That Lord, to support, and the better to improve that Popularity, living at a much higher rate than the narrow exhibition allow'd to him by his wary Father could justify, making up the rest by contracting a great debt, which long lay heavy upon him; by which generous way of living, and by his natural civility, good manners, and good nature, which flow'd towards all men, he was universally acceptable and belov'd; and no man more in the confidence of the Discontented and Factious party than He, and none to whom the whole mass of Their designs, as well what remain'd in Chaos as what was Form'd, was more entirely communicated, and no man more consulted with. And therefore these three Lords are nominated as the Principal Agents in the House of Peers (though there were many there of Quality and Interest much superiour to any of Them) because They were principally and absolutely trusted by those who were to manage all in the House of Commons, and to raise that Spirit which was upon all occasions to inflame the Lords. Yet it being enough known and understood, that how indispos'd and angry soever many of them at Present appear'd to be, there would be still a major part There, who would, if they were not over-reach'd, adhere to the King and the establish'd Government, and therefore, these three persons were trusted without reserve, and relied upon so to steer, as might increase their Party by all the arts imaginable; and they had dexterity enough to appear to depend upon those three Lords, who were look'd upon as Greater, and as Popular men; and to be subservient to Their purposes, Whom in truth they govern'd and dispos'd of.

the Earl of Essex.

And by these Artifices, and application to his Vanity, and magnifying the general reputation and credit he had with the People, and sharpning the sense he had of his late ill treatment at Court, they fully prevail'd upon, and poss'es'd themselves of, the Earl of *Essex*; who, though he was no good Speaker in Publick, yet, by having sate long in Parliament, was so well acquainted with the order of it in very active times, that he was a better speaker There than any where else, and being allway's heard with attention and respect, had much Authority in the debates. Nor did he need any incitement (which made all approaches to him the more easy) to do any thing against the Persons of the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Lord Lievtenant of *Ireland*, towards whom he profes's'd a full dislike; who were the only Persons against whom there was any declared design, and against whom the *Scots* had in their Manifesto demanded Justice, as the cause of the War between the Nations. And in this Prosecution there was too great a concurrence: *Warwick*, *Brook*, *Wharton*, *Paget*, *Howard*, and some others, implicitely follow'd and observ'd the dictates of the Lords mention'd before, and started or seconded what they were directed.

In the House of Commons

In the House of Commons were many persons of Wisdom and Gravity, who being poss'es's'd of great and plentiful Fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the Court, had all imaginable duty for the

King, and affection to the Government eſtabliſh'd by Law or ancient Cuſtom; and without doubt, the major part of that Body conſiſted of men who had no mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any conſiderable alteration in the Government of Church or State: and therefore all Inventions were ſet on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them, by ſuggeſtions "of the Dangers which "threatned All that was precious to the Subject in their Liberty and "their Property, by overthrowing, or over-maſtering the Law, and ſub-"jecting it to an Arbitrary power, and by countenancing Popery to the "ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Religion; and then, by infuſing terri-ble Apprehenſions into ſome, and ſo working upon their Fears "of be-"ing call'd in Queſtion for ſomewhat they had done, by which they would ſtand in need of Their protection, and raiſing the Hopes of others, "that by concurring with Them, they ſhould be ſure to obtain Offi-"ces, and Honours, and any kind of Preferment. Though there were too many corrupted and miſled by theſe ſeveral Temptations, and others who needed no other temptations than from the fierceneſs of their Own natures, and the malice they had contracted againſt the Church and againſt the Court; Yet the number was not great of thoſe in whom the Government of the reſt was veſted, nor were there many who had the abſolute Authority to Lead, though there was a multitude diſpoſed to Follow.

M^r PYM was look'd upon as the man of greateſt Experience in Par- *Mr.* Pym, liament, where he had ſerv'd very long, and was allways a man of buſineſs, being an Officer in the Exchequer, and of a good reputation generally, though known to be inclined to the Puritan faction; yet not of thoſe furious reſolutions againſt the Church as the other Leading men were, and wholely devoted to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had nothing of that Spirit.

Mr HAMBDEN was a man of much greater Cunning, and it may *Mr.* Hamb-be, of the moſt diſcerning Spirit, aad of the greateſt Addreſs and Infi- den, nuation to bring any thing to paſs which he deſired, of any man of that time, and who laid the deſign deepeſt. He was a Gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune, who, from a life of great pleaſure and licence, had on a ſuddain retired to extraordinary ſobriety and ſtrictneſs, and yet retain'd his uſual chearfulneſs and affability; which, together with the opinion of his wiſdom and juſtice, and the courage he had ſhew'd in oppoſing the Ship-money, raiſed his Reputation to a very great height, not only in *Buckinghamſhire*, where he liv'd, but generally throughout the Kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the diſcourſe, or made the firſt entrance upon any buſineſs that was aſſumed; but a very Weighty ſpeaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and obſerv'd how the Houſe was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and ſhortly, and clearly, and craftily, ſo ſtated it, that he commonly conducted it to the concluſion he deſired; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the Negative, which might prove Inconvenient in the future. He made ſo great a ſhew of civility, and modeſty, and humility, and allways of miſtruſting his Own judgement, and eſteeming His with whom he conferr'd for the preſent, that he ſeem'd to have no opinions or reſolutions, but ſuch as he contracted from the information and inſtruction he receiv'd upon the diſcourſes of others, whom he had a wonderful art

of governing, and leading into His principles and inclinations, whilſt They believ'd that he wholely depended upon their counſel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himſelf, or was leſs the man that he ſeem'd to be, which ſhortly after appear'd to every body, when he cared leſs to keep on the Maſque.

Mr Saint-John.

Mr SAINT-JOHN, who was in a firm and entire conjunction with the other Two, was a Lawyer of *Lincolns*-Inn, known to be of parts and induſtry, but not taken notice of for practice in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, till he argued at the Exchequer-Chamber the caſe of Ship-money on the behalf of Mr *Hambden*; which gave him much reputation, and call'd him into all Courts, and to all Cauſes, where the King's Prerogative was moſt conteſted. He was a man reſerv'd, and of a dark and clouded countenance, very proud, and converſing with very few, and thoſe, men of his own humour and inclinations. He had been queſtion'd, committed, and brought into the Star-chamber, many years before, with other perſons of great Name and Reputation (which firſt brought His name upon the Stage) for communicating ſome Paper among themſelves, which ſome men at that time had a mind to have extended to a deſign of Sedition; but it being quickly evident that the Proſecution would not be attended with Succeſs, they were all ſhortly after diſcharged; but he never forgave the Court the firſt aſſault, and contracted an implacable diſpleaſure againſt the Church purely from the Company he kept. He was of an intimate truſt with the Earl of *Bedford*, to whom he was in ſome ſort allied (being a natural Son of the Houſe of *Bullingbrook*) and by him brought into all matters where himſelf was to be concern'd. It was generally believ'd, that theſe three Perſons, with the other three Lords mention'd before, were of the moſt intimate and entire truſt with each other, and made the Engine which moved all the reſt: yet it was viſible, that *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the ſecond Son of the Lord *Say*, and Sr *Harry Vane*, eldeſt Son to the Secretary, and Treaſurer of the Houſe, were receiv'd by Them with full confidence and without reſerve.

Mr Nathaniel Fiennes,

THE former, being a man of good Parts of Learning, and after ſome years ſpent in *New-College* in *Oxford*, of which his Father had been formerly Fellow (that Family claiming and enjoying many Priviledges there, as of kin to the Founder) had ſpent his time abroad, in *Geneva* and amongſt the Cantons of *Switzerland*, where he improved his Diſinclination to the Church, with which Milk he had been nurſed. From his Travels he return'd through *Scotland* (which few Travellers took in their way home) at the time when that Rebellion was in the Bud; and was very little known, except amongſt that People, which converſed wholely amongſt themſelves, untill he was now found in Parliament, when it was quickly diſcover'd, that as he was the darling of his Father, ſo he was like to make good whatſoever He had for many years promiſed.

Sr Harry Vane *Junior*,

THE other, Sr *Harry Vane*, was a man of great natural parts, and of very profound diſſimulation, of a quick conception, and very ready, ſharp, and weighty expreſſion. He had an unuſual aſpect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his Father and Mother, neither of which were beautiful perſons, yet made men think there was ſomething in him of Extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination. Within a very ſhort time after he return'd from his Studies in *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, where, though he was under the care

of a very worthy Tutor, he liv'd not with great exactneſs, he ſpent ſome little time in *France*, and more in *Geneva*; and after his return into *England*, contracted a full prejudice and bitterneſs againſt the Church, both againſt the Form of the Government, and the Liturgy, which was generally in great reverence, even with many of thoſe who were not friends to the other. In this Giddyneſs, which then much diſpleaſed, or ſeem'd to diſpleaſe, his Father, who ſtill appear'd highly conformable, and exceeding ſharp againſt thoſe who were not, he tranſported himſelf into *New-England*, a Colony within few years before planted by a mixture of all Religions, which diſpoſed the Profeſſors to diſlike the Government of the Church; who were qualified by the King's Charter to chooſe their Own Government and Governours, under the obligation, "that every man ſhould take the Oaths of Allegiance and Su-"premacy; which all the firſt Planters did, when they receiv'd their Charter, before they tranſported themſelves from hence, nor was there in many years, the leaſt Scruple amongſt them, of complying with thoſe obligations, ſo far men were, in the Infancy of their Schiſm, from refuſing to take Lawful Oaths. He was no ſooner landed there, but his Parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his Quality, being the eldeſt Son of a Privy-Counſellor, might give him ſome advantage; inſomuch, that when the next ſeaſon came for the Election of their Magiſtrates, He was choſen their Governour; in which Place he had ſo ill fortune (his working and unquiet fancy raiſing and infuſing a thouſand Scruples of Conſcience, which They had not brought over with them, nor heard of before) that He unſatisfied with Them, and They with Him, he tranſported himſelf into *England*; having ſow'd ſuch ſeed of Diſſention there, as grew up too proſperouſly, and miſerably divided the poor Colony into ſeveral Factions, and Diviſions, and Perſecutions of each other, which ſtill continue to the great Prejudice of that Plantation: inſomuch as ſome of them upon the ground of the firſt Expedition, Liberty of Conſcience, have withdrawn themſelves from Their juriſdiction, and obtain'd other Charters from the King, by which, in other forms of Government, they have enlarged their Plantation, within new limits adjacent to the other. He was no ſooner return'd into *England*, than he ſeem'd to be much reform'd from his extravagancies, and with his Father's approbation and direction, married a Lady of a good Family, and by his Father's credit with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was High Admiral of *England*, was join'd preſently and jointly with Sr *William Ruſſel* in the office of Treaſurer of the Navy (a Place of great truſt and profit) which he equally ſhared with the other, and ſeem'd a man well ſatisfied and compoſed to the Government. When his Father receiv'd the Diſobligation from the Lord *Strafford*, by his being created Baron of *Raby*, the Houſe and Land of *Vane* (which Title he had promiſed Himſelf, but it was unluckily caſt upon the Earl, purely out of contempt of *Vane*) they ſuck'd in all the thoughts of Revenge imaginable; and from thence the Son betook himſelf to the Friendſhip of Mr *Pym*, and all other Diſcontented or Seditious perſons, and contributed all that Intelligence (which will hereafter be mention'd, as he himſelf will often be) that deſign'd the Ruin of the Earl, and which grafted him in the entire confidence of Thoſe who promoted the ſame; ſo that nothing was conceal'd from Him, though it's believ'd that he communicated his Own thoughts to very few.

DENZILL *Hollis*, the younger Son and younger Brother of the Earls of Denzill Hollis.

of *Clare*, was as much valued and eſteem'd by the whole Party, as any man; as he deſerv'd to be, being of more accompliſh'd Parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted againſt the Court and the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Parliament of the Fourth year of the King (the laſt Parliament that had been before the Short one in *April*) and his long Impriſonment, and ſharp Proſecution afterwards, upon that account; of which he retain'd the memory with acrimony enough. But he would in no degree intermeddle in the Counſel or Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford* (which he could not prevent) who had married his Siſter, by whom he had all his Children, which made him a Stranger to all Thoſe conſultations, though it did not otherwiſe interrupt the Friendſhip he had with the moſt violent of thoſe Proſecutors. In all other contrivances he was in the moſt Secret Counſels with Thoſe who moſt govern'd, and was reſpected by them with very ſubmiſs applications as a man of Authority. Sr *Gilbert Gerrard*, the Lord *Digby*, *Strode*, *Haſlerigg*; and the Northern Gentlemen, who were moſt angry with the Earl, or apprehenſive of Their Own being in the mercy of the Houſe, as *Hotham*, *Cholmely*, and *Stapleton*; with ſome Popular Lawyers of the Houſe, who did not ſuſpect any Wickedneſs in deſign, and ſo became involv'd by degrees in the Worſt, obſerv'd and purſued the dictates and directions of the Other, according to the parts which were aſſign'd to them upon emergent occaſions: whilſt the whole Houſe look'd on with wonder and amazement, without any man's interpoſing to allay the Paſſion and the Fury with which ſo Many were tranſported.

THIS was the preſent Temper and Conſtitution of both Houſes of Parliament upon their firſt coming together, when (as *Tacitus* ſays of the Jews, "that they exerciſed the higheſt offices of Kindneſs and friendſhip "towards each other, *& adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*) they watch'd all thoſe who they knew were not of Their opinions, nor like to be, with all poſſible Jealouſy; and if any of their Elections could be brought into Queſtion, they were ſure to be voted out of the Houſe, and then all the artifices were uſed to bring in more Sanctified Members; ſo that every week encreaſed the number of their Party, both by new Elections, and the Proſelytes they gain'd upon the old. Nor was it to be wonder'd at, for they pretended all Publick thoughts, and only the reformation of diſapproved and odious Enormities, and diſſembled all purpoſes of removing Foundations, which, though it was in the hearts of ſome, they had not the courage and confidence to communicate it.

THE *Engliſh* and the *Scotiſh* Armies remain'd quiet in their ſeveral Quarters in the North, without any acts of Hoſtility, under the obligation of the Ceſſation, which was ſtill prorogued from Month to Month, that the People might believe that a full Peace would be quickly concluded. And the Treaty, which during the King's being at *York* had been held at *Rippon*, being now adjourn'd to *London*, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners (whereof the Earl of *Rothes*, and the Lord *Lowden*, who hath been mention'd before, were the chief) came thither in great State, and were receiv'd by the King with that countenance which he could not chooſe but ſhew to them; and were then lodged in the heart of the City, near *London*-Stone, in a houſe which uſed to be inhabited by the Lord Mayor or one of the Sheriffs, and was ſituate ſo near to the Church of St *Antholins* (a place in late times made famous by ſome Seditious Lecturer) that there was a way out of it into a Gallery of the Church.

The Scotiſh *Commiſſioners come to* London, *and lodge in the City.*

This

This benefit was well foreſeen on all ſides in the accommodation, and this Church aſſign'd to Them for their own Devotions, where one of their own Chaplains ſtill Preach'd, amongſt which *Alexander Henderſon* was the chief, who was likewiſe joyn'd with them in the Treaty in all matters which had reference to Religion: and to hear thoſe Sermons there was ſo great a conflux and reſort, by the Citizens out of Humour and Faction; by others of all qualities out of Curioſity; and by ſome that they might the better juſtify the Contempt they had of them, that from the firſt appearance of day in the morning on every Sunday, to the ſhutting in of the light, the Church was never empty. They (eſpecially the Women) who had the happyneſs to get into the Church in the morning (they who could not, hung upon or about the Windows without to be Auditors or Spectators) keeping their places till the afternoons Exerciſe was finiſh'd, which both morning and afternoon, except to Palates and Appetites ridiculouſly corrupted, was the moſt Inſipid and Flat that could be deliver'd upon any deliberation.

THE Earl of *Rothes* had been the chief Architect of that whole Machine from the beginning, and was a man very well bred, of very good parts, and great addreſs; in his Perſon very acceptable, pleaſant in converſation, very free and amorous, and unreſtrain'd in his diſcourſe by any ſcruples of Religion, which he only put on when the part he was to act required it, and then no man could appear more Conſcientiouſly tranſported. There will be ſometimes occaſion to mention him hereafter, as already as much hath been ſaid of the other, the Lord *Lowden*, as is yet neceſſary.

THEY were no ſooner come to the Town, but a new Committee of the Members of both Houſes, ſuch as were very acceptable to them, was appointed to renew and continue the Treaty with them that had been begun at *Rippon*: and then they Publiſh'd and Printed their Declaration againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Lievtenant of *Ireland*, in which they ſaid, "that as they did reſerve thoſe of their Own "Country who had been Incendiaries between the two Kingdoms, to "be proceeded againſt in their Own Parliament, ſo they deſired no other "Juſtice to be done againſt theſe Two criminal Perſons but what ſhould "ſeem good to the Wiſdom of the Parliament.

A Committee of both Houſes appointed to treat with the Scotiſh Commiſſioners.

IT was eaſily diſcern'd (by thoſe who ſaw at any diſtance, and who had been long jealous of that trick) from that expreſſion concerning *Their Own Country-men*, that they meant no harm to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, againſt Whom, in the beginning of the Rebellion, all their Bitterneſs ſeem'd to be directed, and Who was thought to have the leaſt portion of kindneſs or good will from the three Nations, of any man who related to the King's Service. But he had, by the Friendſhip he had ſhew'd to the Lord *Lowden*, and procuring his Liberty, when he was in the Tower for ſo notorious a Treaſon, and was to be in the head of another aſſoon as he ſhould be at Liberty; and by his application and dexterity at *York* in the meeting of the great Council, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners employ'd thither before the Treaty; and by his promiſe of Future Offices and Services, which he made good abundantly; procured as well from the *Engliſh* as the *Scots*, all aſſurance of Indemnity: which they ſo diligently made good, that they were not more ſollicitous to contrive and find out Evidence or Information againſt the other Two great men, than they were to prevent all Information or Complaint, and to ſtifle all Evidence, which was offer'd, or could be produced againſt the Marquis.

AND

AND they were exceedingly vigilant to prevent the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners entring into any Familiarity, or Converſation with any who were not faſt to Their party: Inſomuch as one day the Earl of *Rothes* walking in *Weſtminſter*-Hall with Mr *Hyde*, towards whom he had a kindneſs by reaſon of their mutual friendſhip with ſome Perſons of Honour, and they Two walking towards the Gate to take Coach to make a Viſit together, the Earl on a ſuddain deſired the other "to walk towards "the Coach, and he would overtake him by the time he came thither; but ſtaying very long, He imagin'd he might be diverted from his purpoſe, and ſo walk'd back into the Hall, where preſently meeting him, they Both purſued their former intention; and being in the Coach, the Earl told him, "that he muſt excuſe his having made him ſtay ſo long, "becauſe he had been detain'd only concerning Him; that when he "was walking with him, a Gentleman paſſing by touch'd his Cloak, "which made him deſire the other to go before; and turning to the other "perſon, He ſaid, That ſeeing him walk in ſome familiarity with Mr "*Hyde*, he thought himſelf obliged to tell him, that he walked with the "greateſt Enemy the *Scotiſh* Nation had in the Parliament, and that "he ought to take heed how he communicated any thing of Importance "to him; and that after he was parted with that Gentleman, before "he could paſs through the Hall, four or five other Eminent men ſeve-"rally, gave him the ſame advertiſement and caution; and then ſpoke as unconcernedly and as merrily of the Perſons and Their Jealouſy as the Other could do. Men who were ſo Sagacious in purſuing their point, were not like to miſcarry.

THE firſt Compliment They put upon the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners was, that They were careſs'd by Both Houſes with all poſſible expreſſions of Kindneſs at leaſt, if not of Submiſſion; and an Order was carefully entred, "that upon all occaſions the Appellation ſhould be uſed of [*Our "Brethren of* Scotland] and upon That, wonderful kind Compliments paſs'd, of a ſincere reſolution of Amity and Union between the two Nations.

THINGS being thus conſtituted, it became them to ſatisfy the publick expectation in the Diſcovery of their new Treaſons, and in ſpeedy Proceedings againſt thoſe Two great Perſons. For the better preparing whereof, and facilitating whatever elſe ſhould be neceſſary for that enterprize, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners in the Name of that Nation, preſented (as is ſaid before) two diſtinct Declarations, againſt the Perſons of the Arch-Biſhop and the Earl of *Strafford*, ſtuff'd with as much Bitterneſs and Virulency as can be imagin'd, making Them "the odious In-"cendiaries of the Differences between the two Nations, and the Origi-"nal Cauſes of all thoſe Calamities in that Kingdom which begot thoſe "Differences, and moſt pathetically preſſing for Juſtice againſt them "Both. Theſe Diſcourſes (for each of them conſiſted of many Sheets of Paper) were publickly read in both Houſes; That againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was for the preſent laid aſide, and I am perſwaded, at that time, without any thought of reſuming it, hoping that his Age and Impriſonment would have quickly freed them from farther trouble. But a ſpeedy Proceeding againſt the Other was vehemently preſs'd, as of no leſs importance than the Peace between the two Kingdoms, not without ſome intimation, "that there could be no expectation that "the *Scotiſh* Army would ever retire into their Country, and conſe-"quently that the King's Army could be Disbanded, before exemplary "Juſtice

Proceedings towards the Earl of Straf-ford's *Trial.*

"Juſtice was done upon that Earl to Their ſatisfaction. When they had inflamed men with this conſideration ſufficiently; They, without any great difficulty (in order to the neceſſary expedition for that Trial) prevail'd in two Propoſitions of moſt Fatal conſequence to the King's ſervice; and to the Safety and Integrity of all Honeſt men.

THE Firſt, "for a Committee to be ſettled of both Houſes for the "taking Preparatory Examinations. Thus the Allegation was, "That "the Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford* was of an extraordinary na- "ture, being to make a Treaſon evident out of a complication of ſeveral "ill acts; That he muſt be traced through many dark paths, and This "Precedent ſeditious Diſcourſe, compared with That Subſequent outra- "gious Action, the Circumſtances of both which, might be equally con- "ſiderable with the Matter it ſelf; and therefore that before this Charge "could be ſo directly made and prepared as was neceſſary (for he was hitherto only accuſed generally of Treaſon) "it was requiſite, that a "Committee ſhould be made of both Houſes to examine ſome Witneſſes "upon Oath, upon whoſe Depoſitions, his Impeachment would eaſily "be framed. This was no ſooner propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, than conſented to; and upon as little debate yielded to by the Lords; and the Committee ſettled accordingly: without conſidering that ſuch an Inquiſition (beſides that the ſame was contrary to the Practice of former times) would eaſily prepare a Charge againſt the moſt Innocent man alive; where that liberty ſhould be taken to examine a man's whole life; and all the light, and all the private diſcourſes had paſt from him, might be tortured, perverted, and applied, according to the conſcience and the craft of a Diligent and Malicious Proſecution.

THE Second was, "for the Examining upon Oath Privy-Counſel- "lors, upon ſuch matters as had paſs'd at the Council-Table. The Allegation for this was, ("That the principal Ingredient into the Treaſon "with which the Earl was to be charged, was, a purpoſe to Change the "Form of Government; and, inſtead of That ſettled by Law, to intro- "duce a Power meerly Arbitrary.) Now this deſign muſt be made Evi- "dent, as well by the Advices which he gave, and the Expreſſions he "utter'd upon Emergent Occaſions, as by his Publick Actions; and "Thoſe could not be diſcover'd, at leaſt not proved, but by Thoſe who "were Preſent at ſuch conſultations, and They were only Privy-Coun- "ſellors. As it was alledged, ("That at his coming from *Ireland* the "Earl had ſaid in Council there; That if ever he return'd to that Sword "again, he would not leave a *Scotiſh*-man in that Kingdom: and at his "arrival in this Kingdom; the Lord Mayor and ſome Aldermen of "*London* attending the Board about the Loan of Moneys, and not giving "that Satisfaction was expected, that He ſhould pull a Letter out of "his pocket, and ſhew what courſe the King of *France* then took for "the raiſing of Money; and that He ſhould tell the King, That it would "never be well till he hang'd up a Lord Mayor of *London* in the City "to terrify the reſt.)

THERE was no greater difficulty to ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons with the Reaſonableneſs of this, than of the former; but the Compaſſing it, was not like to be eaſy: for it was viſible, that though the Lords ſhould join with them (which was not to be deſpair'd) the Privy-Counſellors would inſiſt upon the Oath they had taken, and pretend "that "without the King's conſent they might not diſcover any thing that had "paſs'd at that Board; ſo that the greateſt difficulty would be, The pro-

"curing the King's consent for the betraying Himself: but This must be "insisted on, for God forbid that it might be safe for any desperate wic- "ked Counsellor to propose and advise at that Board (which in the intervals of Parliaments wholely disposed the affairs of State) "courses "destructive to the health and being of the Kingdom; and that the Sove- "raign Physician, the Parliament (which had the only skill to cure "those contagious and epidemical diseases) should be hindred from pre- "serving the Publick, because no Evidence must be given of such cor- "rupt and wicked Counsels. And so provided with this specious Ora- tory, they desire the Lords "to concur with Them for this necessary "Examination of Privy-Counsellors; Who, without much debate (for the Persons concern'd knew well their Acts were visible and publick enough, and therefore consider'd not much what Words had pass'd) con- sented; and appointed some to attend the King for His consent: Who, not well weighing the Consequence; and being in Publick Council unani- mously advised "to consent to it; and that the not doing it would lay "some taint upon his Council, and be a tacit confession, that there had "been agitations at that place which would not endure the light; Yielded that they should be examin'd: which was speedily done accordingly, by the Committee of both Houses appointed for that purpose.

THE Damage was not to be express'd, and the Ruin that last act brought to the King was irreparable; for, besides that it serv'd Their turn (which no question they had discover'd before) to prove those words against the Earl of *Strafford*, which Sr *Harry Vane* so punctually remem- ber'd (as you shall find at the Earl's Trial) and besides, that it was mat- ter of horror to the Counsellors, to find that They might be arraign'd for every rash, every inconsiderate, every imperious expression or word they had used There; and so made them more engaged to servile ap- plications: it banish'd for ever all future freedom from that Board, and those Persons, from whom his Majesty was to expect advice in his greatest streights; all men satisfying themselves, "that they were no more obliged "to deliver their opinions There freely, when they might be Impeach'd "in another place for so doing; and the evincing this so useful Doctrine, was without doubt more the design of those grand Managers, than any hope they had, of receiving further Information thereby, than they had before.

AND for my part I must ask leave of those Noble Lords, Who af- ter the King's consent gave themselves liberty to be Examin'd, to say; that if they had well consider'd the Oath they had taken when they were admitted to that Society, which was [*To keep Secret all matters com- mitted and reveal'd to them, or that should be treated of secretly in Council*] they would not have believ'd, that the King Himself could have dispensed with that Part of their Oath. It is true, there is another clause in their Oath, that allows them with the King's consent to reveal a matter of Council: but that is, Only what shall touch another Counsel- lor; which they are not to do without the leave of the King, or the Council.

IT was now time to mind Themselves, as well as the Publick, and to Repair, as well as Pull Down; and therefore, as the principal reason (as was said before) for the accusing those Two great Persons of High Trea- son (that is, of the general Consent to it before any Evidence was re- quired) was, that they might be removed from the King's Presence and his Counsels, without which they conceiv'd Theirs would have no power

with him; ſo That being compaſs'd, care was taken to infuſe into the King by Marquis *Hamilton* (Who you heard before was licenſed to take care of Himſelf; and was now of great intimacy with the Governing and Undertaking Party) "that his Majeſty having declared to his Peo-"ple, that He really intended a Reformation of all thoſe Extravagancies "which former neceſſities, or occaſions, or miſtakes, had brought into "the Government of Church or State: He could not give a more lively "and demonſtrable Evidence, and a more gracious Inſtance of ſuch his "intention, than by calling ſuch Perſons to his Council, Whom the Peo-"ple generally thought moſt inclined to, and intent upon, ſuch Refor-"mation: Beſides, that this would be a good means to preſerve the di-"gnity and juſt power of that Board, which might otherwiſe, on the "account of the late exceſs and violation, be more ſubject to inconve-"nient attempts for the Future.

HEREUPON in one day were ſworn Privy-Counſellors, much to the publick joy, the Earl of *Hertford* (whom the King afterwards made Marquis) the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Savile*, and the Lord *Kimbolton*; and within two or three days after, the Earl of *Warwick*: being All perſons at that time very gracious to the People, or to the *Scots*, by whoſe election and diſcretion the People choſe; and had been All in ſome umbrage at Court, and Moſt in viſible diſfavour there. This act the King did very chearfully; heartily inclined to Some of them, as He had reaſon; and not apprehending any Inconvenience by that act from the Other, whom he thought this light of his grace would Reform, or at leaſt Reſtrain. *Divers new Privy-Counſellors ſworn of the Popular Party.*

BUT the calling and admitting men to that Board is not a work that can be indifferent: the Reputation, if not the Government of the State depending on it. And though, it may be, there hath been too much Curioſity heretofore uſed to diſcover men's humours in particular points, before they have receiv'd that Honour; whereas poſſibly ſuch differences were rather to have been deſired than avoided: yet there are certain Opinions, certain Propoſitions, and general Principles, that Whoſoever does not hold, and does not believe, is not, without great danger, to be accepted for a Privy-Counſellor. As, Whoſoever is not fix'd to Monarchical grounds, the preſervation and upholding whereof is the chief End of ſuch a Council: Whoſoever doth not believe that in order to that great End, there is a Dignity, a Freedom, a Juriſdiction moſt eſſential to be preſerv'd In, and To that place; and takes not the Preſervation thereof to heart; ought never to be receiv'd there. What in prudence is to be done towards that End, admits a latitude that honeſt and wiſe men may ſafely and profitably differ in; and thoſe Differences (which I ſaid before there was too much unskilful care to prevent) uſually produce great advantages in knowledge and wiſdom: but the End it ſelf, that which the Logicians call the *Terminus ad quem*, ought allways to be a *poſtulatum*, which Whoſoever doubts, deſtroys: and Princes cannot be too ſtrict, too tender, in this conſideration, in the conſtituting the body of their Privy-Council; upon the Prudent doing whereof, much of their Safety; more of their Honour and Reputation (which is the Life it ſelf of Princes) both at home and abroad neceſſarily depends: and the Inadvertencies in this Point, have been, mediately or immediately, the Root and the Spring of moſt of the Calamities that have enſued.

TWO Reaſons have been frequently given by Princes for Overſights, or for Willful Breaches, in this important diſpenſation of their Favours,

The firſt, "that ſuch a man can do no harm; when, God knows, few men have done more harm than Thoſe who have been thought to be able to do leaſt; and there cannot be a greater error than to believe, a man whom we ſee qualified with too mean parts to do good, to be therefore incapable of doing hurt: there is a ſupply of Malice, of Pride, of Induſtry, and even of Folly, in the Weakeſt, when He ſets his heart upon it, that makes a ſtrange progreſs in Miſchief. The Second, "when Per-"ſons of ordinary faculties, either upon importunity, or other collateral "reſpects, have been introduced There, that it is but a place of Ho-"nour, and a general teſtimony of the King's affection; and ſo it hath been, as it were reſerv'd, as a preferment for Thoſe, who were fit for no other preferment. As amongſt the Jeſuits they have a Rule, That they, who are unapt for greater Studies, ſhall ſtudy caſes of Conſcience. By this means the Number hath been increaſed, which in it ſelf breeds great Inconveniences; ſince a Leſs number are fitter both for Counſel and Diſpatch, in matters of the greateſt moment, that depend upon a quick execution, than a Greater number of men equally honeſt and wiſe: and for That, and other reaſons of Unaptneſs and Incompetency, Committees of dexterous men have been appointed out of the Table to do the buſineſs of it; and ſo men have been no ſooner exalted with the Honourable title, and pleaſed with the obligation of being made Privy-Counſellors, than they have check'd that delight with diſcerning that they were not fully truſted; and ſo have been more incenſed with the Reproachful diſtinction At, than obliged with the Honourable admiſſion To that Board, where they do not find all perſons equally Members. And by this kind of Reſentment, many ſad Inconveniences have befallen the King; and Thoſe men, Who have had the honour and misfortune of thoſe ſecret truſts.

THE truth is, the ſinking and near deſperate condition of Monarchy in this Kingdom can never be buoy'd up, but by a prudent and ſteady Council attending upon the virtue and vivacity of the King; nor be preſerv'd and improved when it is up, but by cheriſhing and preſerving the wiſdom, integrity, dignity, and reputation, of that Council: the luſtre whereof allways reflects upon the King himſelf; who is not thought a Great Monarch when he follows only his Own Reaſon and Appetite; but when, for the informing his Reaſon, and guiding his Actions, he uſes the ſervice, induſtry, and faculties, of the Wiſeſt men. And though it hath been, and will be, allways neceſſary to admit to thoſe Counſels ſome men of great Power, who will not take the pains to improve their great parts; yet the Number of the whole ſhould not be too great; and the Capacities and Qualities of the moſt ſhould be fit for buſineſs; that is, either for Judgement, and Diſpatch; or for One of them at leaſt: and for Integrity above all.

THIS Digreſſion (much longer than was intended) will not appear very impertinent, when the great diſſervice ſhall appear, which befell the King by the ſwearing thoſe Lords formerly mention'd (I ſpeak but of ſome of them) Privy-Counſellors. For inſtead of exerciſing themſelves in their new Province, and endeavouring to preſerve and vindicate that Juriſdiction; they look'd upon themſelves as preferr'd thither, by their reputation in Parliament, not by the kindneſs and eſteem of the King; and ſo reſolv'd to keep up principally the greatneſs of that Place, to which they thought they ow'd their Own greatneſs. And therefore when the King required the Advice of his Privy-Council, in thoſe mat-

ters of the higheſt importance which were then every day incumbent on Him, the new Privy-Counſellors poſitively declared, "that They might "not (that was, that nobody might) give his Majeſty any advice in "matters depending in the two Houſes, which was not agreeable to the "ſenſe of the two Houſes; which They call'd his Great Council, by Whoſe "wiſdom he was entirely to guide himſelf. As this doctrine was inſipidly and perniciouſly urged by ſome; ſo it was ſupinely and ſtupidly ſubmitted to by others: inſomuch as the King, in a moment found himſelf bereav'd of all Publick aſſiſtance and advice, in a time when he needed it moſt; and his greateſt, and, upon the matter, his only buſineſs, being prudently to weigh and conſider What to Conſent to, and What to Deny, of ſuch things as ſhould be Propoſed to him by the two Houſes: He was now told, "that He was only to be Adviſed by Them; which was as much as to ſay, that He muſt do whatſoever They deſired of him.

WHEREAS in truth, it is not only Lawful for the Privy-Council, but their Duty, to give faithfully and freely Their advice to the King upon all matters concluded in Parliament, to which his Royal aſſent is neceſſary, as well as upon any other ſubject whatſoever. Nay a Privy-Counſellor, as Such, is bound to diſſwade the King from conſenting to that which is Prejudicial to the Crown; at leaſt to make that Prejudice manifeſt to him; though as a private perſon he could wiſh the matter conſented to. And therefore, by the conſtitution of the Kingdom, and the conſtant practice of Former times, all Bills after they had paſs'd both Houſes, were deliver'd by the Clerk of the Parliament to the Clerk of the Crown; and by him brought to the Atturney General; who preſented the ſame to the King ſitting in Council; and having read them, declared what Alterations were made by thoſe Bills to former Laws; and what Benefit or Detriment, in Profit or Juriſdiction, would accrew thereby to the Crown: and then upon a full and free debate by his Counſellors, the King reſolv'd accordingly upon ſuch Bills as were to be enacted into Laws; and reſpited the other that he thought not fit to conſent to. As this hath been the known Practice, ſo the Reaſon is very viſible; that the Royal Aſſent being a diſtinct and eſſential part towards the making a Law, there ſhould be as much care taken to inform the Underſtanding and Conſcience of the King upon thoſe occaſions; as Theirs, who prepare the ſame for his Royal aſſent.

Great licence in Preaching and Printing.

THAT it might appear that what was done Within the Houſes, was agreeable to thoſe who were Without; and that the ſame Spirit reign'd in Parliament, and People; all poſſible licence was exerciſed in Preaching, and Printing any old Scandalous Pamphlets, and adding New to them againſt the Church: Petitions preſented by many Pariſhioners againſt their Paſtors, with Articles of their Miſdemeanours and Behaviours; moſt whereof conſiſted, "in their Bowing at the name of *Jeſus*, "and obliging the Communicants to come up to the Altar (as they enviouſly call'd it) that is, to the Rails which encloſed the Communion-Table, "to receive the Sacrament. All which Petitions were Read with great delight, and preſently referr'd to the Committee about Religion; where Mr *White*, a grave Lawyer, but notoriouſly diſaffected to the Church, ſat in the Chair; and then both Petition and Articles were ſuffer'd to be Printed and Publiſh'd (a licence never practiſed before) that the People might be inflamed againſt the Clergy; who were quickly taught, to call all Thoſe againſt whom ſuch Petitions and Articles

were exhibited (which were frequently done by a few of the Rabble, and meaneſt of the People, againſt the ſenſe and judgement of the Pariſh) *the Scandalous Clergy*; which Appellation was frequently applied to men of great Gravity and Learning, and the moſt Unblemiſh'd lives.

The Entry of Pryn, Baſtwick, *and* Burton, *into* London.

THERE cannot be a better Inſtance of the Unruly and Mutinous Spirit of the City of *London*, which was then the Sink of all the ill humours of the Kingdom, than the Triumphant Entry which ſome Perſons at that time made into *London*, who had been before ſeen upon Pillories, and Stigmatized as Libellous and Infamous Offenders: of which *claſſis* of men ſcarce any age can afford the like.

THERE had been Three perſons of ſeveral Profeſſions ſome years before Cenſured in the Star-chamber, *William Pryn* a Barreſter of *Lincoln*'s-Inn, *John Baſtwick* a Doctor of Phyſick, and *Henry Burton* a Miniſter and Lecturer of *London*.

THE Firſt, not unlearn'd in the Profeſſion of the Law, as far as Learning is acquired by the meer reading of Books; but being a perſon of great Induſtry, had ſpent more time in reading Divinity; and which marr'd that Divinity, in the converſation of Factious and Hot-headed Divines: and ſo, by a mixture of all three, with the rudeneſs and arrogance of his Own nature, had contracted a Proud and Venemous Diſlike to the diſcipline of the Church of *England*; and ſo by degrees (as the Progreſs is very natural) an equal Irreverence to the Government of the State too; both which he vented in ſeveral abſurd, petulant, and ſupercilious Diſcourſes in Print.

THE Second, a half-witted, crackbrain'd Fellow, unknown to either Univerſity, or the College of Phyſicians; but one that had ſpent his time abroad, between the Schools and the Camp (for he had been in, or paſs'd through Armies) and had gotten a Doctorſhip, and Latin; with which, in a very flowing ſtyle, with ſome wit and much malice, he Inveigh'd againſt the Prelates of the Church in a Book which he printed in *Holland*, and induſtriouſly diſperſed in *London*, and throughout the Kingdom; having preſumed (as their Modeſty is allways equal to their Obedience) to Dedicate it *to the Sacred Majeſty of the King*.

THE Third, had formerly a kind of relation by Service to the King; having, before he took Orders, waited as Cloſet-keeper, and ſo attended at Canonical hours with the Books of Devotion upon his Majeſty when he was Prince of *Wales*; and a little before the death of King *James* took Orders: and ſo his Highneſs coming ſhortly to be King; the vapours of Ambition fuming into his head that he was ſtill to keep his Place, he would not think of leſs than being Clerk of the Cloſet to the new King, which Place his Majeſty conferr'd upon, or rather continued in, the Biſhop of *Durham*, Doctor *Neyl*, who had long ſerv'd King *James* there. Mr *Burton* thus diſappointed, and, as He call'd it, deſpoil'd of his Right, would not, in the greatneſs of his heart, ſit down by the affront; but committed two or three ſuch weak, ſawcy indiſcretions, as cauſed an Inhibition to be ſent him, "that he ſhould not preſume to 'come any more to Court: and from that time he reſolv'd to Revenge himſelf of the Biſhop of *Durham*, upon the whole Order; and ſo turn'd Lecturer and Preach'd againſt Them; being endued with Malice and Boldneſs, inſtead of Learning and any tolerable Parts.

THESE Three perſons having been for ſeveral follies and libelling humours, firſt gently Reprehended; and after, for their Incorrigibleneſs, more ſeverely Cenſured and Impriſon'd; found ſome means in Priſon

of

of Correſpondence, which was not before known to be between them; and to combine themſelves, in a more Peſtilent and Seditious Libel than they had ever before vented; in which the Honour of the King, Queen, Counſellors, and Biſhops, was with equal licence blaſted and traduced; which was faithfully diſperſed by their Proſelytes in the City. The Authors were quickly and eaſily known, and had indeed too much ingenuity to deny it; and were thereupon brought together to the Star-chamber *ore tenus*; where they behaved themſelves with marvellous Inſolence; with full confidence demanding "that the Biſhops who ſate "in the Court (being only the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*) "might not be preſent, becauſe they were their Ene-"mies, and ſo Parties: which, how ſcandalous and ridiculous ſoever it ſeem'd then There; was good Logick and good Law two years after in *Scotland*, and ſerv'd to baniſh the Biſhops of that Kingdom both from the Council-Table and the Aſſembly. Upon a very patient and ſolemn Hearing, in as full a Court as ever I ſaw in that place, without any difference in opinion or diſſenting voice, they were all Three cenſured as Scandalous, Seditious, and Infamous perſons, "to loſe their Ears in "the Pillory, and to be impriſon'd in ſeveral Jayls during the King's "pleaſure: all which was executed with Rigour and Severity enough. But yet their itch of Libelling ſtill broke out; and their Friends of the City found a line of Communication with them. Hereupon the Wiſdom of the State thought fit, that thoſe Infectious Sores ſhould breath out their Corruption in ſome Air more remote from that catching City, and leſs liable to the contagion: and ſo, by an Order of the Lords of the Council, Mr *Pryn* was ſent to a Caſtle in the Iſland of *Jerſey*; D^r *Baſtwick* to *Silley*; and Mr *Burton* to *Guernſey*; where they remain'd unconſider'd, and truly I think unpitied (for they were men of no virtue or merit) for the ſpace of Two years, till the beginning of this preſent Parliament.

SHORTLY upon that, Petitions were preſented by their Wives or Friends, to the Houſe of Commons, expreſſing "their heavy Cenſures "and long ſufferings; and deſiring, by way of Appeal, "that the juſtice "and rigour of that Sentence might be review'd and conſider'd; and that "their Perſons might be brought from thoſe remote and deſolate places "to *London*, that ſo they might be able to facilitate or attend their own "buſineſs. The ſending for them out of Priſon (which was the main) took up much conſideration: for though very Many who had no kindneſs, had yet compaſſion for the men; thinking they had ſuffer'd enough; and that though they were ſcurvy Fellows, they had been ſcurvily uſed: and Others, had not only affection to their Perſons as having ſuffer'd for a Common cauſe; but were concern'd to revive and improve their uſeful faculties of Libelling and reviling Authority; and to make thoſe ebullitions of their malice not thought noiſom to the State: Yet a Sentence of a ſupreme Court, the Star-chamber (of which they had not Yet ſpoke with Irreverence) was not lightly to be blown off: but, when they were inform'd, and had conſider'd, that by that Sentence the Petitioners were condemn'd to ſome Priſons in *London*; and were afterward removed thence by an Order of the Lords of the Council; they look'd upon that Order as a violation of the Sentence: and ſo made no ſcruple to order "that the Priſoners ſhould be removed from thoſe for-"reign Priſons, to the Places to which they were regularly firſt committed. And to that purpoſe, Warrants were ſign'd by the Speaker, to the

Governours

Governours and Captains of the ſeveral Caſtles, "to bring them in ſafe "cuſtody to *London*: which were ſent with all poſſible expedition.

PRYN and *Burton* being Neighbours (though in diſtinct Iſlands) landed at the ſame time at *Southampton*; where they were receiv'd and entertain'd with extraordinary demonſtrations of Affection and Eſteem; attended by a marvellous conflux of Company; and their Charges not only born with great magnificence, but liberal Preſents given to them. And this method and ceremony kept them company all their journey, great herds of People meeting them at their entrance into all Towns, and waiting upon them out with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near *London*, multitudes of People of ſeveral conditions, ſome on Horſeback, others on Foot, met them ſome miles from the Town; very many having been a days journey; and they were brought, about two of the Clock in the afternoon, in at *Charing-croſs*, and carried into the City by above ten thouſand perſons, with Boughs and Flowers in their hands; the Common People ſtrewing Flowers and Herbs in the ways as they paſs'd, making great noiſe, and expreſſions of joy for their Deliverance and Return; and in thoſe acclamations, mingling loud and virulent exclamations againſt the Biſhops, "who had ſo cruel- "ly proſecuted ſuch Godly men. In the ſame manner, within five or ſix days after, and in like Triumph, Dr *Baſtwick* return'd from *Silley*; landing at *Dover*; and from thence bringing the ſame teſtimonies of the Affections and Zeal of *Kent*, as the others had done from *Hampſhire* and *Surrey*, was met before he came to *Southwark* by the good People of *London*, and ſo conducted to his lodging likewiſe in the City.

I SHOULD not have waſted thus much time in a diſcourſe of this nature, but that it Is, and was Then evident, that this Inſurrection (for it was no better) and Frenzy of the People, was an effect of great Induſtry and Policy, to try and publiſh the Temper of the People; and to ſatisfy Themſelves, in the activity and intereſt of their Tribunes, to whom that province of Shewing them was committed. And from this time, the licence of Preaching and Printing increaſed; to that degree, that all Pulpits were freely deliver'd to the Schiſmatical and Silenced Preachers, who till then had lurk'd in corners, or liv'd in *New-England*; and the Preſſes at liberty for the publiſhing the moſt Invective, Seditious, and Scurrilous Pamphlets, that their Wit and Malice could invent. Whilſt the Miniſters of the State, and Judges of the Law, like men in an Extaſy, ſurprized and amazed with ſeveral Apparitions, had no Speech or Motion; as if, having committed ſuch an Exceſs of Juriſdiction (as men upon great Surfeits are enjoin'd for a time to eat nothing) they had been preſcribed to exerciſe no Juriſdiction at all. Whereas, without doubt, if either the Privy-Council, or the Judges and the King's learned Council, had aſſumed the courage to have Queſtion'd the Preaching, or the Printing, or the Seditious Riots upon the Triumph of thoſe three Scandalous men, before the uninterruption and ſecurity had confirm'd the People in all three; it had been no hard matter to have deſtroy'd thoſe Seeds, and pull'd up thoſe Plants, which being neglected, grew up and proſper'd to a full Harveſt of Rebellion and Treaſon. But this was yet but a rudeneſs and rankneſs Abroad, without any viſible countenance or approbation from the Parliament: all ſeem'd Chaft within thoſe Walls.

THE firſt Malignity that was apparent There (for the Accuſation of the Arch-Biſhop and the Earl of *Strafford*, were look'd upon as acts of Paſſion, directed againſt particular Perſons, who were thought to have

deſerv'd

deſerv'd ſome extraordinary meaſures and proceeding) was againſt the Church: Firſt, in their Committee for Religion; which had been aſſumed ever ſince the latter times of King *James*, though ſeldom or never any ſuch thing had Before been heard of in Parliament; where, under pretence of receiving Petitions againſt Clergy-men, they often debated Points, beyond the verge of Their underſtanding: Then, by their chearful reception of a Declaration of many Sheets of Paper, againſt the whole Government of the Church; preſented by ten or a dozen Miniſters, at the Bar; and pretended to be ſign'd, by ſeveral Hundreds of the Miniſters of *London* and the Countries adjacent: and a Petition, preſented by Alderman *Pennington*, and alledged to be ſubſcribed by Twenty Thouſand men, Inhabitants within the City of *London*; who required, in plain terms, "the total Extirpation of Epiſcopacy. Yet the Houſe was Then ſo far from being poſſeſs'd with that Spirit, that the utmoſt that could be obtain'd, upon a long debate upon that Petition, was, "that it ſhould not be rejected; againſt which the Number of the Petitioners, was urged as a powerfull Argument; only it was ſuffer'd to remain in the hands of the Clerk of the Houſe, with direction, "that no "Copy of it ſhould be given. And for the Miniſters Declaration, one Part only of it, was Inſiſted on by them, and Read in the Houſe; which concern'd the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the Exceſs of Their Courts: the other parts were Declined by Many of them, and eſpecially Order'd, "to be Seal'd up by the Clerk, that they might be "peruſed by no man. So that all that Envy and Animoſity againſt the Church, ſeem'd to be reſolv'd into a deſire, "that a Bill might be framed "to Remove the Biſhops from their Votes in the Lords Houſe, and from "any Office in Secular affairs; which was the utmoſt men pretended to wiſh: and to ſuch a purpoſe, a Bill was ſhortly after prepared, and brought into the Houſe; of which, more ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

A Declaration of ſome Miniſters, and a Petition of ſome Citizens, againſt the Government of the Church by Biſhops.

IT was a ſtrange Disingenuity, that was practiſed in the Procuring thoſe Petitions; which continued ever after, in the like Addreſſes. The courſe was, Firſt to prepare a Petition very modeſt and dutiful, for the Form; and for the Matter, not very unreaſonable; and to communicate it at ſome Publick Meeting, where care was taken it ſhould be received with Approbation: the Subſcription of very Few hands fill'd the Paper it ſelf, where the Petition was written, and therefore many more Sheets were annex'd, for the reception of the Number, which gave all the credit, and procured all the countenance to the Undertaking. When a Multitude of Hands was procured, the Petition it Self was cut off; and a New One framed, ſuitable to the deſign in hand, and annex'd to the long Liſt of Names which were Subſcribed to the Former. By this means, Many men found Their hands Subſcribed to petitions, of which, They before had never heard. As ſeveral Miniſters, whoſe Hands were to the Petition and Declaration of the *London* Miniſters before mention'd, have profeſs'd to many Perſons, "that They never ſaw That Pe-"tition or Declaration before it was preſented to the Houſe; but had "ſign'd Another, the Subſtance of which was, Not to be Compell'd to "take the Oath enjoin'd by the New Canons: and when they found, inſtead of That, their Names ſet to a deſire of an Alteration of the Government of the Church, They with much trouble went to M^r "*Marſhall*, with whom they had intruſted the Petition and their Hands; "who gave them no other Anſwer, but that it was thought fit by Thoſe

Great Diſingenuity uſed in procuring Petitions.

"who underſtood Buſineſs better than They, that the Latter Petition "ſhould rather be preferr'd than the Former. And when He found, they intended by ſome publick act to Vindicate themſelves from that Calumny; Such perſons, upon Whom they had their greateſt dependence, were engaged, by threats and promiſes to prevail with them, to Sit ſtill, and to paſs by that Indirect proceeding

Complaints againſt ſome particular Biſhops.

FOR the better facilitating and making way for thoſe virulent attempts upon the Church, Petitions and Complaints were exhibited againſt the Exorbitant Acts of ſome Biſhops; eſpecially againſt the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Ely*; who, they alledged, "had with great Pride "and Inſolence, provoked All the Gentry, and Moſt of the Inhabitants "within their Dioceſſes. And the New Canons were inſiſted on, "as a "moſt palpable Invaſion by the Whole Body of the Clergy, upon the "Laws and Liberty of the People.

And againſt the New Canons;

I SAID before, that after the Diſſolution of the former Short Parliament, the Convocation was continued by ſpecial Warrant from the King; and by his Majeſty, in a ſolemn meſſage ſent to them by Sr *Harry Vane* then Principal Secretary, "required to proceed in the making "of Canons, for the better Peace and Quiet of the Church. Notwithſtanding this Command, the Chief of the Clergy, well knowing the Spirit of Bitterneſs that was contracted againſt them; and many obſolete Pamphlets againſt their Juriſdiction and Power, being, ſince the Commotions in *Scotland*, revived and publiſh'd with more freedom; deſired his Majeſty, "that the Opinions of the Judges might be known and "declared, Whether They might then Lawfully Sit, the Parliament be-"ing Diſſolv'd, and proceed in the making of Canons; as likewiſe, upon "other Particulars in Their Juriſdiction, which had been moſt Inveigh'd "againſt?

ALL the Judges of *England*, upon mature debate, in the preſence of the King's Council, under their Hands aſſerted, "the Power of the "Convocation in making Canons, and thoſe other parts of Juriſdiction, "which had been ſo Enviouſly queſtion'd. Hereupon, They proceeded; and having compoſed a Body of Canons, preſented the ſame to his Majeſty, for his Royal Approbation. They were then again debated at the Council-Board; not without notable Oppoſition: for upon ſome leſſening the Power and Authority of their Chancellors, and their Commiſſaries, by thoſe Canons, the Profeſſors of that Law took themſelves to be Diſobliged; and Sr *Henry Martin* (who was not likely to overſee any advantages) upon ſeveral days of Hearing at the Council-Table, with his utmoſt skill Objected againſt them: but in the end, by the entire and unanimous Advice of the Privy-Council, the Canons were Confirm'd by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*; and thereby enjoin'd to be obſerv'd. So that whatſoever they were, the Judges were at leaſt as Guilty of the Firſt Preſumption in Framing them; and the Lords of the Council, in Publiſhing and Executing them; as the Biſhops, or the reſt of the Clergy, in Either.

YET the Storm fell wholely on the Church: and the Matter of thoſe Canons, and the Manner of making them, was inſiſted on, as a pregnant teſtimony of a Malignant Spirit in the very Function of the Biſhops. The truth is, the ſeaſon in which that Synod continued to Sit (as was obſerv'd before) was in ſo Ill a Conjuncture of time (upon the Diſſolution of a Parliament, and allmoſt in an Invaſion from *Scotland*) that nothing could have been tranſacted There, of a Popular and Prevailing

vailing influence. And then, ſome ſharp Canons againſt Sectaries; and ſome Additionals in point of Ceremonies, countenancing, though not enjoining what had not been long practiſed; infinitely inflamed Some, and troubled Others: Who jointly took advantage of what ſtrictly was amiſs; as the making an Oath, the Matter of which was conceiv'd Incongruous; and enjoining it to many of the Laity, as well as the Clergy; and likewiſe the Granting of Subſidies.

which are condemn'd by the Houſe of Commons.

So that the Houſe of Commons (that is, the major part) made no ſcruple, in that Heat, to declare, "that the Convocation-Houſe had no "Power at all of making Canons: notwithſtanding that it was apparent by the Law, and the uncontradicted Practice of the Church, that Canons had never been otherwiſe made: "and that thoſe Canons contain'd "in them, matter of Sedition and Reproach to the Regal Power; pre-"judicial to the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and to the Privi-"ledges of Parliament. By the extent of which notable Vote and Declaration, they had involv'd allmoſt the whole Clergy under the guilt of Arbitrary Proceedings; as much as they had done the Nobility and Gentry before, under their Votes againſt Lords Lievtenants, Deputy Lievtenants, Privy Counſellors, and Sheriffs; and of which they made the ſame uſe: as ſhall be remembred in its proper place.

Money borrow'd of the City by the two Houſes, for ſupplying the two Armies.

IN the mean time, the two Armies were neceſſarily to be provided for, leſt the Countries where their Quarters were, ſhould come to be oppreſs'd by free quarter; which would not only raiſe a very inconvenient noiſe, but introduce a neceſſity of disbanding the Armies, which They were in no degree ready for: and Money not being to be raiſed ſoon enough in the regular way, by Act of Parliament, which would require ſome time in the paſſing; beſides, that the Manner and Way of raiſing it had not been enough conſider'd; and the Collecting it would require much time, even after an Act of Parliament ſhould be paſs'd: Therefore, for the preſent ſupply, it was thought fit to make uſe of Their Credit with the City; to Whom a formal Embaſſy of Lords and Commons was ſent; which were carefully choſen of Such Perſons as carried the buſineſs of the Houſe before them, that the performing the Service, might be as well imputed to Their particular reputation and intereſt, as to the affection of the City: and theſe men in their Orations to the Citizens, undertook "that their Money ſhould be repaid with In-"tereſt by the Care of the Parliament. And This was the Firſt Introduction of the Publick Faith; which grew afterwards to be applied to all Monſtrous purpoſes.

THIS Expedient ſucceeded twice or thrice for ſuch Sums as They thought fit to require; which were only enough to carry on their affairs, and keep them in motion; not proportionable to diſcharge the Debt due to the Armies, but to enable them to Pay their Quarters: it being fit to keep a conſiderable Debt ſtill owing, leſt they ſhould appear too ready to be disbanded.

A new Common-Council of the Party choſen.

THEY had likewiſe another Deſign in this Commerce with the City; Which, allways upon the loan of Money, uſed to recommend ſome ſuch thing to the Parliament, as might advance the Deſigns of the Party; as "the Proceeding againſt Delinquents; or "ſome Reformation in the "Church: which the Managers knew well what Uſe to make of upon any emergency. When They had ſet this Traffick on foot in the City, and ſo brought their Friends There into more reputation and activity; Then, at Their Election for Common-Council men (which is every year

before *Chriſtmas*; and in which, New men had rarely uſed to be choſen, except in caſe of Death, but the Old ſtill continued) all the grave and ſubſtantial Citizens were left out; and Such choſen, as were moſt eminent for oppoſing the Government, and moſt diſaffected to the Church, though of never ſo mean Eſtates: which made a preſent, viſible alteration, in the Temper of the City (the Common Council having ſo great a ſhare in the management of affairs There) and even in the Government it ſelf.

OTHER Ways were now to be thought of for getting of Money, which was, once at leaſt every Month, call'd for very importunately by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; which cauſed the ſame proviſion to be made for the *Engliſh* Forces. The next Expedient was, "That in ſo great "an Exigence, and for the Publick Peace; that the Armies might not "enter into Blood, by the determination of the Ceſſation, which want "of Pay would inevitably produce; The ſeveral Members of the Houſe "would lend Money, according to their ſeveral abilities; or that Such "as had no Money, would become Bound for it: and upon theſe terms "enough could be borrow'd. This was no ſooner Propoſed, but Conſented to, by all the eminent Leaders; and by many Others, in order to make themſelves the more acceptable to Thoſe; and ſome did it for Their Own convenience, there being little hazard of their Money, and full Intereſt to be receiv'd, and believing it would facilitate the Diſbanding of the Armies; to Which, all Sober men's hearts were directed.

AND now, to ſupport Their ſtock of Credit, it was time to raiſe Money upon the People by Act of Parliament; which they had an Excuſe for not doing in the uſual way, "of giving it immediately to the "King, to be paid into the Exchequer; becauſe the Publick Faith was "ſo deeply engaged to the City for a great Debt; and ſo Many parti-"cular Members in the Loan of Moneys, and in being Bound for the "Payment of great Sums, for which their Eſtates were liable: and "Therefore it was but reaſon, that for Their Indemnity, the Money "that was to be raiſed, ſhould be paid into the hands of Particular Mem-"bers of the Houſe, named by Them; who ſhould take care to Di-"ſcharge all Publick Engagements. The firſt Bill they paſs'd being but for two Subſidies, which was not ſufficient to diſcharge any conſiderable part of the money borrow'd, They inſerted in the Bill the Commiſſioners Names, who were to Receive and Diſpoſe the money. And the King made no pauſe in the Paſſing it: Himſelf not conſidering the Conſequence of it; and None about him having the courage to Repreſent it to him.

A Bill paſs'd for raiſing two Subſidies; the Houſe of Commons naming Commiſſioners to receive the Money.

The ſame method afterwards continued.

FROM that time, there was no Bill paſs'd for the raiſing of Money, but it was diſpoſed of in the ſame, or the like manner; that none of it could be applied to the King's uſe, or by His direction. And They likewiſe took notice, "that from the time of his Majeſty's coming to the "Crown, He had taken the Cuſtoms and Impoſitions upon Merchandize "as his Own Right, without any Act of Parliament; which, They ſaid, "no King had ever before done; inſinuating withal, "that They meant "to make a further Enquiry into Thoſe, who had been the chief Mi-"niſters in that Preſumption. They ſaid, "Nobody could imagine, but "that They intended to grant the Sums to his Majeſty, in the ſame man-"ner, for His Life, as had been done to his Progenitors by former "Parliaments: But, that they found ſuch an Act could not be Preſently

"made ready: becauſe the Book of Rates now in practice (beſides that "it had not been made by Lawful Authority) contain'd many Exceſ- "ſes, and muſt be Reform'd in ſeveral particulars; in preparing which, "they would uſe all poſſible diligence, and hoped to effect it in a ſhort "time: however, that the continuance of the Collection in the manner "it was in, without any Lawful Title, and during the very Sitting "of the Parliament, would be a Precedent of a very Ill conſequence, and "make the Right of giving it the more Queſtion'd; at leaſt the leſs "Valued. And therefore it would be fit, that either all the preſent Col- "lection ſhould be diſcontinued, and ceaſe abſolutely; which was in the "power of the Merchants themſelves to do, by refuſing to pay any Du- "ties which there was no Law to compel them to: or, that a ſhort Act "ſhould be preſently paſs'd, for the continuance of thoſe Payments for "a ſhort time; againſt the expiration whereof, the Act for granting "them for Life, with the Book of Rates, would be prepared, and ready. There were many Inconveniences diſcover'd in the Firſt, in diſconti- nuing the Collection and Payment of Duties, "which would not be ſo "eaſily revived again, and reduced into order: and that the Laſt would "without prejudice to Either, both vindicate the Right of the Subject, "and ſecure the King's Profit: and ſo they prepared (with all the ex- preſſions of Duty and Affection to the King that can be imagin'd) and preſented a Grant of thoſe Duties for ſome few Months. In which there was a preamble, "diſapproving and condemning All that had been done "in That particular, from his Majeſty's firſt coming to the Crown, to "that time; and aſſerting His whole Right to thoſe Payments, to depend "upon the Gift of his Subjects: and concluded with "moſt ſevere Pe- "nalties to be inflicted upon Thoſe, who ſhould preſume hereafter to "Collect or Receive them otherwiſe, than as they were, or ſhould be, "granted by Act of Parliament: which had never been in any other Act of Parliament declared: which the King likewiſe paſs'd. So all the Re- venue He had to live upon, and to provide him meat, and which he had reaſon to expect ſhould have been more certainly continued to him, was taken into Their Hands; in order to take it from Him too, whenever they ſhould think it convenient to their other deſigns: of which, he ſhortly after found the miſchief.

THOUGH, as hath been obſerv'd, there was not hitherto one Penny of money given to the King, or receiv'd by His Miniſters; yet, be- cauſe Subſidies were raiſed upon the People, according to the Formality of Parliaments; and as if all that great Supply had been to the King's own Coffers; It was thought neceſſary, that the People ſhould be re- freſh'd with ſome behooveful Law, at the ſame time that they found themſelves charged with the payment of ſo many Subſidies. And under that conſideration, together with the Bill for Subſidies, Another was ſent up to the Lords, for a Triennial Parliament: Both which, quickly paſs'd that Houſe, and were tranſmitted to the King.

A Bill for a Triennial Par- liament paſs'd.

IN that for the Triennial Parliament (though the ſame was grounded upon Two former Statutes in the time of King *Edward* the Third, "That there ſhould be Once every Year a Parliament) there were ſome clauſes very derogatory to Monarchical Principles; as "giving the Peo- "ple Authority to aſſemble together, if the King faild to call them, and the like: Yet his Majeſty, really intending to make thoſe Conven- tions frequent, without any great heſitation, enacted thoſe two Bills together; ſo much to the ſeeming Joy and Satisfaction of Both Houſes,

that they pretended "to have ſufficiently provided for the Security of "the Common wealth; and that there remain'd nothing to be done, but "ſuch a return of Duty and Gratitude to the King, as might Teſtify "their Devotions; and that their only End was to make Him glorious: But thoſe Fits of Zeal and Loyalty, never laſted long.

Sr Edward Littleton made Lord Keeper.

THE Lord *Finch*'s flight, made not only the Place of Keeper vacant, but begot ſeveral other Vacancies. The Seal was given to *Littleton*, who was then Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas; for which Place he was excellently fitted: but being a man of a grave and comely Preſence, his other Parts were over-valued; his Learning in the Law being his Maſter-piece. And he was choſen to be Keeper, upon the opinion and recommendation of the Two great Miniſters under the cloud; who had before brought him to be a Privy-Counſellor, whilſt Chief Juſtice, to the no little jealouſy of the Lord *Finch*.

BANKS, the Atturney General, was weary enough of the Inquiſition that was made into the Kings Grants, and glad to be promoted to the Common Pleas. *Herbert*, the Sollicitor General, who had ſate all this time in the Houſe of Commons, aw'd and terrify'd with their Temper; applying himſelf to Mr *Hambden*, and two or three of the Other, without interpoſing or croſſing them in any thing; long'd infinitely to be out of that Fire: and ſo the Office of Atturney General, which at any other time had been to be wiſh'd, was now the more grateful, as it removed him from the other attendance: it not being uſual in thoſe times for the Atturney General to be a Member of the Houſe of Commons: and he was call'd by Writ to attend the Houſe of Peers, where he Sits upon the Wooll-Sack at the back of the Judges.

FROM the time that there was no more Fear of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, nor the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, nor of any particular men who were like to ſucceed Them in Favour; All who had been active in the Court, or in any Service for the King, being totally diſpirited, and Moſt of them to be diſpoſed to any Ill Offices againſt him; The great Patriots thought they might be able to do their Country better Service, if they got the Places and Preferments of the Court for Themſelves, and ſo prevent the Evil Counſels which had uſed to ſpring from thence. For which purpoſe, They had then a faſt Friend there, the Marquis of *Hamilton*; Who could moſt dextrouſly put ſuch an affair into agitation, with the leaſt noiſe, and prepare both King and Queen to hearken to it very willingly: and in a ſhort time all particulars were well adjuſted for every man's accommodation.

Great Offices deſign'd for ſome Heads of the Party.

THE Earl of *Bedford* was to be Treaſurer: in order to which, the Biſhop of *London* had already deſired the King "to receive the Staff in- "to His hand, and give him leave to retire to the ſole care of his Bi- "ſhoprick; by which, he wiſely withdrew from the Storm, and enjoy'd the greateſt Tranquillity of any man of the Three Kingdoms, throughout the whole Boiſterous and Deſtroying Time that follow'd; and liv'd to ſee a Happy and Bleſſed End of them, and died in great Honour. And ſo the Treaſury was for the preſent put into Commiſſion. Mr *Pym* was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer: which Office the Lord *Cottington* was likewiſe ready to ſurrender, upon aſſurance of Indemnity for the future. Theſe Two were engaged to procure the King's Revenue to be liberally provided for, and honourably increaſed and ſettled.

The Biſhop of London reſigning the Staff, the Treaſury is put into Commiſſion.

AND that this might be the better done, the Earl of *Bedford* prevail'd with the King, upon the Removes mentioned before, to make

Oliver Saint-John (who hath been often, and will be oftner mention'd in this Diſcourſe) his Sollicitor General; which his Majeſty readily conſented to: hoping, that being a Gentleman of an Honourable Extraction (if he had been Legitimate) he would have been very uſeful in the preſent exigence to ſupport His Service in the Houſe of Commons, where his Authority was then great; at leaſt, that he would be aſhamed ever to appear in any thing that might prove prejudicial to the Crown. And he became immediately poſſeſs'd of that Office of great truſt; and was ſo well qualified for it, at that time, by his faſt and rooted malignity againſt the Government, that he loſt no credit with his Party, out of any apprehenſion or jealouſy that he would change his Side: and he made good their confidence; not in the leaſt degree abating his malignant Spirit, or diſſembling it; but with the ſame obſtinacy, oppoſed every thing which might advance the King's Service, when he was his Sollicitor, as ever he had done before. *Saint-John made Sollicitor General.*

THE Lord *Say* was to be Maſter of the Wards; which Place the Lord *Cottington* was likewiſe to ſurrender for his own quiet and ſecurity. And *Denzil Hollis* was to be Secretary of State, in the place of Secretary *Windebank*.

THUS far the Intrigue for Preferments was entirely complied with: and it is great pity that it was not fully executed, that the King might have had Some able men to have adviſed or aſſiſted him; which probably Theſe very men would have done, after they had been ſo throughly engaged: whereas, the King had None left about him in any Immediate Truſt in buſineſs (for I ſpeak not of the Duke of *Richmond*, and ſome very Few men more about his Perſon, who allways behaved themſelves Honourably) who either did not Betray, or Sink under the Weight or Reproach of it.

BUT the Earl of *Bedford* was reſolv'd, that he would not enter into the Treaſury, till the Revenue was in ſome degree ſettled; at leaſt, the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage paſs'd, with all decent circumſtances, and for Life; which both He and Mr *Pym* did very heartily labour to effect; and had in Their thoughts, Many good Expedients, by which they intended to raiſe the Revenue of the Crown. And none of them were very ſollicitous to take their Promotions, before ſome other Accommodations were provided for ſome of the reſt of their chief Companions: who would be neither well pleaſed with Their ſo haſty advancement before them, nor ſo Submiſſive in the future to follow their dictates.

HAMBDEN was a man they could not leave unprovided for; and therefore there were ſeveral Deſigns, and very far driven, for the Satiſfaction and Promotion of Him; and *Eſſex*, and *Kimbolton*, and Others; though not ſo fully concluded, as Thoſe before mention'd. For the King's great End was, by theſe Compliances, to ſave the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*, and to preſerve the Church from Ruin: for Nobody thought the Arch-Biſhop in danger of His life. And there were Few of the Perſons mention'd before, who thought their Preferments would do them much good, if the Earl were ſuffer'd to live; but in that of the Church, the Major Part even of Thoſe Perſons would have been willing to have Satisfied the King: the rather, becauſe they had no reaſon to think the Two Houſes, or indeed Either of them, could have been induced to have purſued the contrary. And ſo the continued and renewed violence in the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, made the King well contented

tented (as the other Reaſons prevail'd with the other Perſons) that the putting of thoſe Promotions in practice, ſhould be for a time ſuſpended.

A Propoſition made for borrowing money in the City:

WHEN there was a new occaſion, upon the Importunity of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, to procure more Money; and the Leading Men, who uſed to be forward in finding out Expedients for Supply, ſeem'd to deſpair of being able to borrow more; becauſe the City was much troubled and diſheartned, to ſee the Work of Reformation proceed ſo ſlowly, and no Delinquents Yet brought to Juſtice; and that till ſome advance was made towards thoſe longed for Ends, there muſt be no expectation of Borrowing more Money From, or In the City: At that time, Mr *Hyde* ſaid in the Houſe, "that He did not believe the thing to be "ſo difficult as was pretended; That no man Lent his money, who did "not Gain by it; and that it was evident enough, that there was Plenty "of Money; and therefore he was confident, if a ſmall Committee of "the Houſe were nominated, who, upon conſultation between themſelves, might uſe the Name of the Houſe to ſuch men as were reputed "to have Money, they might prevail with them to lend as Much as "might ſerve for the preſent Exigence. Whereupon the Houſe willingly approv'd the motion; and named Him, Mr *Capel*, Sr *John Strangeways*, and Five or Six more, whom They deſired might be join'd with them; Who, the ſame or the next day, repair'd into the City; reſolving to apply themſelves to no men but Such who were of clear reputation in point of Wiſdom, and Sobriety of Underſtanding, as well as of Wealth and Ability to lend. And after they had ſpoken Together with four or five eminent Men, they agreed to divide themſelves, and to confer Severally with their particular Acquaintances, upon the ſame Subject: Many men chuſing rather to Lend their Money, than to be known to have it; and being very Wary in their expreſſions, except in private.

WHEN they had again communicated together, they found that the Borrowing the Money would be very Eaſy; Every man with whom they had conferr'd, being ready and forward to Lend the Money, or to find a Friend who ſhould, upon Their Security who propoſed it. Moſt of them in their Private Diſcourſe ſaid, "that there was Money enough "to be Lent, if men ſaw there would be like to be an End of Borrowing; but that it was an univerſal Diſcomfort and Diſcouragement, "to all men of Eſtates and Diſcretion, to ſee Two great Armies ſtill kept "on foot in the Kingdom, at ſo vaſt a Charge, when there remain'd "no fear of a War; and that if a time were once appointed for the Diſbanding them, there ſhould not want Money for the doing all that "ſhould be neceſſary in order to it. This Anſwer ſatisfied Them in all reſpects: and the next day, Mr *Hyde* reported the Succeſs of their Employment; "that they had conferr'd with moſt of the Subſtantial, and "Beſt Reputed men of the City; Who, by Themſelves and their Friends, "had promiſed to ſupply the Money which was deſired. And then He enlarged upon "the Temper they underſtood the City to be in, by the "reports of Thoſe who might be reaſonably ſuppoſed to know it beſt; "That It was indeed very much troubled aud diſheartned, to ſee two "Armies kept on foot at ſo vaſt a Charge within the bowells of the King-"dom, when God be thank'd all the danger of a War was removed; "and that They who were very able to make good what they promiſed, "had frankly undertaken, That if a peremptory day was appointed for "being

"being rid of thoſe Armies, there ſhould not be want of Money to diſ-
"charge them.

THE Report was receiv'd with great Applauſe by the Major part of the Houſe; as was reaſonably collected by their Countenance: but it was as apparent, that the Governing Party was exceedingly Perplex'd with it, and knew not on a ſuddain What to ſay to it: If they Embraced the opportunity, to procure a ſupply of Money which was really wanted, it would be too great a Countenance to the Perſons who had procured it; whoſe Reputation they were willing to Depreſs: Beſides, it would imply Their Approbation of what had been ſaid of the Disbanding; at leaſt, would be a ground of often mentioning and preſſing it; and which, how grateful ſoever to Moſt other men, was the thing They moſt abhor'd. After a long Silence, Mr *Hambden* ſaid, "that the worthy Gen-
"tlemen were to be much Commended for the Pains they had taken;
"of which, He doubted not, good Uſe would be made: and ſo propoſed,
"That it might be well thought of, and the debate reſumed the next
"day; which could not be denied. The next day, Alderman *Penning-ton* (a man in higheſt confidence with the Party; and one, who inſinuated all things to the Common-Council which he was directed ſhould be ſtarted There) begun the diſcourſe; and ſaid, "that the Gentlemen
"who had been laſt in the City to borrow Money, had made a fair Re-
"port, but that in the End of it, there was *Colloquintida*: that He
"could not find with what Perſons They had conferr'd about the Tem-
"per of the City; nor that any Conſiderable people troubled themſelves
"with Deſigning or Wiſhing what the Parliament ſhould do, which
"they knew to be Wiſe enough, to know What and When they were
"to do that which was Beſt for the Kingdom; and they acquieſced in
"Their grave Judgment: and concluded, "that the Money that the
"Houſe ſtood in need of, or a greater Sum, was ready to be paid to
"whomſoever They ſhould appoint to receive it. The Houſe made it ſelf very Merry with the Alderman's *Colloquintida*, and call'd upon him
"to Explain it; and ſo the Debate ended: all Sober men being well Pleaſed to ſee the Diſorder they were in, and the Pains they had taken to Free Themſelves from it; which every day was renew'd upon them, as the ſubject matter afforded occaſion; and they viſibly loſt much of the Reverence, which had been formerly paid them.

but diſcouraged and defeated by the Party.

ABOUT the beginning of *March*, they begun to make Preparations for the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*; who had then been about Three Months in Priſon, under the accuſation of High Treaſon: and by this time, for the better ſupply in this Work, a Committee was come from the Parliament in *Ireland*, to ſollicite Matters concerning that Kingdom. This Committee (moſt of them being Papiſts, and the Principal Actors ſince in the Rebellion) was receiv'd with great kindneſs; and, upon the matter, added to the Committee for the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. So that now, *Ireland* ſeem'd no leſs intent upon the Ruin of that unfortunate Lord, than *England* and *Scotland*; there being ſuch a Correſpondence ſettled, between *Weſtminſter* and *Dublin*, that Whatſoever was practiſed in the Houſe of Commons Here, was ſoon after done likewiſe There: and, as Sr *George Ratcliff* was accuſed Here of High Treaſon, upon pretence of being a Confederate with the Earl in his Treaſons; but intruth that he might not be capable of giving any Evidence on the Behalf of him, and Thereupon ſent for into this Kingdom: So All, or Moſt of the other Perſons, who were in any Truſt

A Committee from Ireland, in order to the Proſecution of the Earl of Strafford.

with the Earl, and ſo Privy to the Grounds and Reaſons of the Counſels There, and only able to make Thoſe apparent, were accuſed by the Houſe of Commons in that Kingdom of High Treaſon; under the general Impeachment, of "endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws "of that Kingdom, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power: which ſerv'd the turn There, to Secure their Perſons, and to Remove them from Councils, as it had done Here.

WHAT Seeds were then ſown for the Rebellion, which within a year after broke out in *Ireland*, by the great Liberty and Favour that Committee found; who, for the good Service againſt that Lord, were hearkned to in all things that concern'd that Kingdom; ſhall be obſerv'd, and ſpoken of at large, hereafter.

Conſiderations touching the Manner of his Trial.

MUCH time was ſpent in conſideration of the Manner of the Trial; for they could find no Precedent would fit their caſe: "Whether it "ſhould be in the Houſe of Peers? which Room was thought too little, "for the Accuſers, Witneſſes, Judges, and Spectators: Who ſhould Pro-"ſecute? Whether Members choſen of the Commons, or the King's "Council? Whether the Biſhops (which were Twenty four in number, and like to be too tender-hearted in matter of Blood, and ſo either to Convert many, or increaſe a Diſſenting Party too much) "ſhould have "Voices in the Trial? Whether thoſe who had been created Peers ſince "the Accuſation was carried up, ſhould be admitted to be Judges? And laſtly, "Whether the Commoners who were to be preſent at the "Trial, ſhould ſit Uncover'd? and, Whether any Members of the Houſe "of Commons ſhould be Examin'd at the Trial on the behalf of the "Earl? who had ſent a Liſt of Names, and deſired an Order to that purpoſe.

AFTER much debate it was agreed, "that the Trial ſhould be in "*Weſtminſter*-Hall, where Seats ſhould be built for the reception of the "whole Houſe of Commons, which together with the Speaker ſhould "be preſent: for they Then foreſaw, that they might be put to another kind of Proceeding than That they pretended; and (though with much ado) they conſented to ſit uncover'd, leſt ſuch a little circumſtance might diſturb the whole deſign.

FOR the Proſecution, they had no mind to truſt the King's Council; who neither knew their Secret Evidence, nor, being inform'd, were like to apply and preſs it, ſo vigorouſly as the buſineſs would require: and therefore, they appointed "that Committee which had prepared the "Charge, to give in the Evidence, and in the name of all the Com-"mons of *England*, to Proſecute the Impeachment.

FOR the Biſhops: after many bitter Invectives; and remembring the Faults of Particular perſons; and the Canons which ſeem'd to involve the Whole Body; with Sharpneſs and Threats: they took the caſe to be ſo clear upon an old Canon (the Only one they acknowledged for Orthodox) that *Clericus non debet intereſſe Sanguini*, that they were content "to refer That to the Houſe of Peers, as proper only for Their "determination. And this they did, not upon any Confidence they had in the Matter it ſelf, whatever Law, or Reaſon, or Canon they pretended; or in the Lords, the major part of whom, when any difference of opinion was, allways diſſented from Their deſigns: but that they had a trick of doing their buſineſs by Intimation; and had a ſure Friend amongſt the Biſhops, who had promiſed them ſeaſonably to free them of that trouble.

THEY would not truſt their Lordſhips own Inclinations with the other point, of the new Barons, which they knew would be controverted; but in plain terms demanded, "that no Peer, created ſince the "day upon which the Earl of *Strafford* was Impeach'd of High Treaſon, "becauſe They were involv'd as Commoners in the making that Accu-"ſation, ſhould ſit as Judges at his Trial.

FOR the Earl's demand, "of an Order to Examine ſome Members on "his behalf, upon matters of fact, at his Trial; after a long Debate, they left it only in the Power of the Perſons Themſelves who were nominated, "to be Examin'd if they would (not without ſome ſmart Animadverſions, "that they ſhould take heed What they did) and refuſed to Enjoin them; though the ſame had been done at Their deſire, for the Lords of the Council: but that was Againſt the Earl, and ſo the Leſs to be conſider'd.

THE Lords, in the abſence of the Lord Keeper, who was very Sick, made choice of the Earl of *Arundel* to Preſide and Govern the Court; being a perſon notoriouſly Diſaffected to the Earl of *Strafford*.

AND for the great buſineſs of the Biſhops, they were ſaved the labour of giving any Rule (which it may be would have troubled them) by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s ſtanding up, and moving, on the behalf of Himſelf and his Brethren, "that They might be Excuſed from being preſent "at the Trial, being Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and ſo not to have Their "hands in Blood; and ſuch other Reaſons, as, when they are examin'd, will not be found of very great weight.

THIS Biſhop had been, by ſeveral Cenſures in the Star-chamber, Impriſon'd in the Tower, where he remain'd till after the beginning of this Parliament, and was then ſet at Liberty upon the deſire of the Lords; who knew him to be a mortal and irreconcileable Enemy to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*: and indeed, he had allways been a Puritan ſo far as to love None of the Biſhops, and to have uſed Many learned Church-men with great Contempt and Inſolence: and yet he left no way unpractiſed to aſſure the King, "that he would do great matters in Par-"liament for His Service, if he might be at Liberty. The next day after He came to the Houſe of Peers, the Lord *Say* made that Speech, which he ſince Printed; taking notice "of ſome Imputations laid on "him by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, That he ſhould be a Sectary; which nobody can doubt, that reads that Speech: Yet he had no ſooner done, than that Biſhop roſe, and made a large Panegyrick in his Praiſe, and profeſs'd, "that he allways believ'd his Lordſhip to be as far from "a Sectary, as Himſelf. And when he found the great deſire of the Houſe of Commons, to be freed from the Biſhops Votes in that Trial; he never left Terrifying them with the Cenſure that hung over Their heads for making the Canons, till he Perſwaded them to Ingratiate themſelves, by deſiring to be Excuſed in that matter, before an Order ſhould be made for their Abſence.

THIS Example of the Biſhops, prevail'd with ſome Lords, who had been created ſince the Accuſation, to quit Their Right of Judging; and amongſt them the Lord *Littleton* (who had been made a Baron upon the deſire of the Earl of *Strafford*, for that only reaſon, that he profeſs'd, "If he were a Peer, he would (and indeed he could) do Him "notable Service) was the Firſt who quitted his right to Judge, becauſe he had been a Commoner when the Accuſation was firſt brought up: but they who Inſiſted upon their Right (as the Lord *Seymour*, and others)

and demanded the Judgement of the Houſe, were no more diſturb'd, but exerciſed the ſame Power to the end, as any of the other Lords did; and ſo, no doubt, might the Biſhops too, if they would: For, though there might be ſome reaſon for Their abſence, when the Trial was according to Law, Before and by his Peers only; Yet, when that Judgement was waved, and a Bill of Attainder brought up againſt him, Their Votes in that Bill were as Neceſſary and Eſſential, as of any Other of the Lords. And it may be, their Unſeaſonable, Voluntary, Unjuſt quitting it Then, made many men leſs ſollicitous for the Defence of Their Right Afterwards. But of that in its place.

The Trial began March *the* 22*d*. 1640. ALL things being thus prepared, and ſettled; On *Monday*, the Twenty ſecond of *March*, the Earl of *Strafford* was brought to the Bar in *Weſtminſter*-Hall; the Lords ſitting in the Middle of the Hall in their Robes; and the Commoners, and ſome Strangers of Quality, with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, and the Committee of *Ireland*, on either Side; there being a cloſe Box made at one End, at a very convenient diſtance for Hearing, in which the King and Queen ſate untaken notice of: His Majeſty, out of Kindneſs and Curioſity, deſiring to hear All that could be alledged: of which, I believe, he afterwards repented himſelf; when "His having been Preſent at the Trial, was alledged and urged to him, as an Argument for the Paſſing the Bill of Attainder.

The Charge againſt him. AFTER the Earls Charge was read, and an Introduction made by M*r* *Pym*, in which he call'd him *the Wicked Earl*; ſome Member of the Houſe of Commons, according to Their parts aſſign'd, being a Lawyer, Applied and preſs'd the Evidence, with great licence and ſharpneſs of language; and, when the Earl had made his Defence, Replied with the ſame liberty upon whatſoever he ſaid; taking all occaſions of bitterly Inveighing againſt his Perſon: which Reproachful way of carriage was look'd upon with ſo much Approbation, that one of the Managers (M*r* *Palmer*) loſt all his Credit and Intereſt with them, and never recover'd it, for uſing a Decency and Modeſty in his carriage and language towards him; though the Weight of His Arguments preſs'd more upon the Earl, than all the Noiſe of the Reſt.

THE Trial laſted Eighteen days; in which, "all the Haſty or Proud "Expreſſions, or Words, He had utter'd at any time ſince he was firſt "made a Privy-Counſellor; all the acts of Paſſion or Power that he had "exerciſed in *Yorkſhire*, from the time that he was firſt Preſident there; "his engaging himelf in Projects in *Ireland*, as the ſole making of "Flax, and ſelling Tobacco in that Kingdom; his billetting of Soldiers, "and exerciſing of Martial Law there; his extraordinary way of Pro-"ceeding againſt the Lord *Mountnorris*, and the Lord Chancellor *Lof-"tus*; his aſſuming a Power of Judicature at the Council-Table, to "determine Private Intereſts, and matter of Inheritance; ſome rigorous "and extrajudicial Determinations in caſes of Plantations; ſome high "Diſcourſes at the Council-Table in *Ireland*; ſome caſual and light Di-"ſcourſes at his Own Table, and at Publick Meetings; and laſtly, ſome "Words ſpoken in ſecret Council in this Kingdom, after the Diſſolution "of the laſt Parliament, were urged and preſs'd againſt him, to make good the General Charge, of "an Endeavour to Overthrow the Funda-"mental Government of the Kingdom, and to Introduce an Arbitrary "Power.

His Defence. THE Earl behaved himſelf with great ſhew of Humility and Submiſſion; but yet, with ſuch a kind of Courage, as would loſe no advantage;

tage; and, intruth, made his Defence with all imaginable Dexterity; anſwering This charge, and evading That, with all poſſible Skill and Eloquence: and though he knew not, till he came to the Bar, upon what Parts of his Charge they would proceed againſt him, or what Evidence they would produce, he took very little time to Recollect himſelf, and left nothing unſaid that might make for his own Juſtification.

FOR the buſineſs of *Ireland*; He complain'd much, "that by an Or-"der from the Committee which prepared his Charge againſt him, all "his Papers in that Kingdom, by which he ſhould make his Defence, "were ſeiz'd and taken from him; and by virtue of the ſame Order, all "his Goods, Houſhold-ſtuff, Plate, and Tobacco (amounting, as he ſaid, "to Eighty Thouſand pounds) were likewiſe ſeiz'd; ſo that he had not "money to ſubſiſt in Priſon: that all thoſe Miniſters of State in *Ire-*"*land*, who were moſt Privy to the Acts for which he was Queſtion'd, "and ſo could give the beſt Evidence and Teſtimony on his behalf, were "Impriſon'd under the charge of Treaſon. Yet he averr'd, That he had "behaved himſelf in that Kingdom, according to the Power and Au-"thority granted by his Commiſſion and Inſtructions; and according to "the Rules and Cuſtoms obſerv'd by former Deputies and Lieutenants. "That the Monopolies of Flax and Tobacco, had been undertaken by "Him for the Good of that Kingdom, and Benefit of his Majeſty: the "Former eſtabliſhing a moſt beneficial Trade and good Husbandry, not "before practiſed There; and the Latter bringing a Revenue of above "Forty Thouſand pounds to the Crown, and advancing Trade, and "bringing no damage to the Subject. That Billetting of Soldiers (which was alledged to be Treaſon, by a Statute made in *Ireland* in the time of King *Henry* the Sixth) "and the exerciſing of Martial Law, had been "allways practiſed by the Lieutenants and Deputies of that Kingdom; which he proved, by the Teſtimony and Confeſſion of the Earl of *Cork*, and the Lord *Wilmot*; neither of which, deſired to ſay more for his behoof, than inevitably they muſt. He ſaid, "the Act of Parliament "mention'd, of *Henry* the Sixth, concern'd not Him; it comprehending "only the Inferior Subjects, and making it Penal to Them to billet Sol-"diers, not the Deputy, or Supreme Commander; if it did, that it was "Repeal'd by *Poyning*'s Act, in the Eleventh year of *Henry* the Se-"venth: However, if it were not, and that it were Treaſon ſtill, it was "Treaſon only in *Ireland*, and not in *England*; and therefore, that "he could not be Tried Here for it, but muſt be tranſmitted Thither. He ſaid, "the Council-Table in *Ireland*, had a Large, Legal Juriſdiction, "by the Inſtitution and Fundamental Cuſtoms of that Kingdom; and "had, in all times, Determin'd matters of the Same nature, which it had "done in His time: and that the Proceedings There upon Plantations, "had been with the Advice of the Judges, upon a clear Title of the "Crown, and upon great Reaſon of State: and that the Nature and Diſ-"poſition of that People, required a Severe Hand and Strict Reins to "be held upon them, which being looſed, the Crown would quickly feel "the Miſchief.

FOR the ſeveral Diſcourſes, and Words, wherewith he was charged; he Denied many, and Explain'd and put a Gloſs upon others, by the reaſons and circumſtances of the Debate. One particular, on which They much inſiſted, though it was ſpoken twelve years before, "that He ſhould "ſay in the Publick Hall in *York*, That the Little Finger of the Pre-"rogative ſhould ly heavier upon them than the Loins of the Law, he

directly Inverted; and proved, by two or three Perſons of Credit, "that "he ſaid (and the occaſion made it probable, being upon the buſineſs of Knighthood, which was underſtood to be a Legal Tax) "the Little "Finger of the Law was heavier than the Loins of the Prerogative; that Impoſition for Knighthood, amounting to a much higher rate, than any Act of the Prerogative which had been exerciſed. "However, he ſaid, "he hoped no Indiſcretion, or Unskilfulneſs, or Paſſion, or Pride "of Words, would amount to Treaſon; and for Miſdemeanours, he was "ready to Submit to their Juſtice.

HE made the leaſt, that is, the worſt Excuſe, for thoſe Two Acts againſt the Lord *Mountnorris*, and the Lord Chancellor; which indeed were Powerful Acts, and manifeſted a nature exceſſively Imperious; and no doubt, cauſed a greater Diſlike and Terror, in Sober and Diſpaſſionate Perſons, than All that was alledged againſt him. A Servant of the Earl's, one *Anneſley* (Kinſman to *Mountnorris*) attending on his Lord during ſome Fit of the Gout (of which he often labour'd) had by accident, or negligence, ſuffer'd a Stool to fall upon the Earl's Foot; enraged with the Pain whereof, his Lordſhip with a ſmall Cane ſtruck *Anneſley*: this being merrily ſpoken of at dinner, at a Table where the Lord *Mountnorris* was (I think, the Lord Chancellor's) He ſaid, "the Gentleman "had a Brother that would not have taken ſuch a Blow. This coming ſome months after to the Deputies hearing, he cauſed a Council of War to be call'd; the Lord *Mountnorris* being an Officer of the Army; where, upon an Article "of moving Sedition, and ſtirring up the Sol-"diers againſt the General, He was charged with thoſe Words formerly ſpoken at the Lord Chancellor's Table. What Defence he made, I know not; for he was ſo ſurprized, that he knew not what the matter was, when he was Summon'd to that Council: but the Words being proved, he was deprived of his Office (being then Vice-Treaſurer) and his Foot-Company; committed to Priſon; ſentenced, "to loſe his Head. The Office, and Company, were immediately diſpoſed of; and He impriſon'd, till the King ſent him over a Pardon, by which he was diſcharged, with his Life; all the other parts of the Sentence being fully exe-cuted.

THIS ſeem'd to all men a moſt Prodigious courſe of Proceeding; that in a time of full Peace, a Peer of the Kingdom and a Privy-Counſellor; for an Unadviſed, Paſſionate, Myſterious Word (for the Expreſſion was capable of many Interpretations) ſhould be call'd before a Council of War, which could not reaſonably be underſtood to have Then a Juriſ-diction over Such Perſons, and in Such Caſes; and without any Pro-ceſs, or Formality of Defence, in two hours ſhould be Deprived of his Life and Fortune: the Injuſtice whereof, ſeem'd the more formidable, for that the Lord *Mountnorris* was known, for ſome time before, to ſtand in great Jealouſy and Diſfavour with the Earl: which made it look'd on as a pure act of Revenge; and gave all men warning, how they truſted themſelves in the Territories where He commanded.

THE Earl, diſcharged Himſelf of the rigour and ſeverity of the Sen-tence, and laid it upon "the Council of War; where he Himſelf not "only forbore to be Preſent, but would not ſuffer his Brother, who was "an Officer of the Army, to Stay there: he ſaid, "he had conjured the "Court, to proceed without any reſpect of favour or kindneſs to Him-"ſelf; and that, aſſoon as He underſtood the Judgement of the Council, "which was Unanimous, he declared publickly (as he had likewiſe done "before)

"before) That a hair of his head ſhould not periſh; and immediately "wrote an earneſt Letter to his Majeſty, for the procuring his Pardon; "which was by his Majeſty, upon his Lordſhips recommendation and "mediation, granted accordingly; and thereupon, the Lord *Mountnor-*"*ris* was ſet at Liberty: though, it is true, He was, after his enlarge-"ment, not ſuffer'd to come to *England*. He concluded, "that the Lord "*Mountnorris* was an Inſolent perſon; and that he took This courſe to "humble him: and that he would be very well content, that the Same "courſe might be taken to reform Him; if the ſame Care might like-"wiſe be, that it might prove no more to His prejudice, than the other "had been to that Lord.

BUT the Standers by, made another Excuſe for him: "The Lord "*Mountnorris* was a man of great Induſtry, Activity, and Experience, "in the affairs of *Ireland*; having raiſed himſelf from a very private, "mean condition (having been an inferior Servant to the Lord *Chiche-*ſter) "to the degree of a Viſcount, and a Privy-Counſellor, and to a "very ample Revenue in Lands and Offices; and had allways, by Ser-"vile Flattery and Sordid Application, wrought himſelf into Truſt and "Nearneſs with all Deputies, at their firſt entrance upon their Charge, "informing them of the Defects and Overſights of their Predeceſſors; "and, after the determination of their Commands, and return into *Eng-*"*land*, informing the State here, and thoſe Enemies they uſually con-"tracted in that time, of whatſoever they had done, or ſuffer'd to be "done, amiſs; whereby, they either ſuffer'd Diſgrace, or Damage, aſſoon "as they were recall'd from thoſe Honours. In this manner, He be-"gun with his own Maſter, the Lord *Chicheſter*; and continued the "ſame arts, upon the Lord *Grandiſon*, and the Lord *Falkland*, who ſuc-"ceeded; and upon that ſcore, procured Admiſſion and Truſt with the "Earl of *Strafford*, upon His firſt admiſſion to that Government: So "that this *Dilemma* ſeem'd unqueſtionable, That either the Deputy of "*Ireland* muſt deſtroy my Lord *Mountnorris*, whilſt he continued in "his Office, or my Lord *Mountnorris* muſt deſtroy the Deputy, aſſoon "as his Commiſſion was determin'd. And upon this Conſideration; be-ſides, that his no virtue made him unpitied; many look'd with leſs con-cernedneſs upon that Act, than the matter it Self deſerv'd.

THE Caſe of the Lord Chancellor, ſeem'd, to Common Underſtand-ings, an act of leſs Violence, becauſe it concern'd not Life; and had ſome ſhew of Formality at leaſt, if not Regularity in the Proceeding; and that which was Amiſs in it, took its growth from a nobler Root than the other. The endeavour was, to compell the Lord Chancellor to ſettle more of his Land, and in another manner, upon his eldeſt Son, than he had a mind to, and than he could Legally be compell'd to: This the Earl, upon a Paper Petition preferr'd to him by the Wife of that Son (a Lady, for whom the Earl had ſo great a value and eſteem, that it made his Juſtice the more ſuſpected) preſs'd, and in the end order'd him to do. The Chancellor refuſed; was committed to Priſon; and ſhortly af-ter, the Great Seal taken from him, which he had kept with great repu-tation of Ability for the ſpace of above Twenty years. In the preſſing this Charge, many things of Levity, as certain Letters of great Affection and Familiarity from the Earl to that Lady, which were found in her Cabinet after her death; others of Paſſion, were expoſed to the publick view: to procure Prejudice rather to his Gravity and Diſcretion, than that they were in any degree Material to the buſineſs.

THE

THE Earl ſaid little more to it, than "that he hoped, what Paſſion "ſoever, or what Injuſtice ſoever, might be found in that Proceeding, "and Sentence, there would be no Treaſon: and that, for his part, he "had yet reaſon to believe, what he had done was very Juſt; ſince it had "been review'd by his Majeſty, and his Privy-Council here, upon an "Appeal from the Lord Viſcount *Ely* (the degraded Lord Chancellor) "and upon a ſolemn hearing There, which took up many days, it had "receiv'd a Confirmation.

BUT the truth is, That rather accuſed the Earl of an Exceſs of Power than abſolv'd him of Injuſtice; for moſt men that weigh'd the whole matter, believ'd it to be a high act of Oppreſſion; and not to be without a mixture of that Policy, which was ſpoken of before in the Caſe of the Lord *Mountnorris*: For the Chancellor, being a perſon of great Experience, Subtilty, and Prudence, had been allways very Severe to departed Deputies; and not over agreeable, nor in any degree Submiſs, to Their full Power; and taking Himſelf to be the Second perſon in the Kingdom, during the holding of his Place, thought himſelf little leſs than Equal to the Firſt, who could naturally hope but for a term of Years in that Superiority: neither had he ever before met with the leaſt Check, that might make him ſuſpect a Diminution of his Authority, or Intereſt.

THAT which was with moſt Solemnity and expectation alledged againſt the Earl, as the Hinge upon which the Treaſon was principally to hang, was a Diſcourſe of the Earl's in the Committee of State (which They call'd *the Cabinet Council*) upon the Diſſolution of the former Parliament. Sr *Harry Vane* the Secretary of State, gave in Evidence, "That the King at that time calling that Committee to him, ask'd them, "Since he fail'd of the aſſiſtance and ſupply he expected by Subſidies, "what Courſe he ſhould now take? that the Earl of *Strafford* anſwer'd, "Sir, You have now done Your Duty, and your Subjects have fail'd "in Theirs; and therefore you are abſolv'd from the Rules of Govern-"ment, and may ſupply your ſelf by Extraordinary Ways; You muſt "proſecute the War vigorouſly; You have an Army in *Ireland*, with "which you may reduce this Kingdom.

THE Earl of *Northumberland* being Examin'd, for the confirmation of this Proof, remember'd only, "that the Earl had ſaid, You have "done your Duty, and are now abſolv'd from the Rules of Government; but not a word of the Army in *Ireland*, or reducing this Kingdom. The Lord Marquis *Hamilton*, the Lord Biſhop of *London*, and the Lord *Cottington*, being likewiſe Examin'd, anſwer'd upon their Oaths, "that "they heard none of thoſe words ſpoken by the Earl. And Theſe were the only Perſons preſent at that Debate, ſave only the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Secretary *Windebank*, neither of which could be Examin'd, or would be Believ'd.

THE Earl poſitively denied the Words; alledged much Animoſity "to be in Sr *Harry Vane* towards him; and obſerv'd, "that not one of "the other Witneſſes, who were likewiſe preſent, and as like to Re-"member what was ſpoken, as the Secretary, heard one word of the "*Iriſh* Army, or reducing this Kingdom: that if he had ſpoken thoſe "words, it could not be underſtood to be ſpoken of *England*, but of *Scot-*"*land*, of which the Diſcourſe was, and for which that Army was known "to be raiſed. He concluded, "that if the words were ſpoken by him, "which he expreſly denied, they were not Treaſon; and if they were

"Treaſon,

"Treaſon, that by a Statute made in *Edward* the Sixth's time, one Wit-
"neſs was not ſufficient to prove it, and that here was but one.

SEVENTEEN days being ſpent in the whole progreſs of this Trial; the Earl, having defended himſelf with wonderful dexterity and ability, concluded, "that if the whole Charge (in which he hoped he had "given their Lordſhips ſatisfaction of his Loyalty and Integrity, how "great ſoever his Infirmities were) was proved, that the Whole made "him not guilty of High Treaſon; and to that purpoſe deſired, "that "his Learned Council might be heard; and moſt pathetically conjured their Lordſhips, "that for Their Own ſakes, they would not, out of Diſ-"pleaſure or Diſfavour towards His Perſon, create a Precedent to the "Prejudice of the Peerage of *England*, and Wound Themſelves through "His Sides: which was good Counſel; and hath been ſince (though too late) acknowledged to be ſo. *The Earl's concluſion of his Defence.*

THE next day, his Council was heard in the ſame place to the matter of Law. And here I cannot paſs by an Inſtance of as great Animoſity, and Indirect Proſecution, in that circumſtance of aſſigning him Coun-cil, as can be given. After the Houſe of Peers had aſſign'd him ſuch Council as he deſired, to aſſiſt him in matter of Law (which never was, or can juſtly be denied to the moſt ſcandalous Felon, the moſt inhu-man Murtherer, or the moſt infamous Traitor) the Houſe of Commons, upon ſome occaſion, took notice of it with Paſſion and Diſlike, ſomewhat unskilfully, "that Such a thing ſhould be done without Their conſent; which was no more, than that the Judge ſhould be directed by the Proſecutor, in what manner to proceed and determine: Others, with much Bitterneſs, inveighing againſt "the Preſumption of thoſe Lawyers, "that durſt be of Counſel with a Perſon accuſed by Them of High Trea-"ſon; and moving, "that They might be ſent for, and Proceeded againſt "for that Contempt: Whereas, They were not only Obliged to it, by the honour and duty of their Profeſſion; but had been Puniſhable for refuſing to ſubmit to the Lords Orders. The matter was too Groſs to re-ceive any Publick Order, and ſo the Debate ended; but ſerv'd (and no doubt that was the Intention) to let thoſe Gentlemen know, how Wari-ly they were to demean themſelves, leſt the Anger of that terrible Congregation ſhould be kindled againſt them. *His Council heard, as to matters of Law.*

BUT truly I have not heard that it made any Impreſſion upon thoſe Perſons; it did not, I am ſure, upon Mr *Lane*, who argued the matter of Law for the Earl. The Matters which were by Him principally In-ſiſted on, and Averr'd with ſuch Confidence as a man uſes who believes himſelf, were Theſe: *Mr Lane's Argument for him.*

1. "THAT by the Wiſdom and Tenderneſs of Parliaments, which "knew that there could not be a greater Snare for the Subject, than to "leave the nature of Treaſon undefined and unlimited, All Treaſons "were particularly mention'd and ſet down in the Statute of the 25 "*Edw.* III. *de Proditionibus.* That nothing is Treaſon, but what is com-"prehended within that Statute; all Treaſons before that Statute, as "Killing the King's Unkle, his Nurſe, Piracy, and divers others, being "reſtrain'd and taken away by the Declaration of that Act. And that "no Words or Actions, in any of the Articles of the Earl of *Strafford's* Charge, did amount to Treaſon within that Statute.

2. "THAT by reaſon of the Clauſe in that Statute, of declaring Trea-"ſon in Parliament, divers actions were declared to be Treaſons in Par-"liament, in the time of King *Richard* the Second, to the great Pre-

"judice of the Subject: It was therefore ſpecially Provided, and Enacted, "by a Statute in the Firſt year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, "Chapter the Tenth, which is ſtill in force, That nothing ſhould be "declared and adjudged Treaſon, but what was ordain'd in that Statute "of the 25 *Edw.* III. by which Statute, all Power of declaring New "Treaſons in Parliament, was taken away; and that no Precedent of "any Such Declaration in Parliament can be ſhew'd ſince that time: All "New Treaſons, made by any Act of Parliament in the Reign of King "*Henry* the Eighth, being by the Statute of the Firſt year of Queen "*Mary*, Chapter the Firſt, taken away, and reſtrain'd to the 25 *Edw.* III. "and that likewiſe by another Statute of the Firſt year of Queen *Ma-*"*ry*, Chapter the Tenth, All Trials of Treaſons ought to be according "to the Rules of the Commnon Law, and not otherwiſe.

3. "THAT the Foundation upon which the Impeachment was "framed, was Erroneous; for that (beſides that it was confeſs'd on all "hands, the Laws of the Kingdom were Not ſubverted) an Endeavour "to Subvert the Fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, by "Force attempted, is not Treaſon, being only made Felony by the "Statute of the Firſt year of Queen *Mary*, Chapter the Twelfth; which "is likewiſe expired. That Cardinal *Wolſey*, in the Thirty third year of "King *Henry* the Eighth, was indicted only of a Premunire, for an En-"deavour to bring in the Imperial Laws into this Kingdom. And that "an Endeavour, or Intention, to levy War, was made Treaſon, only "by a Statute of the 13th *Elizabeth* (a time very Inquiſitive for Trea-"ſon) which expired with Her life.

4. "LASTLY, That if any thing was alledged againſt the Earl which "might be Penal to him, it was not Sufficiently and Legally proved; "for that by the Statute of the Firſt year of King *Edward* the Sixth, "Chapter the Twelfth, No man ought to be Arraign'd, Indicted, or Con-"demn'd, of any Treaſon, unleſs it be upon the Teſtimony of Two "Lawful and Sufficient Witneſſes, produced in the Preſence of the Par-"ty accuſed; unleſs the party Confeſs the ſame: and if it be for Words, "within Three Months after the ſame ſpoken, if the Party be within "the Kingdom: Whereas there was in this Caſe only One Witneſs, Sr "*Henry Vane*, and the words ſpoken Six Months before.

THE Caſe being thus ſtated on the Earl's behalf, the Judgement of the Lords, in Whom the Sole Power of Judicature was conceiv'd to be, was by all men expected; the Houſe of Commons having declared, "that They intended not to make any Reply to the Argument of Law "made by Mr *Lane*, it being below Their Dignity to contend with a "Private Lawyer. Indeed They had a more convincing way to proceed by; for the next day after that Argument, Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* (Brother in Law to the Lord *Brook*) an abſurd, bold man, brought up by Mr *Pym*, and ſo employ'd by that Party to make any attempt, preferr'd a Bill in the Houſe of Commons, "for the Attainder of the Earl of "*Strafford* of High Treaſon: it being obſerv'd, that by what the Earl had ſaid for himſelf in the matter of fact and in matter of prudence, of the Conſequence of ſuch an extraordinary Proceeding; and by what had been ſaid for him in the point of Law; moſt Sober men, who had been, and ſtill were, full enough of Diſlike and Paſſion againſt the Earl, were not at all ſatisfied in the Juſtice of the Impeachment, or in the Manner of the Proſecution: and therefore, that the Houſe of Peers, which conſiſted of near one Hundred and Twenty, beſides the Biſhops, and of whom

A Bill of Attainder brought into the Houſe againſt the Earl.

whom Fourſcore had been conſtantly attending the Trial, were not like to take upon Them the Burthen of ſuch a Judgement as was expected.

THE Bill was receiv'd with wonderful alacrity, and immediately read the firſt and the ſecond time, and ſo Committed: which was not uſual in Parliaments, except in matters of great concernment and conveniency in the particular; or of little importance or moment in the general. Thoſe who at Firſt conſented, upon ſlight information, to his Impeachment, upon no other reaſon, but (as hath been ſaid before) becauſe They were only to Accuſe, and the Lords to Judge, and ſo thought to be troubled no more with it, being Now as ready to Judge, as they had been to Accuſe; finding ſome new reaſons to ſatisfy themſelves, of which one was, "They had gone too far to Sit ſtill, or Retire.

A DAY or two before the Bill of Attainder was brought into the Houſe of Commons, there was a very remarkable Paſſage, of which, the Pretence was, "to make One Witneſs, with divers Circumſtances, as "good as Two; though I believe it was directed Intruth to an End very forreign to that which was propoſed. The words of the Earl of *Straffford*, by which, "his endeavour to alter the frame of Government, and "his intention to levy War, ſhould principally appear, were proved Singly by Sr *Henry Vane;* which had been often averr'd, and promiſed, ſhould be proved by Several Witneſſes; and the Law was clear, "that "leſs than Two Witneſſes ought not to be receiv'd in caſe of Treaſon.

To make this Single Teſtimony appear as Sufficient as if it had been confirm'd by more, Mr *Pym* inform'd the Houſe of Commons, "of the "Grounds upon which he firſt adviſed that Charge, and was ſatisfied "that he ſhould ſufficiently Prove it. That ſome months before the be-"ginning of this Parliament, He had viſited young Sr *Henry Vane*, "eldeſt Son to the Secretary, who was then newly recover'd from an "Ague; that They being together, and Condoling the ſad condition of "the Kingdom, by reaſon of the many Illegal Taxes and Preſſures, S^r "*Harry* told him, If he would call upon Him the next day, He would "ſhew him ſomewhat that would give him much trouble, and inform "him, What Counſels were like to be follow'd to the Ruin of the King-"dom; for that He had, in peruſal of ſome of his Father's Papers, "accidentally met with the Reſult of the Cabinet Council upon the "Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, which comprehended the Reſolu-"tions then taken.

"THE next day He ſhew'd him a little Paper of the Secretary's own "writing; in which was contain'd the day of the Month, and the Reſults "of ſeveral Diſcourſes made by ſeveral Counſellors; with ſeveral Hie-"roglyphicks, which ſufficiently expreſs'd the Perſons by whom thoſe "Diſcourſes were made. The matter was of ſo Tranſcendent a Nature, "and the Counſel ſo Prodigious, with reference to the Common-wealth, "that he deſired he might take a Copy of it; which the young Gen-"tleman would by no means Conſent to, fearing it might prove Prejudi-"cial to his Father. But when Mr *Pym* inform'd him, That it was of "extream Conſequence to the Kingdom, and that a time might proba-"bly come, when the Diſcovery of This, might be a Soveraign means "to Preſerve both Church and State, he was contented that Mr *Pym* "ſhould take a Copy of it; which he did, in the preſence of Sr *Henry* "*Vane;* and having examin'd it, together with him, deliver'd the Ori-"ginal again to Sr *Henry*. That he had carefully kept this Copy by him,

"without communicating the ſame to any body, till the beginning of "this Parliament, which was the time he conceiv'd fit to make uſe of it; "and that then, meeting with many other Inſtances of the Earl's Ill "Diſpoſition to the Kingdom, it ſatisfied him to move whatſoever he "had moved, againſt that great Perſon.

HAVING ſaid thus much, he read the Paper in his hand; in which the day of the Month was ſet down, and his Majeſty to be preſent, and ſtating the Queſtion to be, "What was now to be done? ſince the "Parliament had Refuſed to give Subſidies for the ſupply of the War a- "gainſt *Scotland*. There were then written, two *LL*s and a *t* over, and an *I* and an *r*, which was urged, "could ſignify nothing but *Lord Liev-* "*tenant of Ireland*; and the Words written and applied to that Name, were, "Abſolv'd from Rules of Government; —Proſecute the War vi- "gorouſly; --- An Army in *Ireland* to ſubdue this Kingdom ---; which was urged, "to comprehend the matter of the Earl's Speech and Advice: that Paper, by Fractions of Words (without mentioning any Form'd Speech) containing only the Reſults of the ſeveral Counſellors Advice. Before thoſe Letters which were order'd to ſignify the Lievtenant of *Ireland*, were an *A.B.C.G.* which might be underſtood to ſignify, *the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury his Grace;* and at thoſe Letters, ſome ſhort, ſharp expreſſions againſt Parliaments, and thereupon, fierce advice to the King. Next in the Paper, was an *M* with an *r* over, and an *Ho*, which were to be underſtood for Marquis *Hamilton*, who was *Maſter of the Horſe;* and the words annex'd thereunto ſeem'd to be rough, but without a Supplement ſignified nothing. Then there was an *L*, an *H*, and an *A*, which muſt be interpreted *Lord High Admiral*, which was the Earl of *Northumberland;* and from that Hieroglyphick proceeded only a few words, which implied advice to the King, "to be Adviſed by "his Parliament. Then there was Ld *Cott.* (which would eaſily be be- liev'd to ſignify *the Lord Cottington*) with ſome expreſſions as ſharp as thoſe applied to the Lievtenant of *Ireland*.

WHEN he had read this Paper, he added; "That though there was "but One Witneſs directly in the point, Sr *Henry Vane* the Secretary, "whoſe Hand-writing that Paper was, whereof this was a Copy; Yet he "conceiv'd, thoſe Circumſtances of His; and young Sr *Henry Vane*'s "having Seen thoſe Original Reſults, and being ready to Swear, that the "Paper read by Him was a true Copy of the other; might reaſonably "amount to the validity of Another Witneſs: and that it was no won- "der, that the Other perſons mention'd in that Writing, who had given "as bad Counſel, would not remember, for their Own ſakes, what had "paſs'd in that Conference; and that the Earl of *Northumberland* (who "was the only Good Counſellor in the pack) had remember'd Some of "the words, of a high nature, though he had forgotten the Other.

WHEN Mr *Pym* had ended, young Sr *Harry Vane* roſe, in ſome ſeem- ing Diſorder; confeſs'd all that the Other had ſaid; and added, "That "his Father being in the North with the King the Summer before, had "ſent up his Keys to his Secretary, then at *White-Hall;* and had Writ- "ten to Him (his Son) that He ſhould take from him thoſe Keys "which open'd his Boxes where his Writings and Evidences of his Land "were, to the end, that he might cauſe an Aſſurance to be perfected "which concern'd his Wife; and that He having peruſed thoſe Evi- "dences, and diſpatch'd what depended thereupon, had the curioſity to "ſee what was in a red Velvet Cabinet which ſtood with the other "Boxes;

"Boxes; and thereupon required the Key of that Cabinet from the Se-
"cretary, as if he ſtill wanted ſomewhat towards the buſineſs his Father
"had directed; and ſo having gotten the Key, he found, amongſt other
"Papers, That mention'd by Mr *Pym*; which made that Impreſſion
"in him, that he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience to communicate
"it to ſome Perſon of better Judgement than himſelf, who might be
"more able to Prevent the Miſchiefs that were threatned therein; and
"ſo ſhewed it to Mr *Pym*; and being confirm'd by Him, that the ſea-
"ſonable Diſcovery thereof might do no leſs than Preſerve the King-
"dom, had conſented that He ſhould take a Copy thereof; which, to His
"knowledge, he had faithfully done: and thereupon, had laid the Origi-
"nal in its proper place again, in the red Velvet Cabinet. He ſaid,
"He knew this Diſcovery would prove little leſs than his Ruin, in the
"good opinion of his Father; but having been induced, by the tender-
"neſs of his Conſcience towards his Common Parent his Country, to
"Treſpaſs againſt his natural Father, He hoped he ſhould find Compaſ-
"ſion from that Houſe, though he had little hopes of Pardon elſe-
"where.

THE Son no ſooner ſate down, than the Father (who, without any counterfeiting, had a natural appearance of Sternneſs) roſe, with a pret-ty Confuſion; and ſaid, "That the Ground of his Misfortune was Now
"diſcover'd to him; that He had been much amazed, when he found
"himſelf preſs'd by ſuch Interrogatories, as made him Suſpect ſome
"Diſcovery to be made, by ſome Perſon as converſant in the Counſels as
"Himſelf: But he was now ſatisfied to Whom he ow'd his Misfor-
"tunes; in which, He was ſure, the Guilty Perſon ſhould bear his ſhare.
"That it was true, being in the North with the King; and that Un-
"fortunate Son of his, having married a Virtuous Gentlewoman (Daugh-
"ter to a worthy Member then preſent) to Whom there was ſome-
"what in Juſtice and Honour due, which was not ſufficiently ſettled;
"He had ſent his Keys to his Secretary; not well knowing in what Box
"the material Writings lay; and directed him, to ſuffer his Son to look
"after thoſe Evidences which were neceſſary: that by this occaſion
"it ſeem'd, thoſe Papers had been examin'd and peruſed, which had be-
"got much of this trouble. That for His part, after the Summons of
"this Parliament, and the King's return to *London*, he had acquainted
"his Majeſty, that he had many Papers remaining in his hands, of ſuch
"tranſactions as were not like to be of further uſe; and therefore, if
"his Majeſty pleaſed, he would Burn them, leſt by any accident they
"might come into hands that might make an ill uſe of them: to which
"his Majeſty conſenting, he had burn'd many; and amongſt them, the
"Original Reſults of thoſe Debates, of which, that which was read
"was pretended to be a Copy: that to the Particulars, He could ſay no-
"thing more, than what he had upon his Examination expreſs'd, which
"was exactly true, and he would not deny; though by what he had
"heard that afternoon (with which he was ſurprized and amazed) he
"found himſelf in an Ill condition upon that Teſtimony.

THIS Scene was ſo well acted, with ſuch Paſſion and Geſtures, be-tween the Father and the Son, that many Speeches were made in com-mendation of the Conſcience, Integrity, and Merit, of the Young man, and a motion made, "that the Father might be enjoin'd by the Houſe
"to be Friends with his Son: but for ſome time there was, in Publick,
a great Diſtance obſerv'd between them.

MANY men wonder'd very much at the unneceſſary relation of this Story; which would viſibly appear very Ridiculous to the world, and could not but inevitably produce much Scandal and Inconvenience to the Father, and the Son; who were too wiſe to believe, that thoſe Circumſtances would add any thing to the Credit of the former ſingle Teſtimony: neither was there ever after any mention of it in Publick, to move the Judgement of Thoſe, who were concern'd to be Satisfied in what they were to do: and therefore Some who obſerv'd the Stratagems uſed by that Party to compaſs their own private ends, believ'd, that This occaſion was taken to publiſh thoſe Reſults, Only to give the Lord *Cottington* notice in what Danger he was, that ſo he might wiſely quit his Maſterſhip of the Wards to the Lord *Say*; who expected it, and might be able, by that obligation, to Protect him from farther Proſecution: and ſo that they meant to Sacrifice the Reputation of the Secretary, to the ambition of the Lord *Say*. But without doubt (though this laſt conſideration was very powerful with them) the true reaſon of the communication of this Paſſage, was, that they found it would be impoſſible to Conceal their having receiv'd the Principal Information from the Secretary, for their Whole Proſecution; by reaſon of ſome of the Committee, who were intruſted to prepare the Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and conſequently were privy to that Secret, were fallen from them; at leaſt from their Ends; and therefore they thought fit to Publiſh this Hiſtory of the Intelligence, that it might be rather imputed to the Conſcience, and Curioſity of the Son, than to the Malice of the Father.

The Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons in few days.

THE Bill of Attainder in few days paſs'd the Houſe of Commons; though ſome Lawyers, of great and known Learning, declared, "that "there was no ground or colour in Law to judge him Guilty of High-"Treaſon: and the Lord *Digby* (who had been, from the beginning, of that Committee for the Proſecution, and had much more Prejudice, than Kindneſs to the Earl) in a very pathetical Speech declared, "that He "could not give his Conſent to the Bill; not only, for that he was un-"ſatisfied in the matter of Law, but, for that he was more unſatisfied "in the matter of Fact; thoſe Words, upon which the Impeachment was "principally grounded, being ſo far from being Proved by Two Wit-"neſſes, that He could not acknowledge it to be by One; ſince he could "not admit Sr *Harry Vane* to be a competent Witneſs, who being "Firſt examin'd, denied that the Earl ſpoke thoſe Words; and at his Se-"cond examination, remember'd Some; and at his Third, the Reſt of "the words: and thereupon, related many Circumſtances, and made many ſharp Obſervations upon what had paſs'd; which none but one of the Committee could have done: for which he was preſently after Queſtion'd in the Houſe, but made his Defence ſo well, and ſo much to the Diſadvantage of Thoſe who were concern'd, that from that time, they Proſecuted him with an implacable Rage, and Uncharitableneſs upon all occaſions. The Bill Paſs'd with only Fifty nine Diſſenting voices, there being near Two Hundred in the Houſe; and was immediately ſent up to the Lords, with this addition, "that the Commons would be "ready the next day in *Weſtminſter* Hall, to give their Lordſhips Satiſ-"faction in the matter of Law, upon what had paſs'd at the Trial.

Mr Saint John defends it in point of Law before the Lords.

THE Earl was then again brought to the Bar; the Lords ſitting as before, in their Robes; and the Commons as they had done: amongſt Them, Mr Sollicitor *Saint-John*, from his place, argued for the ſpace of near

near an hour the matter of Law. Of the Argument it ſelf I ſhall ſay little, it being in Print, and in many hands; I ſhall only remember Two notable Propoſitions, which are ſufficient Characters of the Perſon and the Time. Leſt what had been ſaid on the Earls behalf, in point of Law, and upon the Want of Proof, ſhould have made any Impreſſion in their Lordſhips; He averr'd, "That, in that way of Bill, Private Sa-"tisfaction to each man's Conſcience was ſufficient, although No Evi-"dence had been given in at all: and as to the preſſing the Law, he ſaid, "It was true, we give Laws to Hares, and Deer, becauſe they are "Beaſts of Chaſe; but it was never accounted either Cruelty, or Foul "Play, to knock Foxes and Wolves on the head as they can be found, "becauſe they are Beaſts of Prey. In a word, the Law and the Humanity were alike; the One being more Fallacious, and the Other more Barbarous, than in any Age had been vented in ſuch an Auditory.

THE ſame day, as a Better Argument to the Lords ſpeedily to Paſs the Bill, the nine and fifty Members of the Houſe of Commons, who (as is ſaid before) had Diſſented from that Act, had their Names written in pieces of Parchment or Paper, under this Superſcription, STRAFFORDIANS, *or Enemies to their Country*; and thoſe Papers fix'd upon Poſts, and other the moſt viſible places about the City; which was as great and deſtructive a Violation of the Priviledges and Freedom of Parliament, as can be imagin'd: yet, being Complain'd of in the Houſe, not the leaſt Countenance was given to the Complaint; or the leaſt Care taken for the Diſcovery.

The names of the Commoners Diſſenting from the Bill, expoſed under the Title of Straffordians.

THE Perſons who had ſtill the Conduct of the Deſigns, began to find, that their Friends abroad (of whoſe help they had ſtill great need, for the getting Petitions to be brought to the Houſe; and for all Tumultuous appearances in the City; and Negotiations with the Common Council) were not at all ſatisfied with them, for their want of Zeal in the matter of Religion: and, though they had Branded as many of the Biſhops, and Others of the Prelatical party, as had come in their way; and receiv'd all Petitions againſt the Church, with encouragement: Yet, that there was Nothing done, or viſibly in Projection to be done, towards Leſſening their Juriſdiction; or Indulging any of that Liberty to their Weak Brethren, which They had from the beginning expected from them. Beſides, the diſcourſe of their Ambition, and hopes of Preferment at Court, was grown publick, and raiſed much Jealouſy of them.

BUT the Truth is, They who had made in their hearts the moſt Deſtructive Vows againſt the Church, never durſt Communicate their Bloody Wiſhes to their beſt Friends, whoſe Authority gave Them their greateſt Credit. For beſides, that their Own Clergy, whoſe hands they produced in great numbers, to complain againſt the Innovations, which had (as They ſaid) been introduced; and againſt the Ceremonies, which had been in conſtant practice Since the Reformation, as well as Before; were far from being of one Mind in the Matter or Manner of what they wiſh'd ſhould be alter'd; as appear'd, when ever they came before the Houſe, or a Committee, when any of them were ask'd Queſtions they did not expect: There was Leſs Conſent amongſt their Lay Friends, in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, than amongſt the other.

THE Earl of *Bedford* had no deſire that there ſhould be any Alteration in the Government of the Church; and had allways liv'd, towards my Lord of *Canterbury* himſelf, with all Reſpect and Reverence, and frequently viſited and dined with him; Subſcribed liberally to the Repair

pair of St *Pauls* Church, and Seconded all Pious undertakings: though, it is true, he did not diſcountenance notoriouſly, thoſe of the Clergy who were Unconformable.

THE Earl of *Eſſex*, was rather Diſpleaſed with the Perſon of the Arch-Biſhop, and ſome other Biſhops, than Indevoted to the Function; and towards ſome of them, he had great Reverence and Kindneſs, as Biſhop *Moreton*, Biſhop *Hall*, and ſome other of the leſs Formal, and more Popular Prelates: and He was as much Devoted as any man to the Book of Common-Prayer, and obliged all his Servants to be conſtantly preſent with him at it; his Houſhold Chaplain, being allways a moſt Conformable man, and a good Scholar.

IN truth, in the Houſe of Peers, there were only at that time taken notice of, the Lords *Say* and *Brooke*, as Poſitive Enemies to the Whole Fabrick of the Church, and to deſire a Diſſolution of that Government; the Earl of *Warwick* himſelf, having never diſcover'd any Averſion to Epiſcopacy, and much profeſs'd the Contrary.

IN the Houſe of Commons, though of the chief Leaders, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and young Sr *Harry Vane*, and ſhortly after Mr *Hambden* (who had not before own'd it) were believ'd to be for Root and Branch; which grew ſhortly after a common Expreſſion, and Diſcovery of the ſeveral Tempers: Yet, Mr *Pym* was not of that mind, nor Mr *Hollis*, nor any of the Northen men, or thoſe Lawyers who drove on moſt furiouſly with them; All who, were pleaſed with the Government it Self of the Church.

A Bill paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons to take away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament.

THE Firſt Deſign that was entertain'd againſt the Church; and which was receiv'd in the Houſe of Commons, with a viſible Countenance and Approbation of many, who were neither of the ſame Principles nor Purpoſes; was a ſhort Bill that was brought in, "to take away the Biſhops "Votes in Parliament; and to leave them out in all Commiſſions of "the Peace; or that had relation to any Temporal affairs. This was contrived, with great Deliberation and Preparation, to diſpoſe men to Conſent to it: And to this, many of the Houſe of Peers were much diſpoſed; and amongſt Them, none more than the Earl of *Eſſex*, and all the Popular Lords; who obſerv'd, "that they ſeldom carried any thing, "which directly oppoſed the King's intereſt, by reaſon of the number "of the Biſhops, who, for the moſt part, unanimouſly concurr'd againſt "it, and oppoſed many of their other deſigns: and they believ'd, that "it could do the Church no harm, by the Biſhops having fewer Diver"ſions from their Spiritual Charges.

IN the Houſe of Commons, they uſed That, and other Arguments, to remove the Prejudice from it; and, As there were Many who were perſwaded, that the Paſſing that Bill would be no Prejudice; and were as unwilling, that the Biſhops ſhould be Juſtices of the Peace, or in any other Secular Commiſſions, as the Lords were, that they ſhould Sit with them: So they prevail'd with Others, who heartily deſired that there might be no ſuch Diminution of Their Honour and Authority, by perſwading Them, "That there was ſo great a Concurrence towards "the Paſſing this Bill; and ſo great a Combination throughout the Na"tion againſt the whole Government of the Church, and a Reſolution "to Deſtroy it abſolutely: in which the *Scots* were ſo reſolutely en"gaged, that They diſcourſed in all Companies, That it was Impoſſible "for a firm Peace to be preſerv'd between the Nations, if Biſhops were "not taken away; and that the Army would never march out of the

"King-

"Kingdom, till that were brought to paſs: But that if this Bill were "once Paſs'd, a greater number in Both Houſes would be ſo well Satiſ- "fied, that the Violenter Party would be never able to proſecute Their "Deſigns. And this reaſon did prevail over many men of excellent Judgements, and unqueſtionable Affections; who did intruth at that time believe, "that the Paſſing this Act, was the only expedient to Pre- "ſerve the Church: inſomuch, as when it was brought into the Houſe, it found a better reception than was expected; and ſome men, who, others thought, would have oppoſed it, ſpoke on its behalf, expreſſing their deſire "that it might Paſs.

THERE was a Difference in Opinion in this Debate, between Two perſons, who had been never known to differ in the Houſe, and the entire Frindſhip they had for each other was very remarkable; which adminiſtred much Pleaſure to very many who loved neither of them. When the Bill was put to the Queſtion, Mr *Hyde* (who was from the beginning known to be an Enemy to it) ſpoke very earneſtly "for the "Throwing it out; ſaid, "It was Changing the whole Frame and Con- "ſtitution of the Kingdom; and of the Parliament it Self: That from "the time that Parliaments begun, there had never been one Parliament, "where the Biſhops were not part of it: That if They were taken out "of the Houſe, there would be but Two Eſtates left; for that They "as the Clergy were the Third Eſtate, and being taken away, there was "Nobody left to repreſent the Clergy: which would introduce Ano- "ther piece of Injuſtice, which no Other part of the Kingdom could Com- "plain of, who were All repreſented in Parliament, and were there- "fore bound to Submit to all that was Enacted, becauſe it was upon the "matter with their Own conſent: Whereas, if the Biſhops were taken "from Sitting in the Houſe of Peers, there was Nobody who could pre- "tend to repreſent the Clergy; and yet They muſt be bound by Their "determinations.

WHEN He had done; the Lord *Falkland*, who allways ſate next to him (which was ſo much taken notice of, that, if they came not into the Houſe together, as uſually they did, every body left the place for him that was abſent) ſuddainly ſtood up, and declared himſelf "to be of "Another opinion; and that, As he thought the thing it ſelf to be ab- "ſolutely neceſſary for the Benefit of the Church, which was in ſo great "Danger; So he had never heard, that the Conſtitution of the King- "dom would be Violated by the Paſſing that Act; and that He had "heard Many of the Clergy proteſt, That they could Not acknowledge "that They were repreſented by the Biſhops. However we might pre- "ſume, That if they could make that appear, that They were a Third "Eſtate, that the Houſe of Peers (amongſt whom They ſat, and had Yet "their Votes) would Reject it. And ſo, with ſome Facetiouſneſs, an- ſwering ſome other particulars, concluded, "for the Paſſing the Act.

THE Houſe was ſo marvellouſly Delighted, to ſee the Two inſeparable Friends Divided in ſo Important a point, that they could not contain from a kind of Rejoycing; and the more, becauſe they ſaw Mr *Hyde* was much Surprized with the Contradiction; as intruth he was; having never diſcovered the leaſt Inclination in the Other, towards Such a compliance: and therefore they entertain'd an Imagination, and Hope that they might work the Lord *Falkland* to a Farther Concurrence with them. But they quickly found themſelves Diſappointed; and that, As there was not the leaſt Interruption of cloſe Friendſhip between the

other Two; So, when the ſame Argument came again into Debate, about ſix months after, the Lord *Falkland* Changed his opinion, and gave them all the Oppoſition he could: nor was he reſerv'd in acknowledging, "that he had been Deceiv'd, and by Whom; and confeſs'd to his Friends, with whom he would deal freely, "that Mr *Hambden* had aſſured him, "that if That Bill might Paſs, there would be nothing More attempted "to the Prejudice of the Church: which He thought, as the world Then went, would be no Ill compoſition.

THIS Bill, for taking away the Biſhops Votes out of the Houſe of Peers, produced another Diſcovery, which caſt the Conductors farther Behind, than they were Advanced by their conqueſt amongſt the Commons; and Diſquieted them much more, than the other had Exalted them. How currently ſoever it had paſs'd in the Lower Houſe; when it was brought to the Upper, the Lords gave it not ſo gracious a reception as was expected: Many of the greateſt men of that Houſe, grew Weary of the Empire which the Others had exerciſed over them; and Some, who had gone with them, upon their obſervation that they had Worſe Deſigns than they own'd, fell from them, and took the opportunity to diſcover themſelves, upon the Debate of this Bill; againſt which, they Inveigh'd with great Sharpneſs; and Blamed the Houſe of Commons, "for Preſuming to meddle with an affair, that ſo immediately "concern'd Themſelves: That if they might ſend up a Bill This day, at "Once to take out one whole Bench from the Houſe, as they would "do the Biſhops, they might to Morrow ſend Another, to take away the "Barons, or ſome other degree of the Nobility: with many more Arguments, as the nature of the thing would eaſily adminiſter; with ſuch Warmth, and Vigour, as They had not before expreſs'd: Inſomuch as, though the other Party, which had not hitherto been withſtood, ſet up Their Reſt upon the carrying it; ſupplying their other Arguments with that, "How much the Houſe of Commons, which beſt knew the temper and expectation of the Nation, would Reſent their Not concurring "with them, in a Remedy they judged ſo neceſſary; and what the "Conſequence might be, of ſuch a Breach between the Two Houſes, they "trembled to think; ſince the Kingdom had no hope of being Preſerv'd "but by Their Union, and the effects of their Wiſdom, in Removing "all Things, and all Perſons, out of the way, which were like to Ob-"ſtruct ſuch a through Reformation, as the Kingdom needs and expects;

The Houſe of Lords Reject the Bill

All which, had ſo little effect, that the Houſe could not be prevail'd with, ſo much as to Commit the Bill (a countenance, they frequently give to Bills they never intend to paſs) but at the Second reading it, they utterly caſt it out.

THIS unexpected, and unimagin'd act, caſt ſuch a Damp upon the Spirits of the Governing Party, in both Houſes, that they knew not what to do: the Miſchiefs which were in view, by this diſcovery of the temper of the Houſe of Peers, had no bottom; they were not now ſure, that they ſhould be able to carry any thing; for the major part, which threw out this Bill, might croſs them in any thing they went about: beſides the Influence it would have in the Houſe of Commons, and every where elſe; for they knew very well, how Many of their followers Therefore follow'd Them, becauſe they believ'd They would carry all before them.

HOWEVER, that Their Spirits might not be thought to fail, they made haſt to proceed in all the angry, and cholerick things before them:

to

to the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*; Impeaching ſeveral Biſhops for Innovations, and the like; the Houſe of Commons being very diligent, to kindle thoſe Fires which might warm the Peers: and that the Biſhops might ſee how little they had gotten, by obſtructing the other Bill; They prepared a very ſhort Bill, "for the utter Eradication of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters; with all Chancellors, Officials, and all Officers, and other perſons, belonging to Either of them: which they prevail'd with Sr *Edward Deering*, a man very oppoſite to all their deſigns (but a man of levity, and vanity; eaſily flatter'd, by being commended) to Preſent into the Houſe; which he did from the Gallery, with the two Verſes in *Ovid*; the application whereof, was his greateſt motive;

A Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons by Sr Edward Deering, *for Extirpating Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters; &c.*

Cuncta prius tentanda, ſed immedicabile vulnus
Enſe recidendum eſt, ne pars ſincera trahatur.

He took notice, "of the great Moderation and Candour of the Houſe, "in applying ſo gentle a Remedy, by the late Bill, to Retrench the "Exorbitances of the Clergy; hoping, that by the pruning and taking off "a few Unneceſſary Branches from the Trunk, the Tree might proſper "the better; that this Mortification, might have mended their Conſti- "tution, and that they would have the more carefully intended their "health: but that this ſoft Remedy had proved ſo Ineffectual, that they "were grown more Obſtinate and Incorrigible; So that it was now ne- "ceſſary, to put the Ax to the Root of the Tree; and thereupon deſired, "that the Bill might be read.

As ſoon as the Title of it was read (which was allmoſt as long as the Bill it ſelf) it was moved with great warmth, "that the Bill might "Not be read: That it was againſt the Cuſtom and Rule of the Houſe of "Commons, that any Private perſon ſhould take upon him (without "having firſt obtain'd the leave and direction of the Houſe) to bring in "a New Act, ſo much as to abrogate and aboliſh any Old ſingle Law; "and therefore, that it was a wonderful Preſumption in that Gentle- "man, without any communication of his purpoſe, or ſo much as a mo- "tion that he might do it, to bring in a Bill, that overthrew and re- "peal'd ſo Many Acts of Parliament, and changed and confounded the "whole Frame of the Government of the Kingdom: and therefore deſired, "that it might be Rejected. The Gentleman, who brought it in, made many Excuſes "for his Ignorance in the cuſtoms of Parliament, "having never before ſerv'd in any; and acknowledg'd, "that he had "never read more than the Title of the Bill; and was prevail'd with by "his Neighbour who ſate next to him (who was Sr *Arthur Haſlerig*) "to deliver it; which he ſaw would have been done by ſomebody elſe. Though the Rejecting it, was earneſtly urged by very Many; and ought, by the Rules of the Houſe, to have been done; yet, all the Other people, as violently preſs'd the Reading it; and none ſo Importunately, as *Saint-John*, who was at this time the King's Sollicitor (who in truth had drawn it): He ſaid, "Nobody could judge of a Bill by the Title, which "might be falſe; and this Bill, for ought any one knew to the con- "trary, at leaſt, for ought He and many others knew, might contain, the "Eſtabliſhing the Biſhops, and granting other Immunities to the Church; "inſtead of purſuing the matter of the Title: and Others, as Ingenuouſly declaring, "That our Orders are in our Own power, and to be Alter'd, "or Diſpenſed with, as We ſee cauſe: Many out of Curioſity deſiring to hear it read; and More to ſhew the Lords that they would not abate

their mettal; upon Their declaring their pleaſure, the Bill was at laſt Read; and no Queſtion being put, upon the Firſt reading, it was laid by, and not call'd upon in a long time after: many men being really perſwaded, that there was no intention to purſue it; and that it was only brought in, to manifeſt a neglect towards the Lords.

but laid by for that time.

A Vote paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Court of York.

THE Northern Gentlemen, at leaſt They who were moſt active, and had moſt credit (as *Hotham*, and *Cholmely*, and *Stapleton*) were marvellouſly ſollicitous, to diſpatch the Commitment of the Bill "for taking "away the Court of *York*; and having, after great debate, and hearing what all Parties intereſted could offer, gotten the Committee to Vote, "That it was an Illegal Commiſſion, and very Prejudicial to the Liberty "and the Property of his Majeſty's Subjects of thoſe Four Northern "Counties, where that Juriſdiction was exerciſed; They call'd upon Mr *Hyde* (the Chairman) to make the Report: and the Houſe having concurr'd in, and confirm'd, the ſame Vote; they appointed Him "to pre-"pare himſelf to deliver the Opinion of the Houſe at a Conference with "the Houſe of Peers, and to deſire Their Concurrence in it; and that "They would thereupon be Suitors to the King, that there might be no "more Commiſſions of that kind granted: for they had a great apprehenſion, that either upon the Earl of *Strafford*'s Reſignation, or his Death (which they reſolv'd ſhould be very ſhortly) they ſhould have a new Preſident put over them.

A Conference with the Lords about it.

Mr HYDE, at the Conference in the Painted Chamber (being appointed by the Houſe to manage it) told the Lords, That the Four "Northern Counties were Suitors to their Lordſhips, that They might "not be diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects, in the ad-"miniſtration of his Juſtice, and receiving the Fruits of it; that they "Only were left to the Arbitrary Power of a Preſident and Council, "which every day procured new Authority and Power to oppreſs them. He told them, "That till the Thirty firſt year of King *Harry* the "Eighth, the adminiſtration of Juſtice was the Same in the North, as "in the Weſt, or other parts of the Realm; that about that time, there "was ſome Inſurrection in that Country, which produced great Diſor-"ders and Bloodſhed, which ſpread it ſelf to the very Borders of *Scot-"land*; whereupon that King iſſued out a Commiſſion to the Arch-Bi-"ſhop of *York*, and the principal Gentlemen of all thoſe Counties, and ſome "learned Lawyers, to Examine the Grounds of all thoſe Diſorders, and "to proceed againſt the Malefactors with all Severity, according to the "Laws of the Land. He read the Firſt Commiſſion to them; which ap-"pear'd to be no other, than a bare Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer. "It was found that this Commiſſion did much good, and therefore it "was kept on foot for ſome time longer than ſuch Commiſſions uſe to "be; and it was often renew'd after; but ſtill in the ſame Form, or very "little Alteration, till Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and Then there was "an Alteration in the Commiſſion it ſelf; beſides that, it had reference "to Inſtructions which contain'd matters of State upon ſome emergent "occaſions; There were more, and greater Alterations, both in the "Commiſſion and Inſtructions, in the time of King *James*, when the "Lord *Scroop* was Preſident; and that, when the Lord *Strafford* was "firſt made Preſident, they were more enlarged; and yet He had pro-"cured new Additions to be made Twice after. The Inſtructions of the "Several times were read; and the Alterations obſerv'd; and ſome Pre-"cedents, very pertinently urged; in which it appear'd, that Great men "had

had been very ſeverely Sentenced, in no leſs Penalty than of a Premunire, for Procuring and Executing ſuch Commiſſions: and He concluded, with "deſiring the Lords to concur in the ſame Senſe, the Houſe of "Commons had expreſs'd themſelves to be of, with reference to the Com-"miſſion and Inſtructions.

THE Speech, and Argument, met with good Approbation in Both Houſes; where He got great Credit by it: and the Earl of *Bath*, who was to Report it, and had no excellent or graceful Pronunciation, came Himſelf to Mr *Hyde*, and "deſired a Copy of it, that he might not do "him wrong in the Houſe, by the Report; and having receiv'd it, it was Read in the Houſe, and by order Entred, and the Paper it ſelf affix'd to their Journal; where it ſtill remains; and the Houſe of Peers fully concurr'd with the Commons in Their Vote: So that there was not, in many years after, any Attempt, or ſo much as Mention, of another Commiſſion. *The Lords concurr'd with the Commons.*

THE Northen men were ſo well pleaſed, that they reſolv'd to move the Houſe, "to give Mr *Hyde* Publick Thanks for the Service he had "done the Houſe; but the Principal Leaders diverted them from it, by ſaying, "That he had too Much Credit already, and needed not ſuch "an Addition, as He behaved himſelf. However, thoſe Northen men Themſelves, continued marvellouſly kind; and on His behalf, on all occaſions, oppoſed any Combination of the moſt Powerful of them againſt him: of which ſomewhat will be ſaid hereafter.

THE Oppoſition in the Lords Houſe, and the frequent Contradiction in the Houſe of Commons, had allay'd much of the Fury which had ſo much prevail'd; and all men impatiently deſired that the Armies might be diſcharged; when all men believ'd, better quarter would be kept: but no progreſs would be made towards that, till the Earl of *Straf-ford*'s buſineſs could be diſpatch'd; the *Scots*, being bound to gratify their *Engliſh* Friends in that particular, as if it were their Own work. They who treated for the Promotions at Court, were ſollicitous to finiſh that; as what would do All the reſt: and the King was as poſitive, not to do any thing towards it, till he might Secure the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*; which being done, He would do any thing. And the Earl of *Bedford*, who had intruth more Authority with the Violent men than any body elſe, labour'd heartily to bring it to paſs.

IN the Afternoon of the ſame day (when the Conference had been in the Painted Chamber upon the Court of *York*) Mr *Hyde* going to a Place call'd *Pickadilly* (which was a fair Houſe for Entertainment, and Gaming, with handſome Gravel-walks with Shade, and where were an upper and lower Bowling-Green, whither very many of the Nobility, and Gentry of the Beſt quality, reſorted, both for Exerciſe and Converſation) Aſſoon as ever He came into the ground, the Earl of *Bedford* came to him; and after ſome ſhort Compliments upon what had paſs'd in the morning, told him, "He was glad he was come thither, for there "was a Friend of his in the lower ground, who needed his counſel. He then lamented "the Miſery the Kingdom was like to fall into, by "their Own Violence, and want of Temper, in the Proſecution of their "own Happineſs. He ſaid, "This buſineſs concerning the Earl of *Straf-ford*, was a Rock upon which we ſhould all Split, and that the Paſ-"ſion of the Parliament would Deſtroy the Kingdom. That the King "was ready to do all They could deſire, if the Life of the Earl of *Straf-ford* might be ſpared. That his Majeſty was ſatisfied, that He had

"proceeded with more Paſſion in many things, than he ought to have "done, by which he had render'd himſelf Uſeleſs to His Service for the "future; and therefore He was well content, that he might be made "Incapable of any Employment for the time to come; and that he "ſhould be Banish'd, or Impriſon'd for his life, as They ſhould chooſe: "That if they would take his Death upon Them, by their Own Judica- "tory, He would not Interpoſe any act of his Own Conſcience: But "ſince they had declined That way, and meant to proceed by an Act of "Parliament, to which He himſelf muſt be a Party, that it could not "conſiſt with His Conſcience, ever to give his Royal Aſſent to that Act; "becauſe, having been preſent at the whole Trial (as he had been, in a Box provided on purpoſe, *Incognito*, though Conſpicuous enough) "and "heard all the Teſtimony they had given againſt him, He had heard no- "thing Proved, by which he could believe that he was a Traitor, ei- "ther in Fact, or in Intention: and therefore his Majeſty did moſt ear- "neſtly deſire, that the two Houſes would not bring him a Bill to Paſs, "which in Conſcience he could not, and would not Conſent to.

THE Earl continued; "That though He yet was ſatisfied ſo well in "his Own Conſcience, that he believ'd he ſhould have no Scruple in "giving his own Vote for the Paſſing it (for it yet depended in the Lords Houſe) "He knew not how the King could be preſs'd to do an act ſo "contrary to his own Conſcience; and that for His part, He took all the "pains he could to Perſwade his Friends, to Decline their violent Pro- "ſecution, and to be Content with the Remedy propoſed by the King; "which he thought might be render'd ſo Secure, that there need remain "no Fears of that man's ever appearing again in Buſineſs: and that "how difficult a work ſoever he found it to be, he ſhould not deſpair of "it, if he could perſwade the Earl of *Eſſex* to comply; but that he "found him ſo obſtinate, that he could not in the leaſt degree prevail "with him; that he had left his Brother, the Earl of *Hertford* (who "was that day made a Marquis) in the lower ground, walking with him, "who he knew would do all He could; and he deſired Mr *Hyde*, to "walk down into that place, and take his turn, to perſwade the Earl of "*Eſſex* to what was reaſonable; which He was very willing to do.

HE found the Marquis and the Earl walking there together, and no other perſons with them; and as ſoon as they ſaw Him, they Both came to him, and the Marquis, after a ſhort Salutation, departed, and left the other Two together, which he did purpoſely. The Earl begun mer- rily, in telling Him, "That He had that morning perform'd a Service, "which He knew he did not intend to do; that by what He had ſaid "againſt the Court of *York*, he had revived Their Indignation againſt "the Earl of *Strafford*; So that He now hoped, they ſhould proceed in "their Bill againſt him with Vigour (whereas they had Slept ſo long "upon it) which he ſaid was the Effect, of which he was ſure, He had no "mind to be the Cauſe. Mr *Hyde* confeſs'd, "He had indeed no Such "purpoſe; and hoped, that ſomewhat he had ſaid might put Other "thoughts into them, to proceed in another manner upon his Crimes; "That He knew well, that the Cauſe of their having ſlept ſo long upon "the Bill, was their Diſagreement upon the point of Treaſon, which "the longer they thought of, would adminiſter the more Difficulties: "But that if they declined That, they ſhould all agree, that there were "Crimes and Miſdemeanours evidently enough Proved, to deſerve ſo "Severe a Cenſure, as would abſolutely take away all Power from the

"Earl

"Earl of *Strafford*, that might prove Dangerous to the Kingdom; or "Miſchievous to any Particular perſon, to whom he was not a Friend.

HE ſhook his head, and anſwer'd, "Stone Dead hath no Fellow: that "if he were judged Guilty in a Premunire, according to the Precedents "cited by Him; or Fined in any other way; and Sentenced to be Im- "priſon'd during his life; the King would preſently grant him his Par- "don, and his Eſtate, releaſe all Fines, and would likewiſe give him his "Liberty, as ſoon as He had a mind to receive his Service; which "would be aſſoon as the Parliament ſhould be ended. And when Mr *Hyde* was ready to reply to him; the Earl told him Familiarly, "that "He had been Tired that afternoon upon that Argument, and therefore "deſired him to continue the diſcourſe no longer Then; aſſuring him, "He would be ready to Confer with him upon it at any other time.

SHORTLY after, Mr *Hyde* took another opportunity to ſpeak freely with him again concerning it, but found him upon his guard; and though he heard all the Other would ſay, with great patience, yet he did not at all enlarge in his anſwers, but ſeem'd fix'd in his reſolution: and when he was preſs'd, "how Unjuſtifiable a thing it was, for any man "to do any thing which his Conſcience inform'd him was Sinful; that "He knew him ſo well, that if He were not Satisfied in his Own Con- "ſcience, of the Guilt of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King could never "be able to oblige him to give his Vote for that Bill; and therefore He "wonder'd, how he could urge the King, to do an act which He de- "clared to be ſo Much againſt his Conſcience, that he neither could, "nor would, ever give his Royal Aſſent to that Bill: The Earl an- ſwer'd more at large, and with ſome commotion (as if he were in truth poſſeſs'd with that opinion himſelf) "That the King was obliged in "Conſcience, to conform Himſelf, and his own Underſtanding, to the "Advice and Conſcience of his Parliament: which was a Doctrine new- ly reſolv'd by Their Divines, and of great Uſe to them for the purſuing their future Counſels

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the Bill had not that warm reception in the Houſe of Peers, that was expected; but, after the Firſt reading, reſted many days; and being then read the Second time, depended long at the Committee: few men believing, upon conſideration of the Af- fections and Parts of the Several Lords, that of the Fourſcore, who were preſent at the Trial, above Twenty would ever have Conſented to that Act: Beſides, it was not believ'd, now the Formal Trial and way of Ju- dicature was waved, the Biſhops would ſo Stupidly (to ſay no worſe) Exclude themſelves from Voting in a Law, which was to be an Act of Parliament.

Two Accidents that contributed much towards Paſſing the Bill againſt the Earl of Strafford:

BUT there happen'd about that time Two Accidents, which (though not Then, or it may be Since, taken notice of, as of any moment or re- lation to That buſineſs) contributed ſtrangely to the Paſſing that Bill, and ſo to the Fate of that great Perſon. The Firſt, a Diſcovery of ſome Meetings, and Diſcourſes, between ſome Perſons of near relation to his Majeſty's Service, and ſome Officers of the Army, about the High Proceedings of the Parliament; and of ſome Expedients, that might Reduce them to a Better temper; which were no ſooner Intimated to ſome of the great Managers, than the whole was form'd and ſhaped, in- to "a Formidable, and Bloody Deſign againſt the Parliament. The Se- cond, the ſuddain Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. Of Both which, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat; that it may be obſerv'd, from how little

Accidents,

Accidents, and ſmall Circumſtances, by the Art and Induſtry of Thoſe men, the Greateſt Matters have flow'd, towards the Confuſion we have Since labour'd under.

The Firſt, a Diſcovery of ſome Correſpondences between the Court and ſome Principal Officers of the Engliſh *Army.*

SOME Principal Officers of the Army, who were Members of the Houſe of Commons, and had been Careſs'd, both before and after the Beginning of the Parliament, by the moſt Popular Agents of both Houſes; and had intruth Contributed more to Their Deſigns, than was agreeable to their Duty, and the Truſt repoſed in them by the King; found themſelves Now not ſo Particularly conſider'd as they expected, by that Party; and their Credit in other places, and particularly in the Army, to be leſſen'd: for that there was viſibly much more Care taken, for the Supply of the *Scotiſh* Army, than of the King's; inſomuch, that ſometimes money that was aſſign'd and paid for the uſe of the King's Army, was again taken away, and diſpoſed to the Other: and yet, that the Parliament much preſumed, and depended, upon their Intereſt in, and Power to diſpoſe, the Affections of that Army.

THEREFORE to redeem what had been done amiſs, and to ingratiate themſelves in his Majeſty's favour, they bethought themſelves how to diſpoſe, or at leaſt to pretend that they would diſpoſe, the Army, to ſome ſuch expreſſions of Duty and Loyalty towards the King, as might take away all hope from other men, that it might be applied to His diſſervice: and to that purpoſe, they had Conference, and Communication, with ſome Servants of a more immediate truſt and relation to Both their Majeſties; through Whom they might convey their Intentions and Devotions to the King, and again receive his Royal Pleaſure, and Direction, How they ſhould demean themſelves. For ought I could ever obſerve, by what was afterwards reported in the Houſe of Commons; or could learn, from Thoſe who were moſt Converſant with all the Secrets of That deſign; there was never the leaſt intention of working farther upon the Affections of the Army, than to Preſerve them from being Corrupted, or made uſe of, for the Impoſing Unjuſt and Unreaſonable things upon the King: and all that the King ever ſo much as Conſented ſhould be done by Them, was, that as moſt Counties in *England*, or rather, the Factious and Seditious perſons in moſt Counties, having been induced to Frame and Subſcribe Petitions to the Parliament, againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, with other Clauſes, Scandalous to the Government of the State too; So the Officers of the Army too, ſhould Subſcribe this following Petition; which was brought Ingroſs'd to his Majeſty for his Approbation, before they would preſume to recommend it to any for their Subſcription.

The Petition intended to be Subſcribed by the Officers.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty; the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal; the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, now aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament.

"The humble Petition of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army,

"HUMBLY ſheweth, That although our Wants have been very Preſſ-
"ing, and the Burthen we are become unto theſe Parts (by reaſon
"of thoſe Wants) very Grievous unto us; yet ſo have we demean'd
"our ſelves, that your Majeſty's great and weighty Affairs, in this
"preſent Parliament, have hitherto receiv'd no Interruption, by any
"Complaint, either from us, or againſt us; a Temper not uſual in Ar-
"mies;

"mies; eſpecially in one Deſtitute not only of Pay, but alſo of Mar-
"tial Diſcipline, and many of its Principal Officers; that we cannot
"but attribute it to a Particular Bleſſing of Allmighty God, on Our
"moſt Hearty Affections and Zeal to the Common Good, in the Hap-
"py Succeſs of This Parliament; to which, as we ſhould have been
"ready hourly to contribute our deareſt blood, ſo now that it hath
"pleaſed God to manifeſt his Bleſſing ſo evidently therein, we cannot
"but acknowledge it with thankfulneſs; as likewiſe his great Mer-
"cy, in that he hath inclined your Majeſty's Royal heart ſo to coope-
"rate with the Wiſdom of the Parliament, as to effect ſo great and
"happy a Reformation upon the former Diſtempers of this Church
"and Common-wealth: as Firſt, in your Majeſty's gracious conde-
"ſcending to the many important demands of our Neighbours of the
"*Scotiſh* Nation; Secondly, in granting ſo free a courſe of Juſtice
"againſt all Delinquents of what quality ſoever; Thirdly, in the re-
"moval of all thoſe Grievances, wherewith the Subjects did conceive
"either their Liberty of perſons, Property, or Eſtate, or freedom of
"Conſcience, prejudiced; And laſtly, in the greateſt pledge of Secu-
"rity, that ever the Subjects of *England* receiv'd from their Sove-
"raign, the Bill of Triennial Parliament.

"THESE things ſo graciouſly accorded unto by your Majeſty, without
"bargain or compenſation, as they are more than expectation or hope
"could extend unto, ſo now certainly they are ſuch, as all Loyal
"hearts ought to acquieſce in with thankfulneſs; which We do with
"all humility, and do at this time, with as much earneſtneſs as any,
"pray, and wiſh, that the Kingdom may be ſettled in Peace and
"Quietneſs, and that all men may, at their own homes, enjoy the
"Bleſſed Fruits of Your Wiſdom and Juſtice.

"BUT it may pleaſe your Excellent Majeſty, and this High Court of
"Parliament, to give us leave, with grief and anguiſh of heart, to re-
"preſent unto you, that we hear that there are certain Perſons, Stir-
"ring and Pragmatical, Who, inſtead of rendring Glory to God,
"Thanks to your Majeſty, and Acknowledgment to the Parliament,
"remain yet as Unſatisfied and Mutinous as ever; Who, whilſt all the
"reſt of the Kingdom are arrived even beyond their Wiſhes, are
"daily forging new and unreaſonable Demands; Who, whilſt all men
"of Reaſon, Loyalty, and Moderation, are thinking how they may
"provide for your Majeſty's Honour and Plenty, in return of ſo many
"Graces to the Subject, are ſtill attempting new Diminutions of your
"Majeſty's juſt Regalities, which muſt ever be no leſs dear to all ho-
"neſt men, than our own Freedoms; In fine, men of ſuch turbulent
"Spirits, as are ready to Sacrifice the honour and welfare of the
"whole Kingdom to Their private fancies, whom nothing elſe than
"a Subverſion of the whole frame of Government will ſatisfy: far
"be it from Our thoughts to believe, that the Violence and Unrea-
"ſonableneſs of Such kind of Perſons, can have any Influence upon
"the Prudence and Juſtice of the Parliament. But that which begets
"the Trouble and Diſquiet of Our loyal hearts, at this preſent, is,
"that we hear Thoſe ill affected Perſons, are back'd in their Vio-
"lence, by the Multitude and the Power of raiſing Tumults; that
"Thouſands flock at Their call, and beſet the Parliament, and
"*White-Hall* it ſelf; not only to the Prejudice of that Freedom
"which is neceſſary to great Councils and Judicatories, but poſſi-

"bly to ſome Perſonal Danger of your Sacred Majeſty, and the "Peers.

"THE vaſt Conſequence of theſe Perſons Malignity, and of the Licen- "tiouſneſs of thoſe Multitudes that follow them, conſider'd, in moſt "deep Care and zealous Affection for the Safety of your Sacred Maje- "ſty, and the Parliament; Our Humble Petition is, That in Your "Wiſdom, you would be pleaſed to remove ſuch dangers, by Puniſh- "ing the Ringleaders of theſe Tumults, that your Majeſty and the "Parliament may be ſecured from ſuch Inſolences hereafter. For the "Suppreſſing of which, in all Humility We offer our ſelves to wait "upon you (if You pleaſe) hoping We ſhall appear as conſiderable in "the way of Defence, to our Gracious Soveraign, the Parliament, "our Religion, and the Eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Kingdom, as what "Number ſoever ſhall audaciouſly preſume to Violate them: So ſhall "We, by the Wiſdom of your Majeſty and the Parliament, not only "be Vindicated from Precedent Innovations, but be Secured from "the Future, that are threatned, and likely to produce more dan- "gerous effects than the former.

"And we ſhall pray, &c.

The true matter of fact concerning that Petition.

HIS Majeſty having read this Petition, and conceiving that the Authority of the Army might ſeem of as great Importance for the good reception of ſo much Reaſon and Juſtice, as the Subſcription of a Rabble had been alledged often to be, for the Countenance of what intruth was Mutinous and Seditious, ſaid, "that He approved well enough of it, "and was content that it might be Subſcribed by the Officers of the Ar- "my, if They deſired it. The Officer who preſented the Draught to his Majeſty, told him, "that very Few of the Army had yet ſeen it: and "that it would be a great Countenance to it, if, when it was carried to "the Principal Officers who were firſt to Sign it, any evidence might "be given to them, that it had paſs'd his Majeſty's approbation; other- "wiſe they might poſſibly make Scruple for fear of offending Him. Thereupon, his Majeſty took a Pen, and writ at the bottom of the Petition *C. R.* as a token that He had peruſed and allow'd it: and ſo the Petition was carried down into the Country where the Army lay, and was Sign'd by ſome Officers; but was ſuddainly quaſh'd, and no more heard of, till in the Diſcovery of the pretended Plot: of which more in its place.

THE Meetings continuing, between thoſe Officers of the Army and ſome Servants of his Majeſty's, to the Ends aforeſaid; Others of the Army, who had expreſs'd very brisk reſolutions towards the Service, and were of eminent Command and Authority with the Soldiers, were by ſpecial direction introduced into thoſe Councils (all perſons obliging themſelves by an Oath of Secrecy, not to communicate any thing that ſhould paſs amongſt them) for the better executing what ſhould be agreed.

AT the firſt meeting, One of the Perſons that was ſo introduced, after he had heard the calm Propoſitions of the reſt, and that "Their de- "ſign was, only to obſerve and defend the Laws, that Neither the Ar- "guments of the *Scots*, nor the Reputation of their Army, might com- "pell the King to Conſent to the Alteration of the Government of the "Church, nor to remove the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, which

"would

"would, in a great degree, produce an Alteration; Or the Power of any "Diſcontented Perſons, by their Tumultuary Petitions, Impoſe upon, "or Diminiſh, the Juſt Legal Power of the King: told them, "Thoſe "Reſolutions would produce very little effects for his Majeſty's Service; "That there was but One way to do his Majeſty notable Service, which "was by bringing up the Army preſently to *London*, which would "ſo Aw the Parliament, that they would do any thing the King com-"manded. There was not (as I have been credibly inform'd) a man in the company, that did not perfectly abhor (or ſeem'd ſo to do) that odious Propoſition; but contented themſelves with making ſuch Objections againſt it, as render'd it Ridiculous and Unpracticable: and ſo the Meeting, for that time, diſſolv'd.

WHETHER the Perſon that propoſed this deſperate advice, did it only as a Bait, to draw an opinion from other men (for he had a perfect diſlike and malice to ſome of the company) or whether the Diſdain to ſee his Counſel rejected, and the Fear that it might be diſcover'd to his Diſadvantage, wrought upon him, I know not; But the ſame, or the next day, He diſcover'd All, and More than had paſs'd, to ſome of Thoſe who ſeem'd to take moſt care for the Publick; intimated to them, "how He was Startled with the horrour of the deſign, and how Faith-"fully He reſolv'd to ſerve the Common-wealth, or to loſe his Life in "the attempt: Yet, at the ſame time, acted his part at Court, with all poſſible demonſtration of Abhorring the Proceedings of the Parliament, to that degree, that he offer'd, "to undertake with a Crew of Of-"ficers and good Fellows (who, he ſaid, were at His diſpoſal) to Reſcue "the Earl of *Strafford* from the Lievtenant of the Tower, as he ſhould "bring him to his Trial, and ſo to enable him to make an eſcape in-"to Forreign parts.

THE Diſcovery being thus made, to the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Kimbolton*, and no doubt by Them communicated to their chief Aſſociates; as Dangerous as the deſign was Afterwards alledged to be, it was not Publiſh'd in three Months after to the Houſes, againſt Whom the deſign was intended; nor till long after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*: who, no doubt rather deſired to bind up thoſe Wounds which were made, than to make them wider, by entertaining new Jealouſies between King and People; and would not conſent to the extending and extorting Concluſions, which did not naturally flow from the Premiſes; without which, This ſo uſeful a Treaſon to them, could not have been made up.

BUT as They thought not fit (as I ſaid before) to publiſh this Whole Diſcovery till near three months after, ſo they made extraordinary Uſe of it by Parts, from the Inſtant that they found the Secret; it being allways their cuſtom, when they found the Heat and Diſtemper of the Houſe (which they endeavour'd to keep up, by the ſharp mention and remembrance of former Grievances and Preſſures) in any degree Allay'd, by ſome gracious Act, or gracious Profeſſion of the King's, to warm and inflame them again with a Diſcovery, or Promiſe of a Diſcovery, of ſome notable Plot and Conſpiracy againſt Themſelves, "to Diſ-"ſolve the Parliament by the Papiſts: or ſome other way, in which they would be ſure that ſomewhat allways ſhould reflect upon the Court. Thus they were ſometimes informing, "of great multitudes of "Papiſts gathering together in *Lancaſhire*; then "of Secret Meetings "in Caves, and under ground in *Surrey*; Letters from beyond Sea, of

"great Proviſions of Arms making There for the Catholicks of *England*; and the like; which upon Examination allways Vaniſh'd: But for the time (and they were allways applied in uſeful articles of Time) ſerv'd to tranſport Common minds with Fears and Apprehenſions, and ſo induced them to comply in ſenſe with Thoſe, who were like ſooneſt to find Remedies for thoſe Diſeaſes which none but themſelves could diſcover. And in this Progreſs, there ſometimes happen'd ſtrange Accidents for the confirmation of their credit.

WHILST they were full of Clamour againſt the Papiſts, upon the inſtances of ſome Inſolences and Indiſcretions committed by them, during the late intervals of Parliament (and mention'd before) eſpecially upon a great Alacrity expreſs'd, and Contribution raiſed, the year before, for advancing the War with *Scotland*; an Order was made, "that the "Juſtices of Peace of *Weſtminſter* ſhould carefully examine, what Stran-"gers were lodg'd within their Juriſdiction; and that they ſhould ad-"miniſter the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to all ſuſpected for "Recuſancy, and proceed according to thoſe Statutes. An Afternoon being appointed for that Service, in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and many Perſons warn'd to appear there, amongſt the reſt one ..... *James* a Papiſt appear'd, and being preſs'd by Mr *Hayward*, a Juſtice of Peace, to take the Oaths, ſuddainly drew out his Knife, and Stabb'd him; with ſome Reproachful words, " for Perſecuting poor Catholicks. This ſtrange, unheard of Outrage, upon the perſon of a Miniſter of Juſtice executing his Office by an Order of Parliament, Startled all men; the old man Sinking with the hurt, though he died not of it. And though, for ought I could ever hear, it proceeded only from the rage of a ſullen Varlet (formerly ſuſpected to be Crazed in his underſtanding) without the leaſt Confederacy or Combination with any other; Yet it was a great Countenance to Thoſe, who were before thought over Apprehenſive and Inquiſitive into Dangers; and made Many believe it rather a Deſign of All the Papiſts of *England*, than a Deſperate Act of One man, who could never have been induced to it, if he had not been promiſed Aſſiſtance by the reſt.

The Ill Uſe made of it in the Houſe of Commons.

THE Diſcovery of the Plot concerning the Army, being made about the middle of *April*, which was the end of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial, They for the preſent made no farther Uſe of it than might contribute to their Ends in That buſineſs; reſerving the reſt (as was ſaid before) to be applied in more neceſſary ſeaſons: Therefore, about the time that the Bill of Attainder was preferr'd, that no interpoſition from the Court might diſcountenance or hinder that great work, Mr *Pym* one day inform'd the Houſe of Commons, " That He had great cauſe to fear, "there was at that time as Deſperate a Deſign and Conſpiracy againſt "the Parliament, as had been in any Age; and he was in doubt, Perſons "of great Quality and Credit at Court, had their hands in it: That "ſeveral Officers had been treated with in *London* to raiſe Men, under "pretence that they ſhould go to *Portugal*; but that the *Portugal* Em-"baſſadour, being conferr'd with about it, profeſs'd, that He knew no-"thing of it; and that no perſon had any authority or promiſe from "Him to that purpoſe (And it is true, there had been ſome idle Diſcourſes in a Tavern between ſome Officers, about raiſing men for *Portugal*, which was immediately carried to Mr *Pym*; as all Tavern and Ordinary diſcourſes were) " That for the preſent, He might not ac-"quaint them with all Particulars, which might Hinder their further

"Diſco-

"Diſcovery; only deſired, that a Meſſage might be ſent to the Lords, to "deſire them to appoint a Committee to Examine ſuch Witneſſes as "ſhould be produced, for the Diſcovery of a Plot againſt the Parliament; "and that in the mean time, They would join in a Meſſage to the King, "to deſire his Majeſty that he would not, for ſome few days, grant any "Paſs to any of his Servants to go beyond the Seas; ſaying, that He "believ'd, ſome men's Conſciences would tempt them to make an "Eſcape, when they heard of this Examination.

SUCH a Committee was appointed to Examine, and ſuch a Meſſage ſent to his Majeſty, as was deſired. But in the mean time, ſome Perſons who had been at the Tavern, and talk'd of raiſing men for *Portugal*; and Others who had been at the Conference before mention'd, where the Propoſition was for bringing up the Army; finding that what had paſs'd ſo Privately, and amongſt Themſelves, had been Diſcover'd; and was like to paſs a very Severe Inquiſition, from Them who made Gloſſes and Comments as they pleaſed, upon what other men ſpoke or did; and not knowing how much More than the Truth had been inform'd, or what Interpretation ſhould be made of that which was the Truth; reſolv'd not to truſt themſelves with Such Judges (whoſe formality was firſt to Impriſon, and after, at Their leiſure, to Examine) and ſo fled into *France*.

THIS was no ſooner known and publiſh'd, than it gave great Credit and Reputation to Mr *Pym*'s Vigilancy and Activity; for it now appear'd, there was ſome notable Miſchief intended, upon the Diſovery whereof, ſome Eminent men were Fled. And in this Diſorder and Trouble of mind, men Fearing according as they were directed, the Bill of Attainder found the eaſier paſſage in the Houſe of Commons.

HAVING gotten thus much ground; and the Bill then depending (and like long to depend) with the Lords; Mr *Pym* told them in the Houſe of Commons, "that it appear'd by the Flight of ſuch Conſidera-"ble Perſons, that what he had before imparted to them was of Mo-"ment, and that his Fears were not groundleſs; that it concern'd Their "Service, that he ſhould not Yet impart the whole matter to them, "ſince the Danger was prevented, which they ſhould ſhortly underſtand "at large: in the mean time, he did aſſure them, That God had mira-"culouſly Preſerv'd them from a moſt Prodigious Conſpiracy, in which "all their Priviledges and Liberties ſhould have been ſwallow'd up: "That though This attempt was Diſappointed, yet he fear'd there might "be ſome New device; and therfore He propoſed, for the better evi-"dence of their Union and Unanimity (which would be the greateſt Diſ-"couragement to all who wiſh'd Ill to them) that ſome Proteſtation "might be entred into by the Members of Both Houſes, for the Defence "of their Priviledges, and the Performance of thoſe Duties to God "and the King, which they were obliged to, as good Chriſtians and good "Subjects; and that a Committee might be appointed ſpeedily, to with-"draw and prepare ſuch a Proteſtation.

THE Motion was entertain'd with general Approbation; inſomuch as they who were apprehenſive enough of the Ill Deſigns of thoſe who advanced This, and of the Ill conſequence of ſuch Voluntary Proteſtations, thought fit rather to watch the Matter and Words, than to oppoſe the Thing it ſelf; which, it was evident, it was to no purpoſe to do: and therefore they were well contented with the naming Such Perſons for the Committee, as were not like to ſubmit to any Unlawful or

Inconvenient obligation. This was urged as of ſuch Conſequence, that the Doors were lock'd, and no Perſons ſuffer'd to go out of the Houſe, till this ſhould be concluded. After a long Debate, theſe words were agreed upon, and offer'd to the Houſe for the Proteſtation.

Upon this occaſion a Proteſtation is taken by Both Houſes.

"I *A. B.* do, in the preſence of Allmighty God, Promiſe, Vow, and "Proteſt, to Maintain and Defend, as far as Lawfully I may, with my "Life, Power, and Eſtate, the true reform'd Proteſtant Religion, ex- "preſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, againſt all Po- "pery and Popiſh Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the "ſame Doctrine; and according to the duty of my Allegiance, his Ma- "jeſty's Royal Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate; as alſo, the Power and "Priviledges of Parliament; the Lawful Rights and Liberties of the "Subject; and every Perſon that maketh this Proteſtation, in what- "ſoever he ſhall do in the Lawful purſuance of the ſame: And to my "power, and as far as Lawfully I may, I will Oppoſe, and, by all good "ways and means, endeavour to bring to condign Puniſhment, all "Such, as ſhall either by Force, Practice, Counſels, Plots, Conſpira- "cies, or otherwiſe, do any thing to the Contrary of any thing in this "preſent Proteſtation contain'd: And further, that I ſhall, in all juſt "and honourable ways, endeavour to Preſerve the Union and Peace "between the three Kingdoms, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; "and neither for hope, fear, nor other Reſpect, ſhall Relinquiſh this "Promiſe, Vow, and Proteſtation.

THIS was immediately taken by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and by all the Members then preſent; and ſent up to the Lords, who all likewiſe took the ſame, except the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Lord *Roberts*, who poſitively refuſed it, alledging, "There was no "Law that enjoin'd it, and the Conſequence of ſuch Voluntary Engage- "ments, might produce Effects that were not then intended: Which without doubt was very wiſely conſider'd; and had not been preſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, for Two reaſons; It being viſibly Impoſſible to Diſſuade the thing, the Houſe being awaken'd by the diſcourſe, men- tion'd before, of a Plot againſt the Parliament, the Poyſon of which, this ſoveraign Antidote was to Expell and Diſcover; But eſpecially, for that well affected Perſons, who were jealous of no other deſign than the Alteration of the Government of the Church, thought they had obliged thoſe rigid Reformers from any ſuch Attempt, when They had once Bound themſelves "to Maintain and Defend the Proteſtant Religion ex- "preſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; there being no other Scheme of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, than the Thir- ty nine Articles, of which one is, "to preſerve the Government of "the Church by Biſhops.

WHEREAS the other Party was abundantly gratified, with having an Oath of their Own making, to entangle the People (ſo like a Cove- nant, by which ſuch admirable things had been compaſs'd by their Neighbours) and upon which they could make what Gloſs they pleaſed, when they had occaſion; as they did within two days after: For the Proteſtation being taken on *Monday* the Third of *May*, the *Wedneſday* following, ſome of their own Party took occaſion to inform the Houſe, "that it was apprehended by many well affected Perſons abroad, who "were of notable and exemplary devotions to the Parliament, That if

"They

"They ſhould take that Proteſtation, they ſhould thereby engage themſelves for the Defence of Biſhops, which in their Conſcience they could not do; and which, they hoped, the Houſe did not intend to oblige them to: Whereupon, without any great oppoſition (the Houſe being thin; and They who were of another opinion, believing this Artifice would, to all ſober men, appear very Ridiculous) this enſuing Order was made.

The Explanation of the Proteſtation, by an Order of the Houſe of Commons.

"WHEREAS ſome Doubts have been raiſed, by ſeveral Perſons out of "this Houſe, concerning the Meaning of theſe words contain'd in the "Proteſtation lately made by the Members of this Houſe [*viz.* The "true reform'd Proteſtant Religion, expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the "Church of *England*, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations "within this Realm, contrary to the ſame Doctrine] This Houſe doth "declare, That by theſe words, was and is meant, only the Publick "Doctrine profeſs'd in the ſaid Church, ſo far as It is oppoſite to Po"pery and Popiſh Innovations; and that the ſaid words are not to "be extended to the maintaining of any Form of Worſhip, Diſci"pline, or Government, nor of any Rites, or Ceremonies, of the ſaid "Church of *England*.

THIS Explanation being thus procured in the Houſe of Commons, without ever adviſing with the Houſe of Peers (who had likewiſe taken the ſame Proteſtation) and, intruth, ſo contrary to the intentions of Moſt that took it; They order'd, "that the Proteſtation, together with "this Explanation, ſhould be Printed and Publiſh'd; and that the "Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould ſend Copies thereof to the Counties and "Burroughs for which they ſerv'd; and that they ſhould intimate un"to the People, with what Willingneſs all the Members of that Houſe "made that Proteſtation; and that they ſhould further ſignify, that as "They did Juſtify the taking it Themſelves, ſo they could not but Ap"prove it in All ſuch as ſhould take it. Upon which Declaration, the Emiſſaries of their Clergy cauſed the ſame to be taken in *London*, and the Parts adjacent, within very few days after the Publiſhing. And for Their better Encouragement (though their Zeal would not attend ſuch Formalities) a Bill was prepared, paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords, "to Compell all the Subjects to take that "Proteſtation. What the Succeſs of that Bill was; and what Uſe was Afterwards made of this Proteſtation (which was Then thought ſo Harmleſs a thing) and particularly, what Influence it had upon the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*; ſhall be remembred in its proper place.

A Bill Paſs'd there, to Compell all the Subjects to take it.

THE other Accident that fell out during the time that the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford* was agitated, and by which He receiv'd much Prejudice, was the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. This Lord was the greateſt perſon of Intereſt in all the Popular Party, being of the beſt Eſtate, and beſt Underſtanding, of the whole Number; and therefore moſt like to Govern the Reſt. He was beſides, of great Civility, and of much more Good Nature than any of the Other. And therefore the King reſolving to do his buſineſs with that Party by Him, reſolv'd to make him Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, in the place of the Biſhop of *London*; who was as willing to lay down the Office, as any body was to take it up. And to gratify him the more; at His deſire, intended to

The other Accident that contributed towards the Bill of Attainder, was the Death of the Earl of Bedford.

to make Mr *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had done Mr *Saint-John* his Sollicitor General (all which hath been touch'd before) as alſo, that Mr *Hollis* was to be Secretary of State, the Lord *Say* Maſter of the Wards, and the Lord *Kimbolton* to be Lord Privy-Seal after the death of his Father, who then held that place. Others were to be placed about the Prince, and to have Offices when they fell.

THE Earl of *Bedford* ſecretly undertook to his Majeſty, that the Earl of *Strafford*'s life ſhould be preſerv'd; and to procure His Revenue to be ſettled, as amply as any of his Progenitors; the which he intended ſo really, that, to My knowledge, he had it in deſign to endeavour to obtain an Act for the ſetting up the Exciſe in *England*, as the only natural means to advance the King's profit. He fell Sick, within a week after the Bill of Attainder was ſent up to the Lords Houſe; and Died ſhortly after, much Afflicted with the Paſſion and Fury which he perceiv'd his Party inclined to: inſomuch as he declared, to ſome of near truſt with him, "that He fear'd, the Rage and Madneſs of this Par-"liament, would bring more Prejudice and Miſchief to the Kingdom "than it had ever ſuſtain'd by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments. He was a wiſe man, and would have propoſed and adviſed Moderate courſes; but was not incapable, for want of Reſolution, of being carried into Violent ones, if His Advice were not ſubmitted to: and therefore Many, who knew him well, thought his Death not unſeaſonable, as well to his Fame, as his Fortune; and that it reſcued him as well from ſome poſſible Guilt, as from thoſe viſible Misfortunes, which all men of all conditions have Since undergone.

As ſoon as the Earl of *Bedford* was dead, the Lord *Say* (hoping to receive the reward of the Treaſurer-ſhip) ſucceeded him in his undertaking, and faithfully promiſed the King, "that he ſhould not be preſs'd "in the matter of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Life; and under that promiſe got credit enough, to perſwade his Majeſty to whatſoever He ſaid was neceſſary to that buſineſs. And thereupon, when the Bill was depending with the Lords, and when there was little ſuſpicion that it would Paſs, though the Houſe of Commons every day by Meſſages endeavour'd to quicken them, He perſwaded the King "to go to the Houſe "of Peers, and according to cuſtom to ſend for the Houſe of Com-"mons, and then to declare himſelf, That He could not, with the ſafe-"ty of a good Conſcience, ever give his Conſent to the Bill, that was "there depending before them concerning the Earl of *Strafford*, if it "ſhould be brought to him, becauſe He was not ſatisfied in the point of "Treaſon: But He was ſo fully Satisfied that the Earl was Unfit ever "to ſerve Him more, in any condition of Employment, that He would "join with Them in any Act, to make him utterly Incapable of ever "bearing Office, or having any other Employment in any of his Ma-"jeſty's Dominions; which he hoped would Satisfy them.

THIS Advice, upon the Confidence of the giver, the King reſolv'd to follow: But when his Reſolution was imparted to the Earl, He immediately ſent his Brother to him, beſeeching his Majeſty "by no "means to take that way, for that he was moſt aſſured it would prove "very Pernicious to him; and therefore deſired, he might depend upon "the Honour and Conſcience of the Peers, without his Majeſty's in-"terpoſition. The King told his Brother, "that he had taken that Re-"ſolution by the Advice of his Beſt Friends; but ſince he liked it not, "he would decline it. The next morning the Lord *Say* came again

to

to him, and finding his Majesty alter'd in his Intention, told him, "If "he took that course He advised him, he was sure it would prevail; "but if he declined it, He could not promise his Majesty what would be "the issue, and should hold himself absolutely disengaged from any un- "dertaking. The King observing his Positiveness, and conceiving his Intentions to be very Sincere, suffer'd himself to be guided by him; and went immediately to the House, and said as the other had advised. Whether that Lord did Intruth believe, the discovery of his Majesty's Conscience in That manner, would produce the Effect he foretold; or whether he advised it Treacherously, to bring on those Inconveniences which afterwards happen'd; I know not: But Many who believ'd his Will to be much Worse than his Understanding, had the Uncharitableness to think, that he intended to Betray his Master, and to put the Ruin of the Earl out of question.

Tumults about the House of Peers.

THE Event proved very Fatal; for the King no sooner return'd from the House, than the House of Commons, in great Passion and Fury, declared this last act of his Majesty's, to be "the most unparallel'd Breach "of Priviledge, that had ever happen'd; That if his Majesty might "take notice what Bills were passing in either House, and declare His "Own opinion, it was to forejudge Their Counsels, and they should not "be able to supply the Common-wealth with wholesom Laws, suit- "able to the Diseases it labour'd under; That This was the greatest Ob- "struction of Justice, that could be imagin'd; That They, and Whoso- "ever had taken the late Protestation, were bound to maintain the Pri- "viledges of Parliament, which were now too grosly Invaded and "Violated: with many Sharp Discourses to that purpose.

THE next day, great multitudes of People came down to *Westminster*, and crowded about the House of Peers, exclaiming with great Outcries, "that they would have Justice; and publickly reading the Names of those who had dissented from that Bill in the House of Commons, as Enemies to their Country; and as any Lord pass'd by, call'd *Justice, Justice*; and with great Rudeness and Insolence, pressing upon, and thrusting, those Lords whom they suspected not to favour that Bill; professing aloud, "That they would be govern'd and disposed by "the Honourable House of Commons, and would defend Their Privi- "ledges according to their late Protestation. These unheard of acts of Insolence and Sedition continned so many days, till many Lords grew so really apprehensive of having their Brains beaten out, that they absented themselves from the House; and Others, finding what Seconds the House of Commons was like to have to compass whatever they desired, changed their minds; and so in an afternoon, when of the Fourscore who had been present at the Trial, there were only Six and Forty Lords in the House (the good People still crying at the doors for Justice) they put the Bill to the question, and Eleven Lords only dissenting, it Pass'd that House, and was ready for the King's assent.

The Bill of Attainder Pass'd the House of Lords.

THE King continued as Resolved as ever, Not to give his consent. The same Oratory then attended Him at *White-Hall*, which had prevail'd at *Westminster*; and a Rabble of many Thousand people besieged that place, crying out, *Justice, Justice; that they would have Justice*; not without great and insolent Threats and Expressions, what They would do if it were not speedily granted. The Privy-Council was call'd together, to advise what course was to be taken to Suppress these Traiterous Riots. Instead of considering how to Rescue their Master's Ho-

Tumults about White-Hall.

nour and his Conſcience from this Infamous Violence and Conſtraint, They preſs the King to Paſs the Bill of Attainder, ſaying, "there was no "other way to preſerve Himſelf and his Poſterity than by ſo doing; "and therefore that He ought to be more tender of the Safety of the "Kingdom, than of any One Perſon how Innocent ſoever: not one Counſellor interpoſing his opinion, to ſupport his Maſter's Magnanimity and Innocence; They who were of that mind, either Suppreſſing their Thoughts through Fear, upon the new Doctrine eſtabliſh'd then by the new Counſellors, "that no man ought to preſume to adviſe any "thing in That place, contrary to the ſenſe of Both Houſes; Others ſadly believing, the Force and Violence offer'd to the King, would be, before God and man, a Juſt Excuſe for whatſoever he ſhould do,

The Privy-Council and ſome of the Biſhops adviſe the King to Paſs the Bill.

HIS Majeſty told them, "that what had been propoſed to him to do, "was directly contrary to his Conſcience, and that being ſo, he was "ſure they would not perſwade him to it, though Themſelves were ne-"ver ſo well ſatisfied. To that point, they deſired him, "to confer with "his Biſhops, who, they made no queſtion, would better inform his "Conſcience. The Arch-Biſhop of *York* was at hand; who, to his Argument of Conſcience, told him, "That there was a Private and a Pub-"lick Conſcience; that his Publick Conſcience as a King, might not on-"ly diſpenſe with, but oblige him, to do that which was againſt his "Private Conſcience as a Man: and that the Queſtion was not, Whether "He ſhould Save the Earl of *Strafford*, but, Whether he ſhould Periſh "with him: That the Conſcience of a King to preſerve his Kingdom, "the Conſcience of a Husband to preſerve his Wife, the Conſcience of "a Father to preſerve his Children (all which were now in danger) "weigh'd down abundantly all the conſiderations, the Conſcience of a "Maſter, or a Friend could ſuggeſt to him, for the preſervation of a Friend, "or Servant. And by ſuch Unprelatical, Ignominious Arguments, in plain terms adviſed him, "even for Conſcience ſake, to Paſs that Act.

THOUGH this Biſhop acted His part with more prodigious Boldneſs and Impiety, Others of the ſame Function (for whoſe Learning and Sincerity the King and the World had greater reverence) did not what might have been expected from their Calling or their Truſt; but at leaſt forbore to Fortify and Confirm a Conſcience, upon the Courage and Piety of which, the Security of their Perſons and their Order, did abſolutely, under God, depend.

DURING theſe Perplexities, the Earl of *Strafford* taking notice of the Straits the King was in, the Rage of the People ſtill increaſing (from whence he might expect a certain Outrage and Ruin, how conſtant ſoever the King continued to him; and it may be, knowing of an Undertaking (for ſuch an Undertaking there was) by a great Perſon, who had then a Command in the Tower, "that if the King refuſed to Paſs the "Bill, to free the Kingdom from the hazard it ſeem'd to be in, He "would cauſe his Head to be ſtricken off in the Tower) writ a moſt pathetical Letter to the King, full of acknowledgment of his Favours; but lively repreſenting "the Dangers, which threatned Himſelf and his "Poſterity, by the King's perſevering in thoſe Favours; and therefore by many Arguments conjuring him, "no longer to defer his Aſſent to "the Bill, that ſo His Death might free the Kingdom from the many "Troubles it apprehended.

The Earl of Strafford *himſelf writes to his Majeſty to Paſs it*

THE delivery of this Letter being quickly known, new Arguments were applied; "that this free conſent of his Own, clearly abſolv'd the

"King

"King from any ſcruple that could remain with him; and ſo in the end they extorted from him, to ſign a Commiſſion to ſome Lords to Paſs the Bill: which was as valid as if he had paſs'd it himſelf; though they comforted him even with That circumſtance, "that His Own hand was "not in it.

The King ſigns a Commiſſion for the Paſſing it.

IT may eaſily be ſaid, that the Freedom of the Parliament, and His own Negative voice, being thus Barbarouſly invaded, if his Majeſty had, inſtead of Paſſing that Act, come to the Houſe and Diſſolv'd the Parliament; or if he had withdrawn himſelf from that Seditious City, and put himſelf in the head of his own Army; much of the Miſchief, which hath Since happen'd, would have been prevented. But whoever truly conſiders the ſtate of Affairs at that time; the Prevalency of that Faction in Both Houſes; the Rage and Fury of the People; the Uſe that was made by the Schiſmatical Preachers (by whom the Orthodox were generally ſilenced) of the late Proteſtation, in their Pulpits; the Fears and Jealouſies They had infuſed into the minds of many ſober men, upon the diſcourſe of the late Plot; the Conſtitution of the Council-Table, that there was ſcarce an Honeſt man durſt ſpeak his Conſcience to the King, for fear of his Ruin; and that thoſe whom he thought moſt True to him, Betray'd him every hour, inſomuch as his Whiſpers in his Bed-chamber were inſtantly convey'd to Thoſe againſt whom thoſe whiſpers were; ſo that he had very Few men to whom he could breath his Conſcience and Complaints, that were not Suborn'd againſt him, or Averſe to his opinions: That on the other ſide, if ſome Expedient were not ſpeedily found out, to Allay that Frantick Rage and Combination in the People, there was reaſon enough to believe, their Impious hands would be lifted up againſt his own Perſon, and (which He much more apprehended) againſt the perſon of his Royal Conſort: and laſtly, that (beſides the difficulty of getting thither) he had no ground to be very confident of his own Army: I ſay, Whoever ſadly Contemplates this, will find cauſe to confeſs, the Part which the King had to act, was not only harder than any Prince, but than any Private Gentleman had been expoſed to; and that it is much eaſier, upon the Accidents and Occurrences which have Since happen'd, to determine what was Not to have been done, than at That time to have Foreſeen, by what means to have Freed himſelf from the Labyrinth in which he was involv'd.

ALL things being thus tranſacted; to conclude the Fate of this great Perſon, He was on the Twelfth day of *May* brought from the Tower of *London* (where he had been a Priſoner near ſix Months) to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill; where, with a compoſed, undaunted Courage, he told the People, "He was come thither to Satisfy them with his Head; "but that he much fear'd, the Reformation which was begun in Blood, "would not prove ſo Fortunate to the Kingdom, as They expected, "and He wiſh'd: and after great expreſſions "of his Devotion to the "Church of *England*, and the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, "and profeſs'd in that Church; of his Loyalty to the King, and Affection "to the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom; with marvellous Tranquillity of mind, he deliver'd his Head to the Block, where it was ſever'd from his Body at a Blow. Many of the Standers by, who had not been over charitable to him in his Life, being much affected with the Courage and Chriſtianity of his Death.

The Earl Beheaded, May the 12th 1641.

THUS Fell the Greateſt Subject in Power, and little inferior to any in Fortune, that was at that time in any of the Three Kingdoms; Who

could well remember the time, when He Led thoſe People, who then Purſued Him to his Grave. He was a man of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature; not unadorn'd with ſome addition of Art and Learning, though that again was more improved and illuſtrated by the other; for he had a readineſs of Conception, and ſharpneſs of Expreſſion, which made his Learning thought more than intruth it was. His firſt inclinations and addreſſes to the Court, were only to eſtabliſh his Greatneſs in the Country; where he apprehended ſome acts of Power from the Lord *Savile*, who had been his Rival allways There, and of late had ſtrengthen'd himſelf, by being made a Privy-Counſellor, and Officer at Court: but his firſt attempts were ſo proſperous, that He contented not himſelf with being ſecure from that Lord's power in the Country, but reſted not, till he had bereav'd his adverſary of all power and place in Court; and ſo ſent him down, a moſt Abject, Diſconſolate old man, to his Country, where He was to have the Superintendency over him too; by getting himſelf at that time made Lord Preſident of the North. Theſe Succeſſes, applied to a nature too Elate and Haughty of it ſelf; and a quicker progreſs into the greateſt Employments and Truſt; made him more tranſported with Diſdain of other men, and more Contemning the Forms of buſineſs, than happily he would have been, if he had met with ſome Interruptions in the beginning; and had paſs'd in a more leiſurely gradation to the office of a States-man.

HE was no doubt of great obſervation, and a piercing judgement, both in Things, and Perſons; but his too good skill in Perſons, made him judge the worſe of Things: for it was his Misfortune, to be in a time wherein very few Wiſe men were equally employ'd with him; and ſcarce any (but the Lord *Coventry*, whoſe Truſt was more confined) whoſe Faculties and Abilities were equal to His: So that upon the matter he relied wholely upon Himſelf; and diſcerning many Defects in moſt men, he too much neglected what they ſaid or did. Of all his Paſſions, his Pride was moſt predominant: which a moderate exerciſe of Ill Fortune might have corrected and reform'd; and which was by the hand of Heaven ſtrangely Puniſh'd, by bringing his Deſtruction upon him by Two things that he moſt deſpiſed, the People and Sr *Harry Vane*. In a word, the Epitaph which *Plutarch* records that *Sylla* wrote for himſelf, may not be unfitly applied to him, "That no man did ever exceed "him, either in doing Good to his Friends, or in doing Miſchief to his "Enemies; for his acts of both kinds were moſt notorious.

At the ſame time with the Bill of Attainder paſs'd the Act for the continuing this Parliament.

TOGETHER with that of Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*, another Bill was Paſs'd by the King, of allmoſt as Fatal a Conſequence both to the King and Kingdom, as that was to the Earl, "the Act for the Perpetual Parliament; as it is ſince call'd.

The Arts by which that Act was obtain'd.

THE vaſt Charge of the two Armies, was no other way ſupplied (for I have told you before the reaſon why they were ſo ſlow in granting of Subſidies) than by borrowing great Sums of money from the City or Citizens of *London*, upon the Credit of Particular perſons. The Emiſſaries in that Negotiation, about the time the Act of Attainder paſs'd the Commons, return'd, "That there was no more hope of Borrowing "in the City; that men had Before chearfully lent their Eſtates, upon "their confidence in the Honour and Juſtice of the two Houſes; but "they had Now conſider'd, how deſperate that Security muſt prove, if "the two Houſes ſhould be Diſſolv'd. Which conſideration, begun to have an univerſal Influence upon all Thoſe who were Perſonally Bound for

for moneys already borrow'd; "for that Their Perſons and Fortunes "muſt anſwer thoſe Sums which had been paid for the Publick be- "nefit, if the Parliament ſhould be Diſſolv'd before any Act paſs'd for "their Security. That their Fears and Apprehenſions that this might "happen, were much advanced by the late diſcovery of the Plot againſt "the Parliament; for though the particulars thereof were not yet pub- "liſh'd, they diſcern'd there was not that good meaning to the Parlia- "ment, as it deſerv'd. This was no ſooner offer'd, than the Reaſonable- neſs of the objection was enforc'd; and the Neceſſity of finding ſome Expedient "to Satisfy the People of the gracious Intention and Reſolu- "tions of the King; which were moſt unqueſtionable (for in all thoſe articles of time, when They were to demand ſome unreaſonable thing from him, they ſpared no dutiful mention of the Piety and Goodneſs of his own Princely nature; or large promiſes what demonſtrations of Duty they would ſhortly make to him) No way could be thought of ſo ſure, as an Act of Parliament, "that This Parliament ſhould not be Ad- "journ'd, Prorogued, or Diſſolv'd, but by Act of Parliament; which, "upon this occaſion, his Majeſty would never deny to Paſs.

IT is not credible, what an univerſal reception and concurrence this Motion met with (which was to remove the Landmarks, and to de- ſtroy the Foundation of the Kingdom) inſomuch, as a Committee was immediately appointed to withdraw, and to prepare a ſhort Bill to that purpoſe; which was within a ſhort time (leſs than an Hour) brought into the Houſe, and immediately Twice read, and Committed; an ex- pedition ſcarce ever heard of before in Parliament; and the next day, with as little agitation, and the contradiction of very few voices, In- groſs'd, and carried up to the Lords: with them it had ſome Debate, and Amendments, which were deliver'd at a Conference, the principal whereof was, that the time ſhould be limited and not left indefinite, "and that it ſhould not be Diſſolv'd within two years, except by con- "ſent of Both Houſes; that time being ſufficient to provide againſt any accidents that were then apprehended.

THESE Alterations were highly reſented in the Houſe of Commons, as argument of Jealouſy between the King and the Parliament, "that "it ſhould be imaginable the Members of both Houſes, who reſided from "their houſes and conveniences at great charge for the ſervice of the "Publick, would deſire to continue longer together than the neceſſity "of that Service ſhould require; without conſidering, that it was more "unlikely that the King (who had condeſcended ſo far to them, and had "yet intruth receiv'd no fruit from their meeting) would Diſſolve them, "as long as they intended that for which they were ſummon'd toge- "ther, and contain'd themſelves within the bounds of Duty and Mo- "deration.

BUT the Commons ſtoutly inſiſted on their own Bill; and the Lords, in that hurry of Noiſe and Confuſion, when the meetings of the Peo- ple were ſo frequent, kindly Conſented likewiſe to it: and ſo, by the importunity, and upon the undertaking of perſons He then moſt truſted, in the agony of the other diſpatch, the King was induced to include that Bill in the Commiſſion with the Act of Attainder, and they were Both Paſs'd together.

AFTER the Paſſing theſe two Bills, the temper and ſpirit of the Peo- ple, both within and without the walls of the two Houſes, grew mar- vellous calm and compoſed; there being likewiſe, about that time, Paſs'd

by the King, the two Bills, for the taking away the Star-chamber Court, and the High Commiſſion: So that there was not a Grievance or Inconvenience, Real or Imaginary, to which there was not a through Remedy applied; and therefore all men expected, that both Armies would be ſpeedily Disbanded; and ſuch returns of Duty and Acknowledgment be made to the King, as might be agreeable to Their profeſſions, and to the Royal Favours he had vouchſafed to his People.

BUT what proviſions ſo ever were made for the Publick, Particular perſons had receiv'd no ſatisfaction. The Death of the Earl of *Bedford*; and the high Proceedings in all thoſe caſes in which the King was moſt concern'd; left all Thoſe who expected Offices and Preferments, deſperate in their hopes: And yet an Accident happen'd, that might have been look'd upon as an Earneſt or Inſtance of ſome encouragement that way.

BESIDES the Lord *Say*'s being inveſted in the Maſterſhip of the Wards, in the place of the Lord *Cottington* (who was every day threatned, upon the Secretary's Paper of Reſults, to be accuſed of High Treaſon, till, like a wiſe man, he retired from the Offices which begot his trouble; and for a long time after, till he again embark'd himſelf in Publick employments, enjoy'd himſelf without the leaſt diſturbance) At a Committee in the Houſe of Lords, in the Afternoon, in ſome Debate, Paſſion aroſe between the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the Lord *Mowbray*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Arundel*; and from angry and diſdainful Words, an offer or attempt of Blows was made; for which miſdemeanour, they were the next day Both ſent to the Tower by the Houſe of Lords. The King taking advantage of this miſcarriage; and having been long incenſed, by the Paſſionate, Indiſcreet, and Inſolent carriage of the Earl, ſent to him, by a Gentleman Uſher, for his Staff; and within two or three days after, beſtow'd it upon the Earl of *Eſſex*: who, without any heſitation, took it.

The King takes the Staff of Lord Chamberlain from the Earl of Pembroke *and gives it to the Earl of* Eſſex.

IT was thought this extraordinary grace to the moſt Popular perſon of the Kingdom, would have had a notable Influence upon the whole Party, which made Him believe it depended very much on Him: But it was ſo far from having That effect, as they look'd upon that favour, rather as a mark of Puniſhment and Revenge upon the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his affection to Them, and for giving his Suffrage againſt the Earl of *Strafford* (which he had often profeſs'd to the King he could never in Conſcience do) than of Eſteem and Kindneſs to the Earl of *Eſſex*; and ſo they were intruth more offended and incenſed with the Diſgrace and Diſobligation to the One, than they were pleaſed with the Preferment of the Other: therefore whatever concern'd the King in Right; or what he might naturally expect from the compliance and affection of the Houſe; or what was any way recommended by his Majeſty to them, found little or no Reſpect.

The truth of the caſe of Tonnage and Poundage.

HIS Revenue was ſo far from being advanced (as had been glorioufly promiſed) that it was, both in dignity and value, much leſſen'd from what it was: For ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, great Complaint had been made, "that Tonnage and Poundage (which is the duty and ſubſidy paid by the Merchant upon Trade) "had been taken "by the King without conſent of Parliament; the caſe whereof intruth is this: This Duty had been conſtantly given to the Succeeding King, ever ſince the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, for his Life, in the Firſt Parliament they held after their coming to the Crown: Before that time, it had been granted for Years; and was originally intended for the

ſupport

ſupport of the Navy, whereby the Merchant might be freed from danger of Pirates; and upon the death of every King ſince that time, his Succeſſor commonly receiv'd it, without the leaſt interruption, till the next Parliament; in the beginning whereof it was allways without ſcruple granted: So that, though it was, and muſt allways be acknowledg'd as the free gift of the People (as all other Subſidies are) yet it was look'd upon as ſo Eſſential a part of the Revenue of the Crown, that it could not be without it: and as the King is not leſs King Before his Coronation than he is After, ſo this Duty had been ſtill enjoy'd as freely Before, as it was After an Act of Parliament to that purpoſe; neither had there been ever any Exception taken in Parliament (which ſometimes was not in a year after the death of the former King) that the Crown had continued the receipt of it; which it did, till the time of a new Grant.

THUS, after the death of King *James*, his Majeſty receiv'd it, till the Firſt Parliament was Summon'd; and, That and Two more being unfortunately Diſſolv'd (as was ſaid before) in which his Miniſters were not ſollicitous enough for the paſſing that Act for Tonnage and Poundage, continued the receipt of it till this preſent Parliament; Then (that is, many weeks after the beginning of it) it was directed, "that a Bill "ſhould be ſpeedily prepared for the granting it, as had been uſual, leſt "the Crown might, by ſo long enjoying, in a manner preſcribe to it of "Right, without the donation of the People; which the King allways diſclaim'd to do. Shortly after (no man preſuming to intimate, that it ſhould be granted in any other manner than of courſe it had been) it was alledg'd, "that the Bill could not be ſo ſpeedily prepared as were to be "wiſh'd, by reaſon that there were many juſt Exceptions made by the "Merchants to the Book of Rates, which had been lately made by "the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, in the time and by the direction of the "Earl of *Portland* (Circumſtances that carried Prejudice enough to whatſoever they were applied) and therefore it was propoſed, for the preſent, as the beſt expedient to continue his Majeſty's Supply, and to preſerve the Right of giving in the People, "that a Temporary Bill "ſhould paſs, for the granting the ſame to his Majeſty for two Months "only, in which time a new Book of Rates ſhould be made, more ad-"vantagious to his Majeſty in point of profit (which was allways profeſs'd) "and then a Compleat Act might paſs.

TO this purpoſe a Bill was accordingly brought in, the Preamble whereof "renounced and declared, againſt not only any Power in the "Crown of levying the Duty of Tonnage and Poundage, without the "expreſs conſent of Parliament, but alſo any power of Impoſition upon "any Merchandizes whatſoever, and in any caſe whatſoever; which had been conſtantly practiſed in the beſt times by the Crown; had the countenance of a ſolemn judgment in the Exchequer-Chamber; and though often agitated in Parliament, had never been Yet declared againſt: Yet This quietly paſs'd Both Houſes, as a thing not worth conſidering. And ſo in expectation and confidence, that they would make glorious Additions to the State and Revenue of the Crown, his Majeſty ſuffer'd himſelf to be Stripp'd of All that he had left; and of the ſole ſtock of Credit he had to Borrow moneys upon: for though intruth, men knew That Revenue was not Legally veſted in the King till an Act of Parliament, yet all men look'd upon it as unqueſtionable to Paſs; and ſo it was not only a competent proportion for the preſent ſupport of his Houſe,

but

but was underſtood a good Security for any ordinary Sum of money upon advance, as Forty or Fifty thouſand pound, upon any emergent occaſion.

The mention of the former Plot between the Court and the Army revived in the Houſe of Commons.

ALL good men diſcern'd this groſs uſage, and the Diſadvantage impoſed upon his Majeſty by this mutation; and therefore expected a full Reparation, by ſuch an Act for Life as had been uſual; and ſuch an Improvement of the Book of Rates as had been promiſed, as ſoon as the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford* was over: which had been allways objected, as neceſſary to precede all other conſultations. But This was no ſooner moved, "as Seaſonable in order to Their Own profeſſions, and "in a degree Due to the King, after ſo many reiterated expreſſions of "Favour and Affection to his People, by ſo many excellent Laws, and "other Condeſcenſions; Than They objected, "the Odiouſneſs of the "late Plot againſt the Parliament, which was not yet fully diſcover'd: "That notwithſtanding thoſe gracious demonſtrations of Favour from "the King, in the Laws and other acts mention'd, They had great cauſe "to apprehend, ſome Ill affected perſons had ſtill an Influence upon his "Majeſty, to the Diſſervice of the Parliament, and to beget Jealouſies "in Him towards them; for that they had plainly diſcover'd (which "they ſhould in a ſhort time be able to preſent fully to the Houſe) that "there had been a Deſign, not only to Poyſon the Affections of the "Army towards the Parliament, by making them believe that They "were neglected, and the *Scots* preferr'd much before them; but to bring "up that Army to *London*, with a purpoſe to Aw the Parliament: "That there was a reſolution to Seize the Tower, and to make it a Curb "upon the City: That there had been an attempt to prevail with the "Officers of the *Scotiſh* Army, at leaſt to Sit ſtill as Neuters, whilſt the "Others acted this Tragedy: That the Confederates in this deſign had "taken an Oath, to Oppoſe any courſe that ſhould be adviſed for the Re-"moving the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers; to Preſerve and De-"fend the King's Prerogative, to the utmoſt extent that any of his Pro-"genitors had enjoy'd; and to Settle his Majeſty's Revenue: That They "had reaſon to fear, his Majeſty's own Concurrence, at leaſt his Ap-"probation, in this deſign (which, if not prevented, muſt have proved ſo "Pernicious and Fatal to the Kingdom) for that, beſides that the Per-"ſons principally engaged in it, were of the neareſt Truſt about the King "and Queen; They had clear Proof, that a Paper had paſs'd his Maje-"ſty's peruſal, in which were contain'd, many ſharp Invectives againſt "the Parliament; a deſire that they might have the exerciſe of Martial "Law (the mention whereof, was the moſt Unpopular and Odious thing that could be imagin'd) "and an offer of Service to Defend his Maje-"ſty's perſon, which was an implication as if it had been in Danger: and "that this Paper ſhould have been Sign'd by All the Officers of the Ar-"my; for their better encouragement wherein, the King himſelf had "written a *C.* and an *R.* as a teſtimony that He approved of it.

THIS Diſcourſe, ſo Methodically and Confidently averr'd, made a ſtrange Impreſſion (without reſerving themſelves till the Evidence ſhould be produced) in the minds of moſt men; who believ'd, that ſuch Particulars could never have been with that Solemnity inform'd, if the Proofs were not very clear; and ſerv'd, not only to Blaſt whatſoever was moved on his Majeſty's behalf, but to Diſcountenance, what, till then, had been the moſt Popular motion that could be made, which was, the Disbanding both Armies, and the *Scots* return into their own Country.

For

For the better accompliſhment whereof, and as a teſtimony of their Brotherly affections, the two Houſes, had frankly and bountifully undertaken, "to give them a Gratuity of three hundred thouſand pounds, "over and above the twenty five thouſand pounds the month, during "the time that their ſtay here ſhould be neceſſary. 300000l. *voted to the Scots for a Gratuity, beſides their Monthly allowance.*

AFTER that act, the King might have been reaſonably awaked, from any extraordinary confidence in the Loyalty, Honour, or Juſtice, of Both Houſes. And without doubt, when Poſterity ſhall recover the Courage, and Conſcience, and the old Honour, of the *Engliſh* Nation, it will not with more Indignation and Bluſhes contemplate any action of this Seditious and Rebellious age, than that the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who were not guilty of the Treaſon, ſhould recompenſe an Invaſion from a Forreign Nation, with whatever Eſtabliſhments They propoſed in their own Kingdom, and with a Donative of Three Hundred Thouſand pounds, over and above all Charges, out of the bowels of *England*; which will yet appear the more prodigious, when it ſhall be conſider'd, that not a Fifth part of thoſe who were Acceſſaries to that Infamous Prodigality, were either Favourers of Their Ends, or great Well-wiſhers to their Nation.

BUT very Many gave themſelves leave, Unfaithfully, to be Abſent from thoſe Debates, when the Wealth and Honour of their Country was to be tranſplanted into a ſtrange Land; Others look'd upon it as a good Purchaſe, to be Freed of the payment of Fourſcore thouſand pounds the month (which was the charge of Both Armies) by an entire Sum of three hundred thouſand pounds; and Some pleaſed themſelves with an aſſurance, that the Scandal, and Unreaſonableneſs of the Sum, would provoke the People to a Hatred and Revenge, and ſo that the Brotherhood would not be Supported, but Deſtroy'd by that extravagant Bounty: Yet theſe were only ſhort Ejaculations to Pleaſe themſelves for the time; for many of thoſe, who had no other reaſon to conſent to that vaſt Sum but that they might be rid of them, were ſo inflamed and tranſported with the Tale of the Plot, that they had Then no mind to let them go; and had ſo far ſwallow'd and digeſted an aſſurance that it was True, that they reſerv'd no Diſtinguiſhing or Judging faculties for the time when the Evidence and Proof ſhould be preſented to them.

AFTER they had play'd with this Plot, and given the Houſe heats and colds, by applying Parts of it to them upon emergent occaſions, for the ſpace of near three months; and finding, that though it did them many notable Services, in advancing Their Own Reputations, and Calumniating the King's Honour, yet, that it had not a Through Effect at Court for their Preferment; They reſolv'd to ſhew All their Ware, and to produce the Whole Evidence: for the perfecting whereof, they had "a late mark of God's great favour towards them, in his furniſhing "them with Evidence for the compleat Diſcovery of the whole miſ-"chief, from one that was a principal Contriver of it.

WE ſaid before, "that upon the firſt motion in the Houſe of Com-"mons, by Mr *Pym*, for a Committee of Examination, and for an Ad-"dreſs to the King, that he would grant no Paſſes to any of his Servants "to go beyond Seas, ſome Perſons, of near relation to his Truſt, im-"mediately abſented themſelves; which were Mr *Peircy*, and Mr *Jermyn*: now the latter of theſe, without interruption, tranſported himſelf into *France*; but Mr *Peircy*, delaying his journey upon ſome occaſions

of his own, and concealing himſelf in ſome obſcure places in *Suſſex*, near to his Brother's houſe, was at laſt diſcover'd; and when he endeavour'd to have eſcaped, was ſet upon by the Country people, and with great difficulty, and not without ſome hurt, got from them, and was not in ſome months again heard of.

IT was generally believ'd afterwards, that finding the Sea-Ports ſhut, and Watches ſet for his apprehenſion in all thoſe places, whereby the Tranſporting himſelf into Forreign Parts was very difficult, he found means to return to *London*, and to put himſelf into his Brother's Protection; where it is thought he was harbour'd, till his hurt was cured; the ſtrictneſs of the enquiry, over; and, till he had prepared that Letter to his Brother, the Earl of *Northumberland*, which ſerv'd, as far as in Him lay, to deſtroy all his Companions, and furniſh'd the Committee, with that which They call'd "a Double Evidence: for They had no ſooner receiv'd that Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland*, than they told the Houſe, "They were Now Ready for a compleat Diſcovery; and thereupon, produced the Evidence of Colonel *Goring*, and the Letter from Mr *Peircy*; both which agreed upon the relation, "of a meeting at "Mr *Peircy*'s Chamber; and of a diſcourſe of the Parliament's Neglect "of the King's, and Favouring the *Scotiſh* Army; the taking an Oath "of Secrecy; and ſome other particulars: all which had been poſitively Denied, by thoſe of them that were Members of the Houſe of Commons, Mr *Wilmot*, M^r *Aſhburnham*, and Mr *Pollard*, upon their Examinations upon Oath.

IT will hardly be believ'd hereafter (but that the Effects of ſuch Impoſtures have left ſuch deep Marks) that the Evidence Then given, could, in ſo Grave and Judging an Aſſembly, as a High Court of Parliament, till then, had allways been, have brought the leaſt Prejudice upon the King; or indeed, Damage to any perſon accuſed: there being, in all the Teſtimonies produced, ſo little ſhew of Proof, of a Real Deſign, or Plot, to bring up the Army (which was the chief matter alledg'd) to Aw the Parliament, that intruth it was very evident, there was No Plot at all; Only a Free Communication between perſons (the major part whereof were of the Houſe) "of the Ill Arts that were generally uſed to "Corrupt the Affections of the People; and of ſome Expedient, where "by, in that ſo publick Infection, the Army (in which they had all conſiderable Commands, two of them being General Officers) "might be "preſerv'd from being wrought upon and corrupted: in which diſcourſe, Colonel *Goring* himſelf, as appear'd by his own Examination, only propoſed wild and extravagant overtures, "of bringing up the Army, and "ſurprizing the Tower; which was, by all the reſt, with manifeſt diſ-"like, rejected: That all this had paſs'd at one meeting, in which, They "who met were ſo ill ſatisfied in one another, that they never would "come together again: That when the bringing up the Army to *Lon-*"*don* was once talk'd of before the King, his Majeſty would not hear of "it, but only deſired, That, their Affections might be kept entire for "his Service, as far as was conſiſtent with the Laws of the Land, which "were in danger to be invaded.

YET, notwithſtanding that all this appear'd; and that this was all that did appear (beſides a Diſcourſe of a Petition; for the Petition it ſelf they would not produce, ſign'd with *C. R.* which is before ſet down in terms): the Specious, Poſitive Narration of the whole, by Mr *Pym*, before the Evidence was read; the Denying, what was Now proved, and con-

confeſs'd by themſelves, by Mr *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Pollard*, upon the Former Examination; the Flight of Mr *Jermyn*, and Mr *Peircy*, and ſome others; the mention of ſome clauſes in the Petition ſign'd with *C. R*; and ſome envious, dark glances, both in Mr *Goring*'s Examination, and Mr *Peircy*'s Letter, at the King and Queen, as if They knew more than was expreſs'd; So tranſported the Hearers (who made themſelves Judges too) that taking all that was Said, to be Proved, They quickly voted, "That there was a deſign to bring up the Army to Force "the Parliament; reſolv'd to accuſe Mr *Jermyn* and Mr *Peircy* of "High Treaſon; committed the Three Members of the Houſe of Commons to ſeveral Priſons, and put them from being Members, that in their rooms they might bring in Three more fit for their Service, as they ſhortly did; gave Colonel *Goring* Publick Thanks, "for Preſerving "the Kingdom, and the Liberties of Parliament; and fill'd the People with Jealouſy for their Security, and with univerſal Acclamations of Their great Wiſdom and Vigilancy. So that this Plot ſerv'd, to produce their Firſt Proteſtation; to inflame the People againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and in a degree to compaſs Their Ends upon that great Perſon, as hath been before obſerv'd; to procure the Bill for the Continuance of This Parliament, the Foundation, or the Fountain, of all the Publick Calamities; to hinder and croſs all overtures made for the Revenue of the King, and to leſſen the general Reverence and Duty to Both their Majeſties; to continue the *Scotiſh* Army within the Kingdom, and conſequently, to hinder the King's from being Disbanded; to incenſe both Houſes againſt the Biſhops, as if the deſign had been principally for Their protection (there being one Witneſs who ſaid, "he had been "told, that the Clergy would Raiſe and Pay one thouſand Horſe, to be "employ'd againſt the Parliament) to blaſt the reputation of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe zeal to his Majeſty's Service was moſt remarkable, as if He had been to have Commanded the Army; and laſtly, to advance Their own Credit and Eſtimation with the People, as if They were the only Patriots, that intended the Preſervation of Religion, Law, and Liberty.

AND having made this uſe of it (which is a ſufficient argument what opinion they had of Their Own evidence) They never Proceeded againſt any of the Perſons who were in their power, though they patiently attended and importuned a Trial above a year after their accuſation: for They well knew, there muſt be Then a more Exact and Strict weighing of the Proofs; and that the Perſons accuſed, would not only Vindicate Themſelves from the aſperſions which were laid upon them, but could Recriminate upon the principal Proſecutors with ſuch charges, as they would not ſo eaſily be freed from; and this was the reaſon, that, even during the heat and noiſe of the Accuſation, They receiv'd very civil offices, viſits, and addreſſes, from the Chief of Thoſe who were truſted with the Proſecution.

THE ſending that Letter of Mr *Peircy*'s to the Houſe of Commons; or rather, the procuring that Letter to be writ (in which, ſuch Inſinuations were made, to the Prejudice of the King and Queen) was the firſt viſible inſtance of the Defection of the Earl of *Northumberland* from his Majeſty's Service; which wrought ſeveral Ill Effects in the minds of many: For, as the Earl then had the moſt Eſteem'd and Unblemiſh'd Reputation, in Court and Country, of any perſon of his rank throughout the Kingdom; So They who knew him well, diſcern'd,

that the greatneſs of that Reputation, was but an effect of the ſingular Grace and Favour ſhew'd to him by his Majeſty; who, immediately upon the death of his Father, had taken this Earl (being then leſs than Thirty years of age) into His immediate and eminent care; firſt made him a Privy-Counſellor; then Knight of the Order of the Garter; then (that he might fit him by degrees for the greateſt Truſt and Employments) ſent him Admiral into the Narrow Seas, of a Royal Navy; and after a Summer ſpent in that exerciſe, made him Lord high Admiral of *England*; and to the very minute of which we ſpeak, proſecuted him with all manner and demonſtration of Reſpect and Kindneſs; and (as I heard his Majeſty himſelf ſay) "courted him as his "Miſtreſs, and converſed with him as his Friend, without the leaſt "interruption or intermiſſion of any poſſible favour and kindneſs. And therefore many, who obſerv'd this great Earl purchaſe this opportunity of Diſſerving the King, at the price of his Brother's honour, and of his Own gratitude, concluded, that he had ſome notable temptation in Conſcience, and that the Court was much Worſe than it was believ'd to be.

THE truth is, that after his Brother's being accuſed of High Treaſon; and then, upon his hurt in *Suſſex*, coming directly to *Northumberland*-Houſe to ſhelter himſelf; the Earl being in great trouble how to ſend him away beyond the Seas after his wound was cured, adviſed with a confident Friend then in Power, whoſe affection to him he doubted not, and who, innocently enough, brought Mr *Pym* into the Council, who over-witted them Both, by frankly conſenting, "that "Mr *Peircy* ſhould eſcape into *France*, which was all the care the Earl had; but then obliged him, "Firſt to draw ſuch a Letter from "him, as might by the Party be applied as an Evidence of the rea-"lity of the Plot, after he was eſcaped; and in this manner the Letter was procured; which made a laſting Quarrel between the two Brothers; and made the Earl more at the Diſpoſal of Thoſe perſons whom he had truſted ſo far, than he had been before.

AFTER the Act for the Continuance of the Parliament, the Houſe of Commons took much more upon them, in point of their Priviledges, than they had done; and more undervalued the concurrence of the Peers; though that Act, neither Added any thing to, nor Extended their Juriſdiction: which Juriſdiction, the Wiſdom of Former times kept from being Limited or Defined; there being Then no danger of Exceſs; and it being much more agreeable to the nature of the Supream Court to have an Unlimited Juriſdiction. But Now, that they could not be Diſſolv'd without Their Own conſent (the Apprehenſion and Fear whereof, had allways Before kept them within ſome bounds of Modeſty) they call'd any Power they pleaſed to aſſume to Themſelves, "a Branch of their Priviledge; and any Oppoſing or Queſtioning that Power, "a Breach of their Priviledges: which all men were bound to Defend by Their late Proteſtation; and They were the Only Proper Judges of Their Own Priviledges.

HEREUPON, They call'd whom they pleaſed, *Delinquents*; receiv'd Complaints of all kinds; and committed to Priſon whom they pleaſed: which had been never done, nor attempted, before This Parliament; except in ſome ſuch apparent Breach, as the Arreſting a Priviledg'd perſon, or the like. And, as if Theirs had ſwallow'd up all other Priviledges, of Peers, and the King himſelf, upon the Lords rejecting a

Bill

Bill ſent up to them, "to compell all perſons (without diſtinction of Quality; and without diſtinction of Puniſhment or Proceeding, upon their refuſal) "to take the late Proteſtation; and two Lords of great credit (the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Lord *Roberts*) having refuſed to take the ſame; the Houſe of Commons in great Fury, and with many expreſſions of Contempt, by a Vote declared, "that the "Proteſtation made by Them, was fit to be taken by every perſon "that was well affected in Religion, and to the good of the Common-"wealth; and therefore, that what perſon ſoever ſhould not take the "Proteſtation, was unfit to bear Office in the Church or Common-wealth; and directed farther, "that that Vote ſhould be Printed, and "that the Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould ſend down Copies of it, to the "ſeveral Places for which they ſerv'd: which was the moſt unparallel'd Breach of Priviledge; and the higheſt and moſt inſolent Affront, to the Lords, to the King, and to the Juſtice of the Kingdom; and the moſt Deſtructive to Parliaments, that any Age had been guilty of. And yet, when ſome of the Peers nobly reſented it, on the behalf of the Peerage and the Liberty of the Subject, and preſs'd reſolutely for Reparation, means was found out, to engage the King to interpoſe his Royal mediation with thoſe Lords, to the end, they might quietly paſs by that publick Violation and Indignity, without further inſiſting on it.

ALL this time the two Armies were continued at a vaſt Charge, many men whiſpering (but ſo that it might be ſpoken of) "that the "*Scots* would not retire, till the Bill againſt Epiſcopacy was paſs'd: Whereupon, the King ſent them word, about the beginning of *July*, "that he deſired all ſpeed might be uſed for the Disbanding both Ar-"mies; for the better, and more orderly doing whereof, he had con-"ſtituted the Earl of *Holland* General of his Army (the Earl of *Northumberland*, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition in health, or ſome other reaſon, having laid down his Commiſſion) "and intended forth-"with to ſend him down thither: That his Majeſty himſelf, accord-"ing to a former Reſolution, and Promiſe made to his Subjects of "*Scotland*, meant to viſit that his native Kingdom, for the better per-"fecting the Peace there; and appointed the day (about fourteen days "after) he reſolv'd to begin his Progreſs; and therefore wiſh'd them, "againſt that time, to Prepare and Finiſh any ſuch Acts, as they de-"ſired might receive his Majeſty's Approbation, for the good of the "Kingdom, if there yet remain'd any thing to be ask'd of him. Notwithſtanding which meſſage, they ſpent moſt of their time upon the Bill for extirpation of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters; without either finiſhing the Act of Pacification between the two Nations, or giving order for the Disbanding the Army.

IT was wonder'd at by many, and ſure was a great Misfortune to the King, that he choſe not rather, at that time (though the buſineſs was only to Disband) to conſtitute the Earl of *Eſſex* General of his Army, than the Earl of *Holland*; for (beſides that it would have been an act of much more grace and ſatisfaction to the People, and to the Soldiery) his Majeſty having lately given him ſo great an earneſt of his truſt, as the making him Chamberlain of his Houſe, he ought in Policy to have purſued that work, by any ſeaſonable accumulation of Favour, till he had made him his perfect Creature; which had been very eaſy, if skilfully attempted: for his Pride and Ambition, which

were not accompanied with any habit of Ill Nature, were very capable of Obligations; and he had a Faithfulneſs and Conſtancy in his nature, which had kept him allways Religious in matter of truſt; Then, he was allmoſt a declared Enemy to the *Scotiſh* Nation; and would have been very Punctual in all Formalities and Decencies, which had any relation to his Maſter's Honour, or the Honour of the Nation. In a word, he might have been Impoſed upon in his underſtanding, but could not have been Corrupted, by hopes or fears of what the two Houſes could have done to him; and was then more the Idol of the People, than intruth the Idolater of them.

WHEREAS, by making the Earl of *Holland* General, his Majeſty much Diſobliged the Other, who expected it, and to whom it had been in a manner offer'd; and made him apprehend ſome Diſtruſt in the King towards him; and that his former Favour in his Office had been conferr'd on him, rather becauſe no man elſe had been able to bear the Envy of Diſplacing the Earl of *Pembroke*, than that his Own Merit and Service was valued. Beſides, the Earl of *Holland*, upon whom he conferr'd that Honour, had formerly diſappointed him, and often incurr'd his diſpleaſure; and wore ſome marks of it; and was of no other Intereſt or Reputation with the Party which could do miſchief, than as a perſon Obnoxious to them, in the miſexecuting his great and terrible Office of Chief Juſtice in Eyre, by which he had vex'd and oppreſs'd moſt Counties in *England*, and the moſt Conſiderable perſons in thoſe Counties; and in other particulars; that they knew he durſt not offend them, and would purchaſe Their protection and good opinion at any price: As it fell out; for within few days after the King was gone through that Army, in his way to *Scotland*, the Earl wrote a Letter, which was communicated to both Houſes, in which he myſtically expreſs'd "ſome new Deſign to have been ſet on foot for Corrupting "the Army; for which there was never after the leaſt colour given; but ſerv'd them, to heighten the old Jealouſies, and to beſpeak a Miſunderſtanding, for whatſoever ſhould be propoſed on his Majeſty's behalf during his abſence.

MEN now believ'd, that they would be very forward in Diſmiſſing the *Scotiſh* Army, and Disbanding the other, which coſt the Kingdom ſo vaſt a Sum of money every month; and they had already voted a Brotherly aſſiſtance to the *Scots* of three hundred thouſand pounds, for the Service They had perform'd; and an Act was already prepared for the raiſing the Sum: but They had yet no mind to part with their Beloved Brethren.

THE Commiſſioners who treated with the *Scots*, had agreed, "that "the King ſhould be preſent in his Parliament in *Edenborough*, by "ſuch a day in *July*, to Paſs the Act for Pacification between the two "Kingdoms, and ſuch other Acts as his Parliament there ſhould pro-"poſe to him; and his Majeſty prepared to begin his Progreſs, ſoon enough to be in *Scotland* by the time; and they reſolv'd on all ſides, "that the one Army ſhould be drawn out of the Kingdom, and the "other totally Disbanded, before the King ſhould arrive in the Northern "parts, for many reaſons. As They had loſt all confidence in the affections of the *Engliſh* Army, ſo there were many Jealouſies ariſen among the *Scots*; both in their Army, and amongſt their greateſt Counſellors: notwithſtanding all which, inſtead of making haſt to the Diſbanding, They publiſh'd much Jealouſy and Diſſatisfaction to remain

with

with them, of the Court; "There were ſome evil Counſellors ſtill about "the King, who obſtructed many gracious acts, which would otherwiſe "flow from his goodneſs and bounty towards his People; and made ill "impreſſions in him, of the Parliament it ſelf, and its prodeedings.

THEIR deſign was to remove the Duke of *Richmond* from the King; both becauſe they had a mind to have his Office of Warden of the Cinque-Ports from him, that it might be conferr'd on the Earl of *Warwick*; and as He was allmoſt the Only man of great Quality and Conſideration about the King, who did not in the leaſt degree ſtoop, or make court to them, but croſs'd them boldly in the Houſe; and all other ways purſued his Maſter's Service, with his utmoſt vigour and intentneſs of mind: They could not charge him with any thing like a Crime, and therefore only intended by ſome Vote to Brand him, and make him Odious; by which they preſumed, they ſhould at laſt make him willing to ranſom himſelf by quitting that Office: For which, there was ſome underhand treaty, by perſons who were ſollicitous to Prevent farther Inconveniences; and as they found any thing like to ſucceed in that, they ſlacken'd or advanced their diſcourſe of Evil Counſellors.

ONE day they were very warm upon the Argument, and had a purpoſe to have named Him directly, which they had hitherto forborn to do, when Mr *Hyde* ſtood up, and ſaid, "He did really believe that "there yet remain'd ſome Evil Counſellors, who did much harm about "the King; and that it would be much better to Name them, than to "Amuſe the Houſe ſo often with the general mention of them, as if "we were afraid to name them: He propoſed, "that there might be "a day appointed, on which, upon due reflections upon Thoſe who "had been moſt notorious in doing Miſchief to the Publick, we might "moſt probably find, Who they were who ſtood ſtill in the ſame paths, "and might Name them accordingly; and that for His part, if a day "were appointed for that diſcovery, He would be ready to name One, "who, by all the marks we could judge by, and by his former courſe "of life, might very reaſonably be believ'd to be an Evil Coun-"ſellor.

THEY were exceedingly apprehenſive that he meant the Marquis of *Hamilton* (who, for the reaſons aforeſaid, was very dear to them) that thenceforward, though they deſiſted not from proſecuting the Duke, till at laſt they had compell'd him to quit the Cinque-Ports to the Earl of *Warwick*, They no more urged the Diſcovery of Evil Counſellors. And all the Familiar Friends of Mr *Hyde*, were importuned to move him, "not to endeavour to do any Prejudice to the Mar-"quis of *Hamilton*; and even the King himſelf, was prevail'd with to ſend to him to that purpoſe: So Induſtrious was that People, to Preſerve Thoſe, whom for private ends they deſired to preſerve, as well as to Deſtroy Thoſe, who they deſired ſhould be deſtroy'd.

Sr Edward Deering's Bill for extirpating Epiſcopacy revived in the Houſe of Commons, and Committed.

WHEN every body expected that nothing ſhould be mention'd in the Houſe but the diſpatch of the Treaty of the Pacification, by the Commiſſioners of both ſides; which was the only obſtruction to the diſcharge of the Armies, and which could be done in two days if they purſued it: They call'd in a Morning, "for the Bill (that had ſo long before been brought in by Sr *Edward Deering*) "for the extirpation of "Epiſcopacy; and gave it a Second reading; and reſolv'd, "that it "ſhould be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, and that "it

"it ſhould be proceeded upon the next morning. Itwas a very long Debate the next morning, after the Speaker had left the Chair, Who ſhould be in the Chair for the Committee; They who wiſh'd well to the Bill, having reſolv'd "to put Mr *Hyde* into the Chair, that he might "not give them trouble by frequent Speaking, and ſo too much ob- "ſtruct the expediting the Bill; They who were againſt the Bill, preſs'd, and call'd loud, "to Mr *Crew* to be in the Chair: but in concluſion, Mr *Hyde* was commanded to the Chair; They who were Enemies to the Bill being divided in opinion, many believing, that he would obſtruct the Bill more in that place, than if he remain'd at liberty; and they found it to be true.

THE Firſt day the Committee ſate full ſeven hours, and determin'd "that every day, aſſoon as the Houſe was reſumed, the Chairman "ſhould report the ſeveral Votes of that day to the Houſe, which ſhould "determine them before it roſe; which was without any Precedent, and very Prejudicial to the grave tranſaction of the buſineſs: For, beſides that it was a Prejudging the Houſe in its judgement, who, upon Report of the Committee, ſhould have regard to the whole Bill in the Amendments made by them, which They were precluded from, by having confirm'd the ſeveral days Votes; It was ſo late every day before the Houſe was reſumed (the Speaker commonly leaving the Chair about nine of the Clock, and never reſuming it till Four in the Afternoon) that it was very thin; They only, who proſecuted the Bill with impatience, remaining in the Houſe, and the Others, who abhor'd it, growing weary of ſo tireſome an attendance, left the Houſe at Dinner time, and afterwards follow'd their Pleaſures: So that the Lord *Falkland* was wont to ſay, "that They who hated Biſhops, hated them "worſe than the Devil, and that They who lov'd them, did not love "them ſo well as their Dinner.

HOWEVER, the Chairman gave ſome ſtop to their haſt; For, beſides that at the end of his report every day to the Houſe, before the Houſe put the Queſtion for the concurrence in the Votes, He allways enlarged himſelf againſt every one of them, and ſo ſpent them much time; When They were in the heat and paſſion of the Debate, they oftentimes were entangled in their queſtions; ſo that when He reported to the Houſe the work of the day, he did frequently report two or three Votes directly contrary to each other, which, in the heat of their debate, they had unawares run into. And after near Twenty days ſpent in that manner, they found themſelves very little advanced towards a Concluſion, and that they muſt Review all that they had done; and the King being reſolv'd to begin his journey for *Scotland*, They were forced to diſcontinue their belov'd Bill, and let it reſt; Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* declaring in the Houſe, "That he would never hereafter put "an Enemy into the Chair: nor had they ever after the courage to reſume the conſideration of the Bill, till after the War was entred into.

The Bill laid aſide.

THE time being come, within two or three days (according to his former Declaration) for the King's Journey into *Scotland*, the Houſe of Commons thought it time to lay aſide their Diſputes upon the Church, which every day grew more involv'd, and to intend the perfecting the Act of Pacification, and the Order for Disbanding; both which were thought neceſſary to be diſpatch'd, before his Majeſty ſhould begin his Progreſs; and might have been long ſince done. On a ſud-

dain,

dain, the Houſe of Commons grew into a perplex'd Debate, concerning the King's Journey into *Scotland* (which had been long before known, and ſolemnly promiſed by his Majeſty to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*; where preparation was made for his reception, and the Parliament ſummon'd there accordingly) and expreſs'd many dark and doubtful apprehenſions of his Safety; not without ſome glances, "that if "his Majeſty were once with his Army, he might poſſibly enter upon "new Counſels, before he conſented to Disband it; and in the end concluded, "to deſire the Lords to join with them, in a Requeſt to "the King, to defer his journey into *Scotland*, till the Act of Pacifica-"tion was paſs'd, the Armies disbanded, and till ſuch other Acts were "prepared, as ſhould be thought neceſſary for the good of the Kingdom; without mentioning any time, againſt which thoſe things ſhould be ready: which, though it was an unreaſonable requeſt, yet, moſt men having no mind the King ſhould go into *Scotland*, it was conſented to by Both Houſes; and thereupon, an Addreſs was made to his Majeſty to that purpoſe: who return'd his Anſwer, "that He was for-"ry, the Houſes having had ſo long notice of his intentions for that "Journey (which could not but appear very reaſonable to them) had "neglected to prepare all ſuch things, as were neceſſary to be diſpatch'd "by him before he went; That, though his preſence in *Scotland* was "depended upon, by ſuch a day, and the Diſappointment might beget "ſome Prejudice to him, yet, he was content to ſatisfy Their deſires "ſo far, as to defer his Journey for Fourteen days; within which time "they might make all things ready that were of importance, and be-"yond which time it would not be poſſible for him to make any "ſtay.

THIS time being gotten, They proceeded but ſlowly in the Directions for Disbanding (though the Earl of *Holland* was gone down to the Army) or in the Act of the Pacification; but continued their mention "of Fears and Jealouſies of the Peace of the Kingdom; of an In-"vaſion from Forreign parts; and an Inſurrection of the Papiſts in *Eng-"land*: againſt all which, they ſaid, there was not yet Sufficient Pro-"viſion, by the Laws and Conſtitution of the Kingdom. And therefore one day, Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* (who, as was ſaid before, was uſed by that Party, like the Dove out of the Ark, to try what Footing there was) preferr'd a Bill "for the Settling the Militia of the Kingdom, "both by Sea and Land, in Such perſons as They ſhould nominate; with all thoſe Powers and Juriſdictions, which have been Since granted to the Earl of *Eſſex*, or Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, by Land, or to the Earl of *Warwick*, by Sea. There were in the Bill no Names, but Blanks to receive them, when the matter ſhould be paſs'd; though men were aſſured, that the Earl of *Eſſex* was their Confident by Land, and the Earl of *Northumberland* by Sea: and yet the inclination to the Earl of *Warwick* would have begot ſome diſturbance, if the matter had come then to be preſs'd.

Sr Arthur Haſlerig preſſers a Bill for Settling the Militia.

WHEN the Title of this Bill was read, it gave ſo general an Offence to the Houſe, that it ſeem'd inclined to throw it out, without ſuffering it to be read; not without ſome Reproach to the perſon that brought it in, "as a matter of Sedition; till Mr *Saint-John*, the King's Solli-citor, roſe up, and ſpoke to it, and (having, intruth, Himſelf drawn the Bill) ſaid, "He thought That Paſſion and Diſlike very unſeaſona-"ble, Before the Bill was read; That it was the higheſt Priviledge of

The Solliciter Saint-John *ſeconds it.*

"every Member, that he might Propoſe any Law, or make any Mo-
"tion, which, in his Conſcience, he thought Advantagious for the King-
"dom, or the Place for which he ſerv'd. As for the Matter, which
"by the Title that Bill ſeem'd to comprehend, He was of opinion,
"that ſomewhat was neceſſary to be done in it; for He was ſure, that
"ſuch Power, as might be neceſſary for the Security of the Kingdom,
"over the Militia, was not yet by Law veſted in any perſon; or in
"the Crown it ſelf: That They had lately by their Votes Blaſted and
"Condemn'd the Power of Lords Lieutenants, and their Deputies, which
"had been long exerciſed, and ſubmitted to by the People; That, ſince
"that was determin'd, it was neceſſary to ſubſtitute Such in their room,
"as might be able to Suppreſs any Inſurrection, or Reſiſt any Invaſion:
"And therefore, that it was fit to hear the Bill read; and if any fitting
"expedient was propoſed in it to that purpoſe, to embrace it; other-
"wiſe, to think of a better. For the Nomination of Perſons, it would
"not be ſeaſonable to ſpeak of it, till the Power and Juriſdiction were
"firſt ſettled and conſtituted; and then, if it ſeem'd too great for any
"Subject, it might be devolv'd upon the Crown; which Yet was not
"ſufficiently poſſeſs'd of a Legal Power to the purpoſes aforeſaid.

The Bill read Once and no more.

UPON this Diſcourſe, by a perſon of the King's ſworn Council, the Bill was read; but with ſo univerſal a Diſlike, that it was never call'd upon the Second time, but ſlept, till long after the matter of it was digeſted in Ordinances.

THE peremptory day again drawing very near, for the King's journey into *Scotland*, and very little done towards the Publick, ſince the time they had prevail'd with his Majeſty to ſuſpend it, On a *Saturday*, in the Afternoon (the Progreſs being to begin on *Monday*) They again fell into violent Paſſion againſt the King's going into *Scotland*: the which they thought of ſo great importance to be hinder'd, that they reſolv'd (and prevail'd with the Lords to do the like) to Sit the next day, being *Sunday*; which had ſcarce ever before been known, ſince the firſt inſtitution of Parliaments; and which they thought fit to excuſe by a ſhort Declaration, that the People might not be thereby encouraged to Prophane the Sabbath.

WHEN they found the King conſtant to his former Reſolution, and that all They could alledge could prevail no farther with him, than, whereas he intended to go on *Monday* after dinner, to ſtay till *Tueſday* morning, They very earneſtly propoſed, "that He would leave a "Commiſſion with ſome Perſons, to Paſs ſuch Acts as ſhould be pre-"pared and paſs both Houſes in his abſence; and to make a *Cuſtos Regni*, "to ſupply the place of Government till his return: with many other Extravagances, which Themſelves underſtood not. But when they found that no ſuch Commiſſion could be Legally granted, to Conſent to any Acts that were not conſented to by Both Houſes at the date of the Commiſſion; and that both the Perſon and the Power of a *Cuſtos Regni*, would be duly weigh'd, and would take up much conſideration, if the King were willing to ſatisfy them; They were contented with a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex*, of Lievtenant-General on that ſide *Trent*: which his Majeſty having granted; and confirm'd the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms (which in great haſt was tranſacted in both Houſes, as if it had been only matter of Form) he took his journey from *London* towards *Scotland* toward the middle of *Auguſt*, leaving both Houſes ſitting at *Weſtminſter*.

The Act of Pacification being paſs'd, the King begins his journey towards Scotland.

THE

THE unexpected Paſſion and Importunity to hinder his Majeſty's journey into *Scotland*, was not well underſtood; and the leſs, for that the Governing Party was divided upon it: Some of them, with trouble equal to what they had at any time expreſs'd, inſiſting upon his not going; Others alledging, "that his Majeſty was ſo far engaged in it, that "he could not in honour recede from it: Whilſt the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who were often appeal'd and referr'd to in the Debate, anſwer'd ſo myſteriouſly, as argued rather a conveniency, and expectation of the Journey it ſelf, than any neceſſity in point of time. Neither was the ground of his Majeſty's ſo poſitive and unalterable reſolution of going thither, ſufficiently clear to Standers by; who thought he might have tranſacted the buſineſs of that Kingdom (where he could not reaſonably expect any great reverence to his Perſon) better at a diſtance; and that his Preſence might be more neceſſary in This.

BUT, as his Majeſty's impatiency to ſee both Armies disbanded, and this Kingdom freed from the Invaſion (both which he heartily deſired) and his deſire to refreſh himſelf, from the vexation which the Two Houſes, or One of them, or Some in one of them, daily gave him; hurried him to that Expedition, without well weighing and preparing how to comport himſelf through it: So no doubt, that oppoſition and inſtance againſt it (beſides the continued deſire they had to remove the King from any fix'd reſolution) was deſign'd partly, to procure an excuſe for the haſty paſſing the Bill of Pacification; which they had purpoſely retarded (foreſeeing there were many particulars in it, that if weigh'd, would never have been conſented to) till they might be ſo ſtraitned in time, that whoſoever objected againſt what was offer'd, might ſeem to hinder the Disbanding, and to neceſſitate the King's longer ſtay: but principally they hoped, that his Majeſty, rather than defer his Journey on which he was reſolv'd, would conſent to any unreaſonable qualifying Such perſons whom They ſhould name, with Power in his abſence: and moreover probably there was ſome real Jealouſy of the *Scots* at that time, and between the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners themſelves (as was conceiv'd by ſome) by reaſon of great addreſſes made to the King by the Earl of *Rothes*, the principal and governing perſon of that Nation, and ſome inſinuation of favour from his Majeſty to him; ſo that they did in earneſt deſire to put off that Journey, for fear of diſturbance There.

THE truth is, the King was well ſatisfied with the Promiſes made to him by that Earl; who deſired to live in this Court, and was to have been ſhortly made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and was in hope to marry a great and wealthy Lady: And it is certain, the King expected, by His help and intereſt, to have found ſuch a Party in *Scotland*, as would have been more tender of His honour than they after expreſs'd themſelves; and did allways impute the failing thereof to the abſence of that Earl, who being ſick at the King's going from *London*, within ſix weeks after died. But Others believ'd, He had been ſo far guilty of what had been done amiſs, that he would neither have been able, nor willing, to preſerve the foundation of that Power, which might hardly have forgotten by what means it had been oppreſs'd.

I MUST not omit here, the Disbanding another Army, about the ſame time; the Circumſtances whereof were very remarkable, and the cauſe of much Trouble that enſued. The King perceiving that he was not now like to have any uſe of the new Army in *Ireland*; at leaſt

The Iriſh Army Disbanded about this time.

not that uſe for which it was raiſed (which was, to have viſited *Scotland*) and finding often mention, enviouſly and maliciouſly, made of that Army, in the Houſe of Commons; and having from thence (by the advice of the Committee for *Ireland*) receiv'd ſome Addreſſes for that purpoſe; reſolv'd to Disband them: and to that end, ſignified his Pleaſure to the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, and to the Earl of *Ormond* his Lievtenant-General of that Army; directing withall (according to the laſt advice he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Strafford*) "that any Of-"ficers of the Army, ſhould have free leave to tranſport what men they "could get of that Army, for the ſervice of any Prince in amity with "this Crown: and ſhortly after, upon the earneſt deſire of *Don Alonſo de Cardenas*, Embaſſador from the King of *Spain*, his Majeſty conſented, that four thouſand Soldiers of that Army ſhould be tranſported for the ſervice of that King into *Flanders*; at the ſame time permitting as many as deſired the ſame, to be tranſported for the ſervice of the *French* King. This was no ſooner known, but the Houſe of Commons interpoſed, with their accuſtom'd confidence and diſtemper, "to be-"ſeech his Majeſty to revoke that Licence; and, by impertinent and ſlight reaſons, boldly urged and inſiſted on, as they did in every thing elſe, prevail'd with the King, "to inhibit the tranſporting any of thoſe "Soldiers out of that Kingdom, for the ſervice of any Prince what-"ſoever.

MANY were of opinion that this activity in a buſineſs of which They had not the leaſt connuſance, proceeded from the inſtigation of the Embaſſador of the *French* King; who was very converſant with the principal perſons of that Faction, and no doubt fomented thoſe humors out of which the Publick Calamities were bred; and ſome ſaid boldly, and one or two have ſince affirm'd it, as upon their knowledge, "that Mr *Pym* receiv'd five thouſand pound from that *French* Miniſter, "to hinder that Supply to *Spain*. Others believ'd, that it proceeded only from that proud and petulant ſpirit which poſſeſs'd them, to leſſen the reputation of the King; and to let the King of *Spain* and all other Princes ſee the Power They had, to oppoſe and croſs His reſolutions in the moſt pure acts of Soveraignty. But I believe, though there might be a mixture of Both the other reaſons, the principal motive that induced them to that Interpoſition, was the advice and deſire of the Committee from the Parliament of *Ireland*, whoſe counſel was entirely follow'd in Whatſoever concern'd that Kingdom; and who no doubt might have ſome Proſpect of the Rebellion that ſhortly after broke out, which could hardly have taken effect, if that Body of men had been removed out of the Kingdom, according to the King's direction. But of that more in its place.

ASSOON as the King begun his Journey for *Scotland*, all Orders, and what elſe was neceſſary, were diſpatch'd for the Disbanding; and a Reſolution taken, "to ſend a Committee of Lords and Commons to "attend his Majeſty (that is, to be a Spy upon him) in *Scotland*, and "to be preſent when the Act of Pacification ſhould be tranſacted in "that Parliament, and to preſerve the good Intercourſe and Correſpon-"dence which was begun between the two Nations: but intruth, to lay the Scene how the next Year ſhould be ſpent; and to beſpeak new Laws for This Kingdom, by the Copies of what ſhould be conſented to for That

IN this Errand, two Lords, and four of the Commons, were appointed

to

to go; but for the two Lords, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, ſerv'd the turn; who was ready to be govern'd, by Mr *Fiennes*, and Mr *Hambden*, who, together with Sr *William Armyn*, made up the Committee. Which being diſpatch'd, They thought it time to Breath a little, and to viſit their Countries, for whom they had done ſuch notable Service: and ſo, towards the latter end of *Auguſt* (having firſt conſtituted a Committee to Sit during the receſs, for the diſpatch of any important occurrences, and qualifying them with Power They could not depute; Such a Committee, and Such a Qualification, having never Before been heard of in Parliaments) Both Houſes Adjourn'd themſelves till the middle of *October* following, by which time they preſumed the King would be return'd from *Scotland*; having, from the time that they were firſt convened, which was about nine months (longer time than ever Parliaments had before continued together in one Seſſion) beſides all the extraordinary Acts of Blood, and Power, procured the King's Aſſent to Theſe following important Laws; by ſome of which, the Kingdom might have receiv'd ample benefit and advantage.

The Acts Paſs'd ſince the beginning of this Parliament:

"A BILL for Triennial Parliaments: which took up a long Debate; there being many Clauſes, in caſe the Crown ſhould omit the ſending out of Writs, derogatory to Majeſty, and letting the Reins too looſe to the People: Yet, ſince it was evident, that great Inconveniences had befallen the Kingdom by the long Intermiſſion of thoſe Conventions; and that that Intermiſſion could not have happen'd, if there had not been ſome neglect of what had been ſettled by former Laws; Therefore there was ſome colour of Reaſon for thoſe Clauſes, by Which the Crown could in no caſe Suffer, but by its own Default. At laſt it found an eaſy paſſage through Both Houſes; and by his Majeſty (who was ſatisfied that ſuch a frequency of meeting with his People, as once in three years, might be more convenient than prejudicial to his Service; and believ'd, that by His conſenting to this Act, the proceedings in the Parliament would be more moderate) it had a favourable reception, and was Enacted by him the next day after it had paſs'd both Houſes.

An Act for Triennial Parliaments;

"An Act for the taking away the High Commiſſion Court: which comprehended much more, than was generally intended. That Juriſdiction was erected by a Statute in the Firſt year of Queen *Elizabeth*, inſtead of a larger Power which had been exerciſed under the Popes Authority, then aboliſh'd; and, whilſt it was exerciſed with moderation, was an excellent means to vindicate and preſerve the dignity and peace of the Church; though, from the beginning, it was murmur'd againſt by the Non-conformable Party of the Kingdom.

An Act for taking away the High Commiſſion Court;

BUT of late, it cannot be denied, that, by the great Power of ſome Biſhops at Court, it had much overflow'd the Banks which ſhould have contain'd it; not only in meddling with things that intruth were not properly within Their connuſance; but extending their Sentences and Judgements in matters tryable before them, beyond that degree that was Juſtifiable; and grew to have ſo great a Contempt of the Common Law, and the Profeſſors of it (which was a Fatal Unskilfulneſs in the Biſhops, who could never have Suffer'd whilſt the Common Law had been Preſerv'd) that Prohibitions from the Supream Courts of Law, which have, and muſt have, the Superintendency over all Inferior Courts, were not only Neglected, but the Judges Reprehended for granting them (which without Perjury They could not deny) and the Lawyers Diſcountenanced for moving for them (which They were

obliged in Duty to do) So that thereby, the Clergy made allmoſt a Whole Profeſſion, if not their Enemies, yet very Undevoted to them.

THEN, it was grown from an Eccleſiaſtical Court, for the reformation of Manners, to a Court of Revenue; and impoſed great Fines upon thoſe who were culpable before them; ſometimes above the degree of the Offence, had the juriſdiction of Fining been unqueſtionable: which it was not. Which courſe of Fining was much more frequent, and the Fines heavier, after the King had granted all that Revenue (whatſoever it ſhould prove to be) to be employ'd for the Reparation of St *Paul*'s Church; which, though it were a glorious work, and worthy the Piety of Thoſe who advanced it, and the Greatneſs of His mind who principally intended it, made the Grievance the heavier.

BY theſe means (beſides the Conflux and Influence of That part of the Clergy then in Town, which had formerly been Obnoxious, and Suppreſs'd by the Biſhops: Which I do not mention as any piece of Their Exorbitancy; for I do not know that ever any Innocent Clergyman Suffer'd by any Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure; though, it may be, the Guilty were More Severely proceeded againſt, and with Leſs Politick circumſtances, than the nature of that time required) that Court had very few Friends; and having many Enemies, the Propoſition for Aboliſhing it was eaſily hearkn'd to; of which the Violent Party readily taking notice, they who prepared the Bill inſerted Clauſes, that not only took away the High Commiſſion Court, which was intended, but, upon the matter, the whole Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction; and, under pretence of Reforming the great Abuſes by the Oath *ex Officio*, and Excommunication, Deſtroy'd and Cancell'd all Coercive Power whatſoever in thoſe Courts, which was never intended: Yet, in that hurry, it made a progreſs through Both Houſes, and attended the Royal aſſent. But, when his Majeſty underſtood the Extent thereof, and how far the Body of the Bill exceeded the Title; and that, inſtead of Reformation, it was opening a door to the moſt Scandalous Offences, and leaving Adultery and Inceſt as Unpuniſhable, as any other acts of good Fellowſhip; He made a pauſe in the Conſenting to it, till Both Houſes might review whether the Remedy were proportionable to the Diſeaſe.

IMMEDIATELY the Fire was kindled againſt the Biſhops, as the Only Obſtacles to any Reformation; with ſome Paſſionate inſinuations, "that, ſince They oppoſed a due Regulation of their Power, there would "be no way but to cut them off Root and Branch. And thereupon, ſome Biſhops themſelves were again made inſtruments; and Others who pretended to take care of the Church, perſuaded the King, "for "the Biſhops ſake, to confirm that Bill: whilſt the Deſigners were much pleaſed to find that Logick prevail; little doubting, but when they had taken away their Juriſdiction in the Church, by that Bill, and their Dignity in the State, by moving them out of the Houſe of Peers, They ſhould find it no hard matter to aboliſh Their Names, and Titles out of the Kingdom; and to enjoy the goodly Lands and Revenues, which could Only make the Reformation perfect and compleat. And in this manner that Law was enacted.

An Act for taking away the Star-chamber Court;

"A BILL for taking away the Star-chamber Court. The Progreſs of which Bill was this. The Exorbitances of this Court had been ſuch (as hath been before touch'd) that there were very few Perſons of Quality, who had not Suffer'd, or been Perplex'd, by the Weight or Fear of thoſe Cenſures and Judgements. For, having extended Their Juriſdiction,

risdiction, from Riots, Perjury, and the most notorious Misdemeanours, to an Asserting all Proclamations, and Orders of State; to the Vindicating Illegal Commissions, and Grants of Monopolies (all which were the chief Ground-works of their late Proceedings) no man could hope to be longer free from the Inquisition of that Court, than he resolv'd to submit to those, and the like extraordinary courses. And therefore, there was an entire inclination, to Limit and Regulate the Proceedings of that Court: to which purpose, a Bill was brought in, aud Twice read, and, according to custom, Committed. It being return'd after, by the Committee, and the Amendments read; it was suddainly suggested (by a Person not at all inclined to Confusion, or to the Violent Party that intended that Confusion) "That the Remedies provided by "that Bill, were not proportionable to the Diseases; That the Usur-"pations of that Court, were not less in the Forms of their Proceed-"ings, than in the Matter upon which they proceeded; insomuch that "the Course of the Court (which is the Rule of their Judging) was so "much Corrupted, that the Grievance was as much thereby, in those "Cases of which they had a proper Connusance, as it was by their Ex-"cess in holding Pleas of that, in which, intruth, They had no Juris-"diction: and therefore He conceiv'd, the proper and most natural Cure "for that Mischief, would be, utterly to Abolish That Court, which "it was very difficult, if not impossible, to Regulate; and in place "thereof, to Erect and Establish such a Jurisdiction as might be thought "necessary. Hereupon, the same Bill was Re-committed, with direction, "so far to alter the frame of it, as might serve utterly to take a-"way, and abolish that Court: which was accordingly done: and again brought to the House, and ingross'd, and sent up to the Lords. So that important Bill was never Read but Once in the House of Commons, and was never Committed; which, I believe, was never before heard of in Parliament.

IT could not meet with any Opposition in the House of Peers. All who had been Judges There, having their several Judgements hanging like Meteors over their Heads; and the Rest, being either Grieved, or Frighted, by it: and so, being brought to his Majesty, receiv'd his Royal assent.

THUS fell that High Court, a great Branch of the Prerogative; having rather been Extended and Confirm'd, than Founded, by the Statute of the Tenth year of King *Henry* the Seventh: For, no doubt, it had both a Being, and a Jurisdiction, Before that time, though vulgarly it receiv'd date from thence; and, whilst it was Gravely and Moderately govern'd, was an excellent Expedient, to Preserve the Dignity of the King, the Honour of his Council, and the Peace and Security of the Kingdom. But the taking it away, was an act very Popular; which, it may be, was not Then more Politick, than the Reviving it may be thought hereafter, when the present Distempers shall be expired.

An Act for the certainty of Meets, Bounds, and Limits, of Forrests;

"AN Act for the Certainty of the Meets, Bounds, and Limits, of "all the Forrests in *England*: which was a great Benefit and Ease to the People; who had been so immoderately vex'd by the Justice in Eyre's Seat (exercised with great Rigour by the Earl of *Holland*; and revived by Mr *Noy*, when he was Atturney General) that few men could assure themselves their Estates and Houses might not be brought within the Jurisdiction of some Forrest; the which if they were, it cost them great

great Fines: and therefore, to eaſe them of their future Fears, the King departed with his Own unqueſtionable Right (which would, a year before, have been purchaſed at the price of at leaſt two hundred thouſand pounds) without any murmur.

An Act limitting the Office of Clerk of the Market of his Majeſty's Houſe;

"AN Act, that no Clerk of the Market of his Majeſty's Houſe, ſhould "execute his Office in any part of the Kingdom, but only within the "verge of the Court: and the execution of that Office, granted to Mayors, "and Bayliffs, of Towns Corporate; and to the Lords of Liberties and "Franchiſes, and to their Deputies. By which, the People through *England*, were freed from many petty vexations, and extortions, which the Deputies and Agents for that Office (who commonly Farm'd the Perquiſites of it, within ſeveral limits) exerciſed over them. And let no man ſay, that This was but an Act of Juſtice, for the Redreſs of viſible Miſdemeanours which his own Officers were guilty of; and that his Majeſty parted with nothing of Profit to Himſelf, by that Act: for the Miſdemeanours of any Office may be Prevented, and Puniſh'd, and Redreſs'd, without the Taking away, or Suppreſſing, the Office it ſelf; which is an inſtance of Power, and Prerogative. And the other was uſed as an argument heretofore (which few men have ſince approved) for the paſſing away moſt of the Old Rents of the Crown, "that they yielded little "Profit to the Crown, being allways ſwallow'd by the many Officers in-"cumbent upon that Service; without conſidering, that even thoſe Many Officers, are of the Eſſential Honour, and Greatneſs of Princes. But, as that Computation was very Erroneous in point of Thrift, ſo it is much more Scandalous in point of Power; and he that thinks the King gives away nothing that is worth the keeping, when he ſuffers an Office, which keeps and maintains many Officers, to be aboliſh'd, and taken away, does not conſider, that ſo much of his Train is abated, and that he is leſs ſpoken of, and conſequently leſs eſteem'd, in thoſe Places where that Power formerly extended; nor obſerves, how Private men value themſelves, upon thoſe leſſer Franchiſes, and Royalties, which eſpecially keep up the Power, Diſtinction, and Degrees of men.

An Act for preventing Vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood;

"AN Act for the Prevention of Vexatious Proceedings touching the "Order of Knighthood: by which, to Expiate the Treſpaſſes which had been lately committed, by the Rigorous circumſtances of Proceeding, upon that claim, the King parted with, and Releas'd to his People, a Right, and Duty, as unqueſtionably Due to him by the Law, as any Service He can lay claim to; and ſuch, as the Subject receiv'd the Diſcharge of it, as a ſingular Benefit and Advantage.

An Act for the free making Salt-petre and Gun-powder within the Kingdom;

"AN Act for the free making Salt-petre and Gun-powder within the "Kingdom: which was a Part of the Prerogative; and not only conſiderable, as it reſtrain'd that precious and dangerous commodity from vulgar hands; but, as intruth it brought a conſiderable Revenue to the Crown; and more to Thoſe, whom the Crown gratified and obliged by that Licence. The pretence for this Exemption was, "the Unjuſtifiable "Proceedings of Thoſe (or of Inferior Perſons qualified by them) who "had been truſted in that employment; by whom, it cannot be denied, many men ſuffer'd: But the True Reaſon was, that thereby They might be ſure to have in readineſs a good Stock in that Commodity, againſt the time their occaſions ſhould call upon them.

An Act againſt divers Encroachments and Oppreſſions in the Stannery Court;

"AN Act againſt divers Encroachments and Oppreſſions in the Stan-"nery Courts: the Logick of which Act, extended it ſelf to all Inferior Courts, and manner of Proceedings throughout the Kingdom; though the

the full meaſure of that benefit, ſeem'd to be poured out upon the two Counties of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*; the People whereof, had been ſo much oppreſs'd by the juriſdiction of that Court (ſupported and extended with great Paſſion and Fury by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord Warden of thoſe Stanneries) that both Prohibitions, and *Habeas Corpus*'s from the King's Bench, had been diſobey'd and neglected; not without ſome Perſonal Affront, and Reproach, to all the Judges of that Court: and therefore, it could not but be great eaſe of heart to thoſe Parts, to be freed from the exorbitancy of that oppreſſion.

10 "AN Act, whereby all the Proceedings in the buſineſs of Ship-money *An Act againſt Ship-money.*
"were adjudged void, and diſannull'd; and the Judgments, Enrollments,
"and Entries thereupon, vacated, and cancell'd: which (how juſt and neceſſary ſoever) was a frank departure from a Right, vindicated by a Judgement in the Exchequer-Chamber, before all the Judges in *England*; and therefore deſerv'd a juſt acknowledgement; beſides that, ſome Clauſes in that Statute, aſſert the Subject's Liberty and Property, beyond what was done by the Petition of Right; which needed an additional eſtabliſhment.

THESE Acts of Parliament, finiſh'd and enacted in the time we ſpeak
20 of; beſides the quitting the long uſed Right of laying Impoſitions upon Forreign Trade, in the Preamble of the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage; and beſides that Fatal Bill for the Continuance of this Parliament; will be acknowledged, by an Incorrupted Poſterity, to be Everlaſting Monuments of the King's Princely and Fatherly Affection to his People; and ſuch an Obligation of Repoſe and Truſt from his Majeſty in the Hearts of his Subjects, that no expreſſions of Piety, Duty, and Confidence, from Them, could have been more than a Sufficient Return on Their parts: which, how They perform'd, is to follow in the next place.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.



MB

THE FOURTH BOOK

THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

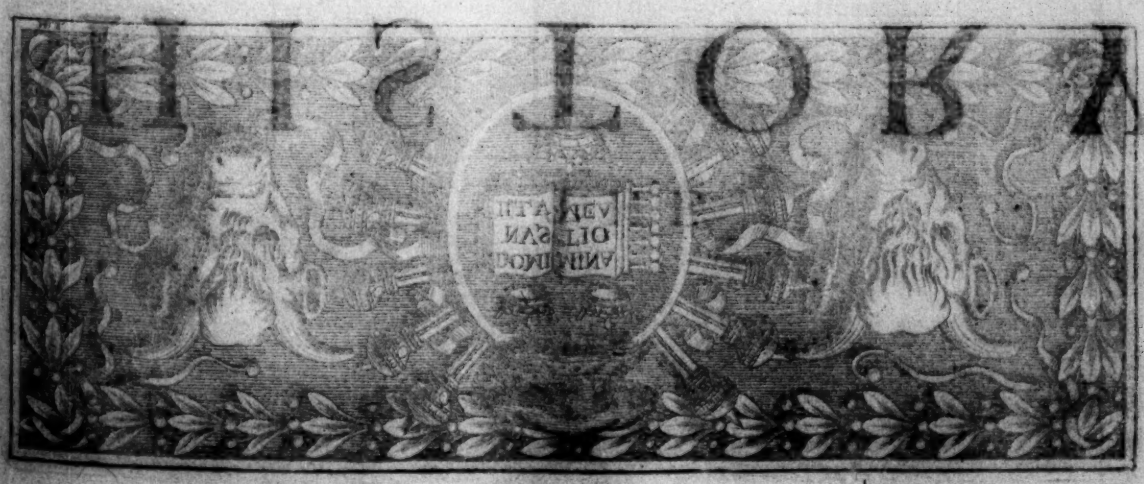
With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CIVIL WARS.

BOOK IV.

HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.



THE

Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK IV.

Iſa. XVII. 12.

Wo to the Multitude of many People, which make a Noiſe like the noiſe of the Seas; and to the Ruſhing of Nations, that make a Ruſhing like the ruſhing of many Waters.

WHEN the King came to *York*, which was about the middle of *Auguſt*, he found no part of either Army Disbanded; for, though Orders had been iſſued to that purpoſe, yet the Money, without which it could not be done, was not yet come to hand: and becauſe ſo great a Sum could not be preſently procured, as would Satisfy Both, an Act of Parliament had been paſs'd, for the Satisfaction of the Principal Officers of the King's Army, by which they were promiſed Payment, upon the Publick Faith, in *November* following; till which time they were to reſpite it, and be contented that the common Soldiers, and Inferior Officers, ſhould be Fully Satisfied upon their Disbanding.

The King came to York in his journey towards Scotland.

DURING the time of the King's abode at *York*, which was not many days, the Earl of *Holland*, Lord General, made a ſuit to him for the making a Baron; which, at that time, might have been worth to him ten thouſand pounds, Whether the King apprehended the making an unfit man, who might diſſerve him in the Houſe of Peers; or whether he reſolv'd to contain himſelf from enlarging that number, except upon an extraordinary relation to his Own Service; I know not: but he thought not fit, at that time, to gratify the Earl: by which He took himſelf to be highly Diſobliged (as the Courtiers of that time look'd upon whatſoever was Denied to them, as Taken from them) and having receiv'd ſome Information, from Sr *Jacob Aſhley* and Sr *John Coniers*, of ſome Idle Paſſages in the late tampering with the Army to Petition, which had not been before heard of; aſſoon as the King was gone towards *Scotland* (though his Majeſty hath ſince told me, "that he thought

"he had left him at parting, in very good humour and devotion to His "Service) the Earl wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to be communicated in Parliament, "that he found there had been ſtrange attempts "made, to Pervert, and Corrupt the Army, but, he doubted not, he "ſhould be able to prevent any miſchief; the whole Senſe being ſo myſterious, that it was no hard matter, after it was read in the Houſes, to perſwade men, that it related to ſomewhat they had yet never heard; and being dated on the Sixteenth day of *Auguſt*, which muſt be the time that the King was there, or newly gone thence (for he took his Journey from *London* on the Tenth) ſeem'd to reflect on ſomewhat his Majeſty ſhould have attempted. Hereupon their Old Fears are awaken'd, and New ones infuſed into the People; every man taking the liberty of making what interpretation he pleaſed, of that which no man underſtood.

Order of Both Houſes to Diſarm all Papiſts.

THE Papiſts were the moſt Popular Common-place, and the Butt againſt whom all the Arrows were directed; and ſo, upon this new Fright, an Order was made by Both Houſes "for Diſarming all the Pa-"piſts in *England*: upon which, and the like Orders, though ſeldom any thing was after done, or no matter of moment, yet it ſerv'd to keep up the Fears and Apprehenſions in the People, of Dangers and Deſigns, and to diſincline them from any Reverence or Affection to the Queen, whom they begun every day more implacably to hate, and conſequently to diſoblige. And, as upon thoſe, and the like light occaſions, They grew to a licence of Language, without the leaſt reſpect of Perſons, of how Venerable eſtimation ſoever; ſo they departed from all Orders of Regularity in Debate; or Rules and Meaſures in Judging; the chief Rulers amongſt them, firſt deſigning what They thought Fit to be done, and the Reſt concluding any thing Lawful, that They thought, in order to the doing and compaſſing the ſame: in which neither Laws nor Cuſtoms could be admitted to ſignify any thing againſt Their ſenſe.

I REMEMBER, about that time, in the providing Money for the Diſbanding the Armies, upon which they were marvellouſly ſollicitous, from the time that the King went towards the North, there aroſe a Queſtion, "Whether *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Pollard*, ſhould receive "their Pay due to them upon their ſeveral Commands, lying under the "Charge of the Plot, for bringing up, and Corrupting the Army; very many Paſſionately alledging, "that Such men ought not to receive "their Pay, who had Forfeited their Truſt: Yet there wanted not many who alledg'd, "that They had the Security of an Act of Parliament for "their Payment, and that in Juſtice it could not be detain'd from them; "that, though they lay under the Diſpleaſure of the Houſe, they were "ſo far from a Judgment yet, that there was not ſo much as a Charge "againſt them, but that they were at liberty under Bail; and therefore, "they could not be ſaid to have Forfeited any thing that was their "own. In this debate the Houſe ſeem'd equally divided, till One, who well knew what he ſaid, told them "That there could not be any "Reaſonable Pretence for Detaining their due, as well for the Reaſons "that had been given, as, that they were abſolutely Pardon'd by the "late Act of Oblivion, and Pacification, between the two Kingdoms: the which was no ſooner ſaid, than many of Thoſe who were before inclined to the Gentlemen, changed their opinions, and, without ſo much as calling to have the Statute read, declared, "That They could have "no Benefit by that Act of Parliament, becauſe then, the Same might

"be

"be as well applied to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. And ſo, without further weighing the Law, or the Reaſon, it was thought ſufficient, not only to exclude them from that Beneſit, but to bar them from their Money; leſt They might be thought to be admitted to it for That reaſon, which might prove an advantage to Another, to Whom They had no inclination to be Juſt. And no queſtion, They had been overſeen in the Penning that Statute; the Words, in their true and genuine ſignification and extent, comprehending as well the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as Thoſe, who at that time had no contempt of the Security they reap'd thereby.

SOON after the King went into *Scotland*, there being ſome motion "to Adjourn the Houſes till after *Michaelmas*, which ſeem'd to be generally inclined to, very many of both Houſes, being willing to refreſh themſelves, after ſo long abſence from their homes (the Summer being far ſpent, and the Plague increaſing; of which ſome Members had died; and others were in danger, having been in infected houſes) and conceiving, that there was no more to be done till the return of the King, ſaving only the procuring Money to finiſh the Disbanding; went into the Country: and others who ſtaid in the Town, were leſs ſollicitous to attend the Publick Service; but betook themſelves to thoſe exerciſes and refreſhments which were pleaſanter to them: inſomuch, as within twenty days after the King's remove, there were not above Twenty Lords, nor much above a Hundred Commoners, in Both Houſes. But This was the advantage look'd for; Thoſe Perſons continuing (eſpecially in the Houſe of Commons) to Whoſe care and managery the Whole Reformation was committed, They Now entred upon the conſultation of the higheſt matters, both in Church and State; and made attempts and entries upon thoſe Regalities and Foundations, which have been Since more evident, in wider and more notorious Breaches.

FROM the liberty and ſucceſs of adviſing what was Fit to be done out of the Kingdom, with reference to the Levies for *France* and *Spain*, They aſſumed the ſame freedom, of conſulting and determining what was Not fit, within the walls of the Church; and finding their numbers to be ſo thin, that they might, by art or accident, prevail with the major part to be of Their mind; and to gratify the more Violent Party of the Reformers (who, with great impatience, ſuffer'd themſelves to be contain'd within any bounds or limits, by Thoſe who knew better how to conduct their buſineſs) They entred upon debate of the Book of Common-Prayer (which ſure, at that time, was much reverenced throughout the Kingdom) and propoſed, "in regard (they ſaid) many "things in it gave offence, at leaſt umbrage to tender Conſciences, That "there might be liberty to Diſuſe it: which Propoſition was ſo ungracious, that, though it was made in a thin Houſe; and preſs'd by Thoſe who were of the greateſt Power and Authority; It was ſo far from being conſented to, that, by the major part (the Houſe conſiſting then of about Sixſcore) it was Voted, "That it ſhould be duly obſerv'd.

HOWEVER, the next day, contrary to all Rules and Orders of Parliament, very many being abſent who had been active in that Debate, They Suſpended that Order; and Reſolv'd, "That the Standing of the "Communion-Table in all Churches ſhould be alter'd; the Rails (which in moſt Places had been ſet up for the greater Decency) "ſhould be pull'd "down; that the Chancels ſhould be levell'd, and made even with all "other parts of the Church; and that no man ſhould preſume to bow at "the

"the Name of *Jeſus* (which was enjoin'd by a Canon, and of long uſe in the Church) and having digeſted theſe Godly Reſolutions into an Order, they carried it up to the Lords for Their concurrence; promiſing themſelves, that from the ſmall number which remain'd there, they ſhould find no diſſent. But the major part of the Lords being much ſcandalized, that the Houſe of Commons ſhould not only unſeaſonably, and irregularly, interpoſe in a matter wherein they had not the leaſt juriſdiction; but ſhould preſume to diſturb the Peace of the Church, and interrupt the Settled and Legal Government thereof, by ſuch Schiſmatical preſumption; not only refuſed to join with them, but inſtead thereof, directed an Order, formerly made by the Houſe of Peers (on the Sixteenth of *Jannuary* before) to be Printed, to this effect, "That the "Divine Service ſhould be perform'd, as it is appointed by the Acts of "Parliament of this Realm; and that all Such as ſhall Diſturb that "Wholeſom Order, ſhall be Severely Puniſh'd according to Law; and acquainted the Commons therewith: Who, nothing ſatisfied, purſued their former Order; and "commanding all the Commons of *England* to "Submit to Their direction, declared, That the Order of the Lords "was made by the Conſent but of Eleven Lords, and that Nine other "Lords did Diſſent from it; and therefore, that No Obedience ſhould "be given thereunto. Whereas, the Order had been made in Full Parliament, ſeven months before; and was Seaſonably order'd to be Publiſh'd, by the Major Part preſent, upon that Important occaſion. And Such an Arraigning the Houſe of Peers, for Publiſhing an Order in maintainance of the Laws eſtabliſh'd; by Thoſe who had no Authority to declare what the Law was; nor a Juriſdiction over Thoſe who ſhould infringe the Law; was ſo tranſcendent a Preſumption, and Breach of Priviledge, that there was great expectation what the Lords would do in their own Vindication.

An Ordinance of Both Houſes for a Day of Thankſgiving, on occaſion of the Pacification.

THERE was one Clauſe in the Act of Pacification, "that there ſhould "be a Publick and Solemn Day of Thankſgiving for the Peace be-"tween the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. But no day being appointed for that act of Indevotion, the Lords and Commons aſſumed the Power to themſelves of directing it; and to that purpoſe, made an Ordinance (as they call'd it) "that it ſhould be obſerv'd on the Seventh "of *September* following, throughout the Kingdom of *England* and "Dominion of *Wales*. Which was done accordingly; the Factious Miniſters in all Pulpits, taking occaſions then to magnify the Parliament, and the *Scots*; and to infuſe as much Malignity into the People, againſt Thoſe who were not of that Faction, as their Wit and Malice could ſuggeſt. The Houſe of Commons celebrating that day in the Chappel at *Lincoln*'s-Inn; becauſe the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, had form'd a Prayer for that occaſion, and enjoin'd it to be read on that day, in thoſe Churches where He had Juriſdiction; which They liked not: both as it was a Form; and form'd by Him; and ſo avoided coming there.

AFTER the Solemnization of that day; and Their making their Declaration againſt the Lords, about the Order above mention'd; and the recommending ſome Seditious, Unconformable Miniſters, to be Lecturers in Churches about *London*, whom the Incumbents were compell'd to receive: When They had great apprehenſion, by their Members leaving them, that they ſhould not have Forty remaining (leſs than which number could not conſtitute a Houſe of Commons) They conſented

ſented to a Receſs; and on the Ninth day of *September*, 1641. They Adjourn'd themſelves till the Twentieth day of *October* following: Either Houſe, irregularly (for the like had never been before practiſed) making a Committee, to meet twice a week, and oftner, if They ſaw cauſe, during the Receſs, and to tranſact ſuch buſineſs as they were authorized to do by Their inſtructions.

Sept. 9. 1641. *Both Houſes Adjourn'd to* Octob. 20. *appointing a Committee of Each to Sit during the Receſs.*

THE Houſe of Lords limited Their Committe, (which conſiſted of the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, the Lords *Wharton*, *Kimbolton*, and Twelve more; but every Three were as able to tranſact as the whole number) by their Inſtructions, "only to open the Letters which ſhould "come from the Committee in *Scotland*, and to return Anſwers to "them; with Power to recall that Committee, when they thought fit; "to ſend down Moneys to the Armies; and to aſſiſt about their Diſ"banding; and in removing the Magazines from *Berwick* and *Car*"*liſle*.

The Powers of the Committee of the Houſe of Lords:

BUT the Houſe of Commons thought this Power too narrow for Their Committee; and therefore, againſt Order too (for the Power of the Committees of Both Houſes ought to have been equal) They qualified theirs (which conſiſted of Mr *Pym*, Mr *Saint-John*, Mr *Strode*, Sr *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sr *Henry Mildmay*, Sr *Henry Vane*, Alderman *Pennington*, Captain *Venn*, and Others; every Six having the Authority of the Whole) as well with the Powers granted to the Lords, as likewiſe, "to "go on in preparation of Proceedings, againſt ſuch Delinquents, as were "voted againſt, or complain'd of in the Houſe; and to receive any "offers of Diſcovery that They ſhould make; To ſend to all Sheriffs, "and Juſtices of Peace, upon information of any Riots, or Tumults; to "ſtir them up in their Duty in Repreſſing them; and to report to their "Houſe any Failing in obedience to Their Commands; To take the Ac"counts of any Accountants to his Majeſty, in order to the prepara"tion of his Majeſty's Revenue; To conſider of framing and conſti"tuting a *Weſt India* Company; and to conſider the Fiſhing, upon the "coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and many other Extravagant particulars: which ſerv'd to magnify the Authority of that Committee; and to draw Reſort and Reverence to them from allmoſt all ſorts of men.

of the Houſe of Commons.

THE Houſes being thus Adjourn'd; the Committee of the Commons appointed Mr *Pym* to ſit in the Chair; who, forthwith, with his own hand, Sign'd the Printed Declarations before mention'd, of the Ninth of *September*; and cauſed them to be ſo Read in all Churches in *London*, and throughout the Countries. Whereupon, the Seditious and Factious perſons, cauſed the Windows to be broken down in Churches; broke down the Rails, and removed the Communion-Table (which, in many places, had ſtood in that manner ever ſince the Reformation) and committed many Inſolent and Scandalous Diſorders. And when the Miniſter, and the Graver and more Subſtantial ſort of Inhabitants, uſed any Oppoſition, and Reſiſted ſuch their Licence, They were immediately required to attend the Committee; and, if they could be neither perſwaded, nor threatned to Submit, their attendance was continued from day to day, to their great Charge and Vexation. If any Grave and Learned Miniſter, refuſed to admit into his Church, a Lecturer recommended by Them (and I am confident, there was not, from the beginning of this Parliament, one Orthodox, or Learned man, recommended by them to any Church in *England*) He was preſently required to at-

The Buſineſs before the Committee of the Commons.

tend upon the Committee; and not discharged till the Houses met again; and Then likewise, if he escaped Commitment, continued, to his intolerable Loss and Trouble: few men having the Patience to endure that Oppression, Against which they knew not whither to Appeal; and therefore in the end Submitted to what they could not Resist: And so all Pulpits were supplied, with Their Seditious and Schismatical Preachers.

The Armies Disbanded.

THE Armies were at last Disbanded; and, about the end of *September*, the Earl of *Holland*, in great Pomp, return'd to his House at *Kensington*; where he was visited and caress'd, with great application, by all the Factious Party: for he had now, whether upon the Disobligation remembred before, of being denied the making a Baron; or upon some Information, of some sharp Expressions used by the Queen upon his Letter; and the Conscience of that Letter; or the apprehensions of being Question'd, and Prosecuted, upon the Enormities of his Office of Chief Justice in Eyre; and other Transgressions; fully declared himself of Their Party. And that They might be the better prepared to keep up the Prejudice to the King, and the Keenness against the Court, till the coming together of both Houses; when, they had reason to believe, the observation of Their crooked and indirect Courses, and their visible, unwarrantable Breaches, upon the Church, and the Religion establish'd by Law, would render men less devoted to them; his Lordship furnish'd them with many Informations of what had pass'd in the late Army, which might be wrested to the King's disadvantage: told them whatsoever the King himself had said to him, when He look'd upon him as a Person True to him, and when, it is very probable, He was not much delighted with the Proceedings at *Westminster*; and of all the particulars, which Sr *Jacob Ashley* and Sr *John Coniers* had inform'd him, when they took him to be of entire Trust with his Majesty, and wholely under that consideration (whereupon, They were afterwards examin'd, and compell'd to testify That in Publick, which they had before imparted to Him in the greatest Secrecy) and added to all this, whatever information he had receiv'd by the Lady *Carlisle*, of Words or Actions, spoken or done by the Queen, which might increase Their Jealousy or Malice to her Majesty. And He himself (who had been allways believ'd a Creature of the Queen's; and exceedingly obliged, and protected, by Her immediate and single grace and favour, against the Earl of *Portland*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in those times when They had otherwise destroy'd him) visited her Majesty but once, from the time of His return out of the North, to the time of the King's return from *Scotland*, which was full six weeks. And yet, there were some men still at those private meetings at *Kensington*, who thought the Queen's Favour a likelier means for their Preferment, than the Interest of the Others; and therefore allways gave advertisement to her of what pass'd in that company: which information, for want of due care in the managery; and by reason of the unfaithfulness of her neareſt Servants; commonly produced somewhat, of which the other Side made greater advantage, than She could do by the knowledge of Their counsels and resolutions.

THE short Recess of the Parliament, though it was not much above the space of a Month, was yet a great Refreshment, to Those who had Sate near a full Year, Mornings and Afternoons, with little or no intermission; and in that warm region, where Thunder and Lightning was made. Some very Unwarrantable Proceedings, by the Committee that

Sate

Sate during the Receſs; or Mr *Pym*, who ſate in the Chair of that Committee, and iſſued out thoſe Orders concerning the Church; gave ſo much Offence, and Scandal, that the Members were like to meet together with more Courage, and leſs inclinations to Novelties, than they had parted with. But there were ſeveral Accidents fell out, ſome from very little, and ſome from very great Cauſes, which had that Influence upon the Nature and Spirit of men, and upon the Actions of that time, that, for the better underſtanding ſome particular Paſſages, which will appear pertinent, it will be even neceſſary, briefly, and it ſhall be but very briefly, to mention ſome of thoſe Particulars.

A ſmall Committee of Both Houſes attended the King in Scotland.

WHEN the King went into *Scotland;* for the better preſerving the Correſpondence between the two Kingdoms, as was pretended; and to ſee all things perform'd, which were to be done in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by the Act of Pacification; a ſmall Committee (as hath been before ſaid) was appointed by the two Houſes, conſiſting of one Lord, and two Commons, to Attend (as the Phraſe was) upon his Majeſty: but, in truth, to be Spies upon him; and to give the ſame aſſiſtance to the Parliament There, upon any emergent occaſion, as the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners had done Here.

For the Lords, the Lord Howard *of* Eſcrick.

THE Perſon appointed by the Lords, was the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick;* a younger Son of the Houſe of *Suffolk*: who, in the time of the Duke of *Buckingham*, married a Niece of his; and having his whole dependence upon him, and being abſolutely govern'd by him, was by him made a Baron; but that Dependence being at an end; his Wife dead; and He without any Virtue to promote himſelf; He withdrew himſelf from Following the Court; and ſhortly after, from Wiſhing it well; and had now, deliver'd himſelf up, Body and Soul, to be diſpoſed of by that Party, which appear'd moſt Averſe, and Obnoxious, to the Court and the Government: and only in that Confidence, was deſign'd to that Employment; and to be entirely Diſpoſed and Govern'd by the two Members, who were join'd with him by the Houſe of Commons; who were, Sr *Philip Stapleton*, and Mr *Hambden*.

For the Commons, Sr Philip Stapleton, Mr Hambden.

THE Latter hath been mention'd before, as a man of great Underſtanding, and Parts; and of great Sagacity in diſcerning mens natures and manners; and he muſt, upon all occaſions, ſtill be mention'd, as a perſon of great Dexterity and Abilities, and Equal to any truſt or employment, good or bad, which he was inclined to undertake.

THE Other, Sr *Philip Stapleton*, was a proper man of a fair extraction; but, being a Branch of a Younger Family, inherited but a moderate Eſtate, about five hundred pounds a year, in *Yorkſhire*; and, according to the cuſtom of that Country, had ſpent much time in thoſe delights which Horſes and Dogs adminiſter. Being return'd to ſerve in Parliament, He concurr'd with his Neighbours, *Hotham*, and *Cholmondley;* being much younger than they, and govern'd by them in the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*; and ſo was eaſily receiv'd into the Company and Familiarity of that whole Party, which took that work to heart; and in a ſhort time, appear'd a man of Vigour in body and mind; and to be rather Without good Breeding, than not Capable of it; and ſo He quickly outgrew his Friends and Country-men, in the Confidence of thoſe who govern'd: They looking upon him, as worth the getting entirely to them; and not averſe from being gotten; and ſo join'd him with Mr *Hambden* in this their firſt employment (and the Firſt, that ever a Parliament had of that kind) to be initiated

under ſo great a Maſter; whoſe Inſtruction He was very capable of

Tranſactions in Scotland, *touching* Montroſs, Argyle, *and* Hamilton.

THERE had been, even from the time the *Scotiſh* Army came into *England*, many Factions, and Jealouſies, amongſt the Principal Perſons of that Nation; but none ſo much taken notice of, as that between the two Earls, of *Montroſs*, and *Argyle*. The Former took himſelf to have Deſerv'd as much as any man, in contributing more, and appearing ſooner, in Their firſt approach towards Rebellion; as indeed he was a man of the beſt Quality, who did ſo ſoon diſcover himſelf: and it may be he did it the ſooner, in Oppoſition to *Argyle*; who, being then of the King's Council, he doubted not, would be of his Majeſty's Party. The People look'd upon them Both, as Young men of unlimited Ambition; and uſed to ſay, "That they were like *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, the "One would endure no Superior, and the Other would have no Equal. True it is, that from the time that *Argyle* declared himſelf againſt the King (which was immediately after the Firſt Pacification) *Montroſs* appear'd with leſs vigour for the Covenant; and had, by underhand and ſecret inſinuations, made proffer of his Service to the King. But now, after his Majeſty's arrival in *Scotland*, by the introduction of Mr *William Murray* of the Bed-chamber, He came privately to the King; and inform'd him of many Particulars, from the beginning of the Rebellion; and "that the Marquis of *Hamilton*, was no leſs Faulty, and Falſe to- "wards his Majeſty, than *Argyle*; and offer'd "to make Proof of all in "the Parliament; but rather deſired, "to have them Both made away; which He frankly undrtook to do: but the King, abhorring that expedient, though for his own Security, adviſed, "that the Proofs might "be prepared for the Parliament. When ſuddainly, on a *Sunday* morning, the City of *Edenborough* was in Arms; and *Hamilton* and *Argyle*, both gone out of the Town to their own Houſes; where they ſtood upon their guards; declaring publickly, "That they had withdrawn "themſelves, becauſe they knew that there was a deſign to Aſſaſſinate "them; and choſe rather to abſent themſelves, than by ſtanding upon "their Defence in *Edenborough* (which they could well have done) to "hazard the Publick Peace, and Security of the Parliament; which thunder'd on their behalf.

THE Committee at *Edenborough* diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to *London*, with a dark and perplex'd account, in the morning that the two Lords had left the City; with many doubtful expreſſions, "what the "end of it would be: not without ſome dark inſinuations, as if the Deſign might look farther than *Scotland*. And theſe Letters were brought to *London*, the day before the Houſes were to come together, after the Receſs; all That Party taking pains to Perſwade Others, "that it could "not but be a Deſign, to Aſſaſſinate More men than thoſe Lords at "*Edenborough*.

AND the morning the Houſes were to meet, Mr *Hyde* being walking in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, with the Earl of *Holland* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, Both the Earls ſeem'd wonderfully concern'd at it; and to believe, "that Other men were in danger of the like Aſſaults; the Other, not thinking the Apprehenſion worthy of them, told them merrily, "that He knew well what opinions They Both had of thoſe two Lords, "a Year or two before, and he wonder'd how they became ſo alter'd; to which They anſwer'd ſmiling, "That the Times and the Court was "much alter'd ſince. And the Houſes were no ſooner Sate, but the Report being made in the Houſe of Commons; and the Committee's Letter

ter from *Scotland* being Read; a Motion was made, "to send to the "House of Peers, that the Earl of *Essex*, who was left by the King, Ge- "neral on this Side *Trent*, might be desired to appoint such a Guard, "as He thought competent for the Security of the Parliament, constant- "ly to attend while the Houses sate; which was done accordingly; and continued, till They thought fit to have other Guards. All which was done to Amuse the People, as if the Parliament were in Danger: when in *Scotland*, all things were quickly Pacified; and ended in creating the Marquis *Hamilton* a Duke, and *Argyle* a Marquis.

The Earl of Essex appoints a Guard for the Security of the Parliament.

THERE was a Worse Accident than all these, which fell out in the time of the King's stay in *Scotland*, and about the time of the two Houses reconvening; which made a wonderful impression upon the minds of men; and proved of infinite Disadvantage to the King's affairs, which were then recovering new life; and that was the Rebellion in *Ireland*: which broke out about the middle of *October*, in all parts of the Kingdom. Their design upon *Dublin* was miraculously discover'd, the night before it was to be executed; and so the Surprizal of that Castle prevented; and the principal Conspirators, who had the charge of it, apprehended. In the other parts of the Kingdom, They observ'd the time appointed, not hearing of the Misfortunes of their Friends at *Dublin*. A general Insurrection of the *Irish* spread it self over the whole Country; in such an Inhumane and Barbarous manner, that there were Forty or Fifty Thousand of the *English* Protestants murther'd, before they suspected themselves in any danger; or could provide for their Defence, by drawing together into Towns, or strong Houses.

News of the Rebellion in Ireland.

FROM *Dublin*, the Lords Justices, and Council, dispatch'd their Letters by an Express (the same man who had made the Discovery, one *Oconelly*, who had formerly been a Servant to Sr *John Clotworthy*) to *London*, to the Earl of *Leicester*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. From the Parts of the North, and *Ulster*, an Express was sent to the King himself, at *Edenborough*; and the King's Letters from thence, to the two Houses, arrived within less than two days, after the Messenger from *Dublin*.

IT was upon a *Sunday* night, that the Letters from *Dublin* came to the Earl of *Leicester*; who immediately caused the Council to be summon'd, and as soon as it was met, inform'd them of the condition of *Ireland*; that is, so much as those Letters contain'd: which were written, when little more was known than the Discovery at *Dublin*; and what the Conspirators had confess'd upon their examinations. The House of Peers had then adjourned it self to the *Wednesday* following; but the House of Commons were to meet on the next day, *Monday* morning; and the Council resolv'd, "that they would in a Body go to the House "of Commons, assoon as it Sate, and inform them of it; which they did; notice being first given to the House, "that the Lords of the Coun- "cil had some matters of Importance to impart to them, and were "above in the Painted Chamber ready to come to them: whereupon, Chairs were set in the House for them to repose themselves, and the Serjeant sent to conduct them. Assoon as they entred the House, the Speaker desired them to Sit down; and then being cover'd, *Littleton*, Lord Keeper, told the Speaker, "That the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, "having receiv'd Letters from the Lords Justices and Council there, "had communicated them to the Council; and since the House of Peers "was not then Sitting, They had thought fit, for the Importance of the

The Lords of the Council acquaint the House of Commons with the News: The House of Lords not sitting.

"Letters, to impart them to that Houſe; and ſo referr'd the buſineſs to the Lord Lieutenant; who, without any inlargement, only read the Letters he had receiv'd, and ſo the Lords departed from the Houſe.

THERE was a deep Silence in the Houſe, and a kind of Conſternation; moſt mens heads having been Intoxicated from their Firſt meeting in Parliament, with imaginations of Plots, and Treaſonable Deſigns, through the Three Kingdoms. The affair it ſelf ſeem'd to be out of their cogniſance; and the communication of it, ſerv'd only to prepare their thoughts, what to do when more ſhould be known; and when they ſhould hear what the King thought fit to be done. And when the King's Letters arrived, they were glad the news had come to him, when he had ſo good Council about him to adviſe him what to do.

THE King was not then inform'd of what had been diſcover'd at *Dublin;* but the Letters out of *Ulſter* (which he ſent to the Parliament) gave him notice "of a general Inſurrection in the North; and of "the Inhumane Murthers committed there, upon a multitude of the "Proteſtants; and that Sr *Phelim O Neil* appear'd as their General, and "Commander in chief.

His Majeſty writes to the two Houſes about it.

UPON which his Majeſty writ to the two Houſes, "That he was "ſatisfied that it was no Raſh Inſurrection, but a Form'd Rebellion; "which muſt be Proſecuted with a ſharp War; the conducting, and pro-"ſecuting whereof, he wholely committed to Their Care and Wiſdom, "and depended upon Them for the carrying it on; and that for the "preſent, He had cauſed a ſtrong Regiment, of Fifteen hundred Foot, "under good Officers, to be tranſported out of *Scotland* into *Ulſter*, for "the Relief of thoſe Parts: which were upon the matter wholely inhabited by *Scots* and *Irish;* there being fewer *English* there, than in any part of *Ireland.*

THIS fell out to their wiſh; and thereupon, they made a Committee of Both Houſes, "for the conſideration of the affairs of *Ireland*, and "providing for the ſupply of Men, Arms, and Money, for the Suppreſ-"ſing that Rebellion; the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* being one of the Committee; which ſate every morning in the Painted Chamber; and the Lord Lieutenant firſt communicated all the Letters he receiv'd, to Them to be conſulted on, and to be thence reported to the two Houſes; which were hereby poſſeſs'd of a large Power, and Dependence; all men applying themſelves to Them, that is to the chief Leaders, for their Preferments in that War: the Miſchief whereof, though in the beginning little taken notice of, was afterwards felt by the King very ſenſibly.

THESE concurrent Circumſtances, much alter'd and ſuppreſs'd that good humour and ſpirit the Houſes were well diſpoſed to meet in; and the Angry men, who were diſappointed of the Preferments they expected, and had promiſed themſelves, took all occaſions, by their Emiſſaries, to inſinuate into the minds of the People, "that this Rebellion "in *Ireland*, was contrived and fomented by the King; or at leaſt by the "Queen, for the advancement of Popery; and that the Rebels pub-"liſh'd and declared, That they had the King's Authority for all they "did: which Calumny, though without the leaſt Shadow or Colour of Truth, made more Impreſſion upon the minds of Sober and Moderate men (who, till that time, had much diſliked the Paſſionate Proceedings of the Parliament) than could be Then imagin'd; or can Yet be believ'd. So great a Prejudice, or Want of Reverence, was univerſally contracted againſt

againſt the Court: eſpecially the Queen; whoſe Power and Activity was thought too great.

SHORTLY after the beginning of the Parliament, there had been a Committee appointed, "to prepare and draw up a general Remonſtrance "of the ſtate of the Kingdom, and the particular Grievances it had ſu- "ſtain'd; but it ſcarce met, or was ever after ſpoken of: But now, the Houſes no ſooner met after the Receſs, than Mr *Strode* (one of the Fierceſt men of the Party; and of the Party only for his Fierceneſs) moved, "That that Committee might be revived, and order'd to meet; for which, of courſe, a time and place was appointed: by which men eaſily diſcern'd, that nothing of their Fury was abated; but rather increas'd, in that they found their credit every day leſſen'd in the Houſe, by the oppoſition and contradiction they ſuſtain'd. And They being thus diſquieted; and knowing little; and ſo doubting much; every day ſeem'd to them to produce a new Diſcovery, of ſome new Treaſon, and Plot, againſt the Kingdom. One day, "a Letter from beyond Seas, of "great Forces prepared to Invade *England*; another, "of ſome At- "tempt upon the life of M *Pym*: and no occaſion omitted, to ſpeak of "the Evil Council about the King; when ſcarce a Counſellor durſt come near him; or be ſuſpected to hear from him.

A Committee revived for drawing up a Remonſtrance.

AFTER ſome days, a new Bill was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, "for the taking away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament; and for "Diſabling them to exerciſe any Temporal Office in the Kingdom: againſt which was objected, "That it was contrary to the Courſe and "Order of Parliament, that any Bill that had been Rejected, ſhould be "again Preferr'd the ſame Seſſion; and therefore it ought not to be ſo "much as Read: to which nothing was replied but Noiſe; and "that "this Bill varied in ſome clauſes from the former; and that the Good of "the Kingdom abſolutely depended upon it: and ſo, by the majority of voices, it was order'd to be Read: and afterwards, without any very conſiderable oppoſition, Paſs'd the Houſe, and was tranſmitted to the Lords: the greateſt argument being, "That their intermeddling with "Temporal affairs, was inconſiſtent with, and deſtructive to, the exer- "ciſe of their Spiritual Function. Whilſt Their Reformation, both in *Scotland*; and this Kingdom; was driven on by no men ſo much, as Thoſe of Their Clergy who were their Inſtruments. As, without doubt, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had Never ſo great an Influence upon the Counſels at Court, as Dr *Burgeſs*, and Mr *Marſhal*, had Then upon the the Houſes; neither did All the Biſhops of *Scotland* together, ſo much meddle in Temporal affairs, as Mr *Henderſon* had done.

A new Bill of the Houſe of Commons to take away Biſhops Votes.

THERE being at this time, the Biſhopricks of *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Briſtol*, Void by Death, or Tranſlation; the King, during the time of his being in *Scotland*, collated to thoſe Sees, Dr *Prideaux*, the King's Profeſſor of Divinity in *Oxford*; Dr *Winniff*, Dean of St *Pauls*; Dr *Brownerigg*, Maſter of *Catherine* Hall in *Cambridge*; Dr *Henry King*, Dean of *Lichfield*; and Dr *Weſtfield* of Great St *Bartholomews*, *London*: All of great Eminency in the Church; frequent Preachers; and not a man, to whom the Faults of the Then Governing Clergy were imputed; or againſt whom the leaſt Objection could be made,

The King fills up divers vacant Biſhopricks in England.

ASSOON as the Houſe of Commons heard of this deſignation of his Majeſty's (having then newly the Second time ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, their Bill to remove Biſhops from thence) They were much troubled,

The Commons offended at it.

troubled, that at a time when They reſolv'd to take away the Old, the King ſhould preſume to make New Biſhops; and to create ſo many Voices to aſſiſt the other; and therefore, They urged very earneſtly, "That the Lords might be moved to join with them, in ſending to the "King, to make no new Biſhops, till the Controverſy ſhould be ended "about the Government of the Church: which appear'd ſo Unreaſonable, that the Wiſeſt of Them who wiſh'd it, apprehended no Poſſibility that the Lords would join with them; or if They did, that the King would be prevail'd with. However, being glad to find their Companions had ſo much mettal, after a long Debate, the major part carried it, "That a Committee ſhould be appointed, to draw up Reaſons to give "the Lords, to concur with Them in that deſire to the King: but, after that, moved that Stone no further.

IN all Debates of this nature, where the Law, Reaſon, and Common Senſe, were directly Oppoſite to what they propoſed, They ſuffer'd Thoſe who differ'd from them in opinion, and purpoſes, to ſay what they thought fit in oppoſition; and then, without vouchſafing to endeavour their ſatisfaction, call'd importunately for the Queſtion; well knowing, that They had a Plurality of Voices to concur with them, in whatſoever they deſired. I remember, in this laſt buſineſs, when it was voted that a Committee ſhould be named to draw up Reaſons, many of Thoſe who had during the Debate poſitively argued Againſt the thing, were call'd upon to be of that Committee; and amongſt them, the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr *Hyde*: who ſtood up, and "deſired to be Ex-"cuſed from that Service, where they could be of no Uſe; having given "ſo many reaſons againſt it, that they could not apprehend any could "be given for it; therefore thought, the work would be better done, if "Thoſe who had ſatisfied Themſelves with the Reaſonableneſs of what "they wiſh'd, would undertake the converting and diſpoſing of Other "men. There was a Gentleman who ſate by (Mr *Bond* of *Dorcheſter*; very Severe, and Reſolv'd, againſt the Church and the Court) who, with much Paſſion, and Trouble of mind, ſaid to them, "For God's ſake be "of the Committee, You know none of Our ſide can give Reaſons; which made Thoſe that over-heard him Smile: though he ſpoke it ſuddainly; and upon obſervation that the Leaders were not then in the Houſe. Otherwiſe, it cannot be denied, Thoſe who conducted them, and were the Contrivers of the Miſchief, were men of great Parts; and unſpeakable Induſtry; and their Silence in ſome Debates, proceeded partly from Pride, that it might appear, Their Reputation and Intereſt, had an Influence upon the Senſe of the Houſe, againſt any Rhetorick or Logick; but principally, from the Policy they were obliged to uſe: for, though they could have given a pregnant reaſon for the moſt extravagant overture they ever made, and evinced it, that it was the proper way to Their end; yet, it not being time to diſcover their purpoſes (how apparent ſoever they were to diſcerning men) they were neceſſarily to give no reaſons at all; or ſuch as were not the true ones.

THIS Stratagem failing, of ſtopping the creation of the new Biſhops; They endeavour, by all means, to haſten the Houſe of Peers to diſpatch the work before them, before they ſhould be qualified (their Elections, Confirmations, and Conſecrations, and other Ceremonies, ſpending much time) to increaſe the number of the Oppoſers; and, for the better doing thereof, with great confidence, They demand of the Lords, "That no Recuſant Lord, or any Biſhop, might have a Vote in the "paſſing

"passing that Act: the last being Parties; and the other not supposed "competent Judges on the behalf of the Kingdom. But, when they found that Logick could not prevail (the demand being indeed so Scandalous, that the House of Peers, if they had not been fatally misled, must have resented it as a high Presumption, and insolent Breach of Priviledge) with more Formality and Colour, though as Unreasonably, They press'd, "That those Thirteen Bishops, whom They had before "Impeach'd, for making the late Canons; and upon whom their Lord-"ships themselves had pass'd Severe Votes (such indeed as were fitter for Accusers than Judges, Unparliamentary and Unprecedented) "might be "Sequestred from the House, till they should be brought to Judgement. And for this, They found Lawyers in their House, who, prostituting the Dignity and Learning of their Profession, to the cheap and vile affectation of Popular Applause, were not ashamed, to aver Custom and Law for their Senseless Proposition. But the House of Peers was not Yet deluded enough, or terrified (though too many amongst them paid an implicit devotion to the House of Commons) to comply in this unreasonable demand.

The Animosities at that time between some great Lawyers and some Church-men produced great Mischiefs.

AND here I cannot but with grief and wonder remember, the Virulency and Animosity expres's'd at that time, upon all occasions, by Many of good knowledge in the excellent and wise Profession of the Common Law, towards the Church, and Church-men; taking all opportunities, uncharitably, to improve Mistakes, into Crimes; and, unreasonably, to transfer and impute the Follies and Faults of Particular men, to the Malignity of their Order and Function; and so, whet and sharpen the edge of the Law, to wound the Church in its Jurisdiction; and at last to cut it up by the Roots, and demolish its Foundation. It cannot be denied, that the Peevish spirits of some Clergy-men, have taken great pains to alienate that Profession from them; and Others, as unskilfully (finding, that in former times, when the Religion of the State was a Vital part of its Policy, many Church-men were employ'd eminently in the Civil Government of the Kingdom) imputed Their wanting those Ornaments their Predecessors wore, to the Power and Prevalency of the Lawyers; of Whom, some Principal men, in all times, They could not but observe to have been their avow'd Enemies: and so believ'd, the Straitning and Confining the Profession of the Common Law, must naturally Extend and Enlarge the Jurisdiction of the Church. Thence arose Their bold and unwarrantable Opposing and Protesting against Prohibitions, and other Proceedings at Law on the behalf of Ecclesiastical Courts; and the procuring some Orders and Priviledges from the King, on the behalf of the Civil Law; even with an exclusion of the other: as the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, prevail'd with the King to direct, "that half the Masters of the Chancery should be all-"ways Civil Lawyers; and to declare, "that no Others, of what condi-"tion soever, should serve him as Masters of Request. All which was a great mistake: For, besides the stopping Prohibitions was an envious Breach upon the Justice of the Kingdom; which, at some time or other, will still be too hard for the strongest Opposers and Oppressors of it: I could never yet know, Why the Doctors of the Civil Law, were more of Kin to the Bishops, or the Church, than the Common Lawyers were. To say, that Their Places were in the Bishops disposal, as Chancellors, Commissaries, and the like; and therefore, that their Persons were more like to be at Their disposal too; at least, to pay them greater

Reverence; concludes nothing: for the Clergy had opportunity enough, to oblige and create an equal dependence from the Profeſſion of the Common Law; and I am perſwaded, the Stewardſhips to Biſhops, and of the Lands of the Church, which were to be managed by the Rules of the Common Law, were not much inferior in Profit to all the Chancellorſhips in *England*. And then, if, where the Policy may conſiſt with Juſtice, it is no ill meaſure in making Friendſhips, to look into, and compare, the Power of doing Hurt, or doing Good; it is apparent, that the Civil Law in this Kingdom, had not, in the leaſt degree, the ability to Help, or to Hurt the Church, in any exigency; as the Common Law had: Whoſe Profeſſors had allways, by their Intereſts, Experience, and Reputation, ſo great an Influence upon the Civil State, upon Court and Country, that they were notable Friends or Enemies. And the Dependence of the Church, as to their Inheritance, and Eſtates (except their minute Tythes) was entirely upon this Law; being only determinable by thoſe Rules, by which They have ſeldom receiv'd eminent Injuſtice. And truly, I have never yet ſpoken with one Clergy-man, who hath had the experience of both litigations, that hath not ingenuouſly confeſs'd, "he had rather, in the reſpect of his trouble, charge, "and ſatisfaction to his underſtanding, have Three Suits depending "in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, than One in the Arches, or any Eccleſiaſtical "Court.

THE Particulars above-mention'd, were, I confeſs, to Vulgar minds, great Provocations and Temptations to Revenge: and therefore, I do not at all wonder, that, in the great herd of the Common Lawyers, many Pragmatical ſpirits, whoſe thoughts and obſervations have been contracted to the narrow limits of the few Books of that Profeſſion; or within the narrower circle of the Bar Oratory; ſhould go along with the Stream, in the Womaniſh art of Inveighing againſt Perſons, when they ſhould be Reforming Things: and that ſome, by degrees, having found the Benefit of being of that Opinion (for we all remember, when Papiſt and Puritan Lawyers got more money than their Neighbours, for the Private Opinions they were of; not what they deliver'd in publick) grew, at laſt, to have Fits of Conſcience in earneſt; and to believe, that a Parity in the Church was neceſſary to Religion; and not like to produce a Parity in the State: of which Doctrine if they had been then ſuſpected, they would quickly have been aſhamed of ſuch Divinity.

BUT, that Learned and Unbiaſs'd (I mean Unprovoked) men, in that Science of our Law; who knew the Frame and Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and that the Biſhops were no leſs the Repreſentative Body of the Clergy, than the Houſe of Commons was of the People; and conſequently, that the depriving Them of voice in parliament, was a Violence, and removing Landmarks; and not a Shaking (which might Settle again) but Diſſolving Foundations; which muſt leave the Building unſafe for habitation: That Such men, who knew the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil State was ſo wrought and interwoven together, and, in truth, ſo incorporated in each other, that the one could not long continue in Proſperity without the other; and that the Profeſſors of the Law were never at ſo great a height, as even in This time that They ſo unjuſtly envied the greatneſs of the Church: And laſtly, That They, who might well know, that the great unweildly Body of the Clergy, conſiſting of ſuch different tempers, humours, inclinations, and abilities; and which inevitably will have ſo ſtrong an Influence upon the nature

ture and affections of the People; could never be Regulated and Govern'd by any Magiſtrates but of Themſelves; nor by any Rules, but of ſuch Power as the Biſhops exerciſed; Whom (beſides all arguments of Piety, and ſubmiſſion to Antiquity) the experience of the Bleſſed Times Since the Reformation, not to be parallel'd in any Nation under Heaven, declared to be the moſt Happy Managers of that Power, whatſoever rankneſs and excreſcence might have proceeded from ſome Branches: I ſay, that theſe Knowing and Diſcerning men (for Such I muſt confeſs there have been) ſhould believe it poſſible for Them to flouriſh; or that the Law it ſelf would have the ſame reſpect and veneration from the People, when the well diſpoſed Fabrick of the Church ſhould be rent aſunder (which, without Their activity and skill in Confuſion, could never have been compaſs'd) hath been to me an Inſtance of the Divine Anger againſt the Pride of Both, in ſuffering them to be the Fatal Engines of Breaking one another: whereas Neither could have been oppreſs'd by any other Strength or Power but Their Own.

AND I cannot but ſay, to the Profeſſors of that great and admirable myſtery, the Common Law (upon which, no man looks with more affection, reverence, and ſubmiſſion) Who ſeem Now, by the Fury and Iniquity of the Time, to ſtand upon the ground they have won, and to be Maſters of the Field; and, it may be, Wear ſome of the Trophies and Spoils They have raviſh'd from the Oppreſs'd; that They have Yet but ſharpen'd Weapons for Others to wound them; and that Their Own Arguments and Eloquence, may be, one time or other, applied to Their Own Deſtruction. And therefore, if they have either Piety, to repent and redeem the Ill that they have wrought; or Policy, to Preſerve their own condition from Contempt; and Themſelves from being Slaves to the moſt abject of the People; They will, at length, wind up the Church and the Law into one and the ſame Intereſt; and, by a firm and ſteady purſuit, endeavour to fix Both on the Same Foundation, from whence they have been ſo violently diſturb'd.

BY this time the King was as weary of *Scotland*, as he had been impatient to go thither; finding all things propoſed to him, as to a vanquiſh'd perſon, without conſideration of his Honour, or his Intereſt; and having not one Counſellor about him, but the Duke of *Lenox* (who from the beginning carried himſelf by the moſt exact rules of Honour, Gratitude, and Fidelity to him) and very few followers; who had either affection to his Perſon, or reſpect to his Honour.

THAT which ſhould have been an Act of Oblivion, was made a Defence and Juſtification of whatſoever They had done: Their firſt Tumults, and erecting their Tables, in Oppoſition to, and at laſt Suppreſſing, both Courts of Juſtice and Seſſion; and the Acts and Orders of thoſe Tables; declared to be "the effects of their Duty to his Majeſty; "and according to the Law of the Land: And ſo all Thoſe, who, according to their Allegiance, had oppoſed and reſiſted them on the behalf of his Majeſty, and were qualified by his Majeſty's Commiſſions, were adjudg'd Criminal; and the only perſons Excepted from Pardon, and Exempted from the Benefit of that Oblivion.

THE Seditious Acts of that Aſſembly, which had Expell'd all Biſhops, and the Canonical Clergy, from being Members of that Aſſembly; and affirm'd Themſelves to have a Power, "to inflict the Cenſures of the "Church upon his Majeſty himſelf; were declared "to be Lawful, and "according to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom; and the Government

"of the Church by Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, declared to be againſt "the Word of God; and They condemn'd, as Enemies to the Propaga- "tion of the true reform'd Proteſtant Religion; and therefore to be ut- "terly Aboliſh'd; and Their Lands given to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

IN conſideration of the King's neceſſary Abſence from that his Native Kingdom, it was thought fit, "that the Full and Abſolute Govern- "ment thereof, ſhould be committed to the Lords of the Secret Coun- "cil; who were likewiſe made "Conſervators of the Peace of the two "Kingdoms, during the intervals of Parliaments; and thoſe Lords, and Conſervators, "were then, and ſtill, to be named by Parliament; which "was once in three years to aſſemble upon a day certain, without any "Summons from the King, if He neglected to publiſh ſuch Summons; and, upon the ſame reaſon, "all great Officers, as Chancellor, Trea- "ſurer, Secretary, and the reſt, nominated by Parliament; and in the in- "terval by the Lords of the Secret Council; without ſo much as be- ing concern'd to have his Majeſty's approbation.

ALL which Acts, and whatſoever elſe They were pleaſed to preſent to him, concerning Church or State, the King confirm'd; and there- by, made the Lord *Lowden*, who had been the Principal Manager of the Rebellion, Chancellor of *Scotland*; and created him likewiſe an Earl; and conferr'd the other great Offices, as he was directed: Then, he made the Earl of *Argyle* (for he was ſtill truſted with conferring of Ho- nours) Marquis; Their great General, *Leſly*, Earl of *Leven*; and their Lieutenant-General, Earl of *Calender*; and conferr'd other Honours on Perſons, according to the capacity and ability they had in doing him Miſchief: And laſtly (leaving all his Own Party barely to Live; for he had procured a Pardon for them from the Parliament, upon condi- tion "They came not near the King's preſence; nor receiv'd any Be- "nefit from him; without Their approbation) his Majeſty gave all the Lands of the Church, which had been devolv'd to Him by Its ruin; and whatſoever He had elſe to give, in that Kingdom; to Thoſe, who had diſcover'd it not to be in good hands before: So that he ſeem'd to have made that Progreſs into *Scotland*, only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom; which he could never have done, ſo ab- ſolutely, without going thither. And ſo, having nothing more to do There, He begun his journey towards *England* about the middle of *No- vember*.

IT is not to be doubted, in conſideration of thoſe Extravagant Con- ceſſions, They made as Extravagant Promiſes to the King; That by Their Loyal and Dutiful comportment, his Majeſty ſhould find no dimi- nution of his Power; That He ſhould have the entire obedience of that Nation, to preſerve his full Rights and Regalities in *England*; and to reduce *Ireland*: The Earl of *Leven* telling him (as Marquis *Hamilton* aſſured me; in His hearing) "that he would not only never more "ſerve Againſt him; but that whenever his Majeſty would require his "Service, He ſhould have it; without ever asking what the cauſe was. And many of them whiſpering in his ear, and aſſuring him, "that aſ- "ſoon as the troubles of the late Storm could be perfectly calm'd, They "would Reverſe and Repeal whatſoever was now unreaſonably ex- "torted from him. And his Majeſty having never receiv'd any conſi- derable Profit from *Scotland*, cared the leſs for what he parted with There: and, it may be, being reſolv'd They ſhould be no more Charge

to

to him in his Court here (for ſurely he had then very hard thoughts of a great part of the Nation) he believ'd he ſhould ſave more in This Kingdom, than he had given in That; and he made no doubt, but that They were ſo Full fed now, that they would not Stir from home again, till the Temper and Affection of his People here, ſhould be better diſpoſed for their reception.

BUT his Majeſty never conſider'd, or not ſoon enough, that They could not reaſonably hope to keep, what they had ſo ill got, but by the ſame arts by which they were ſuch gainers; and there cannot be a ſurer evidence of the Continuance of an Enemy, than the having receiv'd Injuries from him, of a nature that do not uſe to be forgiven. Neither did he ſufficiently weigh the unſpeakable Encouragement; and, in ſome particulars, the reaſonable Pretence the Factious Party here would have, from the Proſperous Wickedneſs of Thoſe there. And, it is certain, their number from thenceforth increas'd wonderfully: the Enemies of the Church preſuming Their work was more than half done, when the King himſelf had declared (for his Conſent to that Act They would eaſily make appear to be ſuch) "that the Government by Arch-"Biſhops, and Biſhops, was againſt the Word of God, and the Propaga-"tion of Religion. Many concluding the King would at laſt Yield to any thing, put themſelves in company of the boldeſt and moſt poſitive Askers; and Some, who in their hearts abhor'd what the *Scots* had done, yet diſdaining to be overwitted by them; and that They ſhould get more for Themſelves, and receive a greater argument of the King's truſt, than We of this Nation; out of pure Malice to Them, reſolv'd to do the ſame things with them; and ſo join'd and concurr'd in any Exorbitancies. All which the King too late diſcover'd, by the Entertainment he receiv'd upon his return.

The Committee for the Remonſtrance make their Report in the Houſe of Commons.

ABOUT the time the news came of the King's beginning his journey from *Scotland* upon a day appointed; and that he had ſettled all things in that Kingdom to the general Satisfaction; the Committee for preparing the Remonſtrance, offer'd their Report to the Houſe; which cauſed the Draught they offer'd, to be Read. It contain'd a very bitter Repreſentation, of all the Illegal things which had been done, from the firſt hour of the King's coming to the Crown, to that minute; with all the ſharp Reflections which could be made, upon the King himſelf, the Queen, and Council; and publiſh'd all the unreaſonable Jealouſies of the Preſent Government, of the introducing Popery; and all other particulars, that might diſturb the minds of the People: which were enough diſcompoſed.

THE Houſe ſeem'd generally to diſlike it; many ſaying, "that it was "very unneceſſary, and unſeaſonable: Unneceſſary, all thoſe Grievances "being already fully Redreſs'd; and the Liberty and Property of the "Subject being as well Secured for the future, as could poſſibly be done: "and Unſeaſonable, after the King had gratified them, with granting "every thing which They had deſired of him; and after ſo long abſence, "in the ſettling the Diſorders in another Kingdom, which he had hap-"pily compoſed; to be now welcom'd home with ſuch a volume of Re-"proaches, for what Others had done amiſs, and which He himſelf had "reform'd. Notwithſtanding all which, all the other Party appear'd Paſſionately concern'd that it might not be rejected; and enlarged themſelves with as high expreſſions Againſt the Government, as at firſt; with many inſinuations, "that we were in danger of being deprived of

"all the Good Acts which we had gain'd, if great care and vigilance were "not uſed, to Diſappoint ſome Counſels which were ſtill entertain'd; making ſome doubtful glances and reflections upon the Rebellion in *Ireland* (with which they perceiv'd many good men were eaſily amuſed) and in the end prevail'd, "that a day ſhould be appointed, when the "Houſe ſhould be reſolv'd into a Committee of the whole Houſe, and "the Remonſtrance to be then retaken into conſideration: and in the mean time, They employ'd all their credit and intereſt with particular men, to perſwade them, "that the Paſſing that Remonſtrance was moſt "neceſſary, for the Preſervation and Maintainance of all thoſe good "Laws which They had already made; giving ſeveral reaſons to ſeveral perſons, according to their natures and inclinations; aſſuring many, "that They intended it only for the Mortification of the Court, and "manifeſtation that that Malignant Party, which appear'd to be grow-"ing up in the Houſe, could not prevail; and then, "that it ſhould "remain ſtill in the Clerk's hands, and never be publiſh'd.

AND by theſe, and the like arts, They promiſed themſelves that they ſhould eaſily carry it: So that the day it was to be reſumed, They entertain'd the Houſe all the morning with other Debates, and towards noon call'd for the Remonſtrance; and it being urged by ſome, "that "it was too late to enter upon it, with much difficulty they conſented, "that it ſhould be entred upon the next morning at nine of the Clock; "and every clauſe ſhould be Debated, the Speaker in the Chair; for They would not have the Houſe reſolv'd into a Committee, which they believ'd would ſpend too much time. *Oliver Cromwell* (who, at that time, was little taken notice of) ask'd the Lord *Falkland*, "Why he "would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determin'd it? He anſwer'd, "There would not have been time enough, for ſure it "would take ſome Debate. The Other replied, "a very Sorry one: They ſuppoſing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppoſe it.

BUT He quickly found he was miſtaken: for the next morning, the Debate being entred upon about Nine of the Clock, it continued all that day; and Candles being call'd for when it grew dark (neither Side being very deſirous to adjourn it till the next day; though it was evident, very many withdrew themſelves out of pure faintneſs and diſability to attend the concluſion) the Debate continued till it was after Twelve of the Clock, with much Paſſion; and the Houſe being then divided, upon the Paſſing or Not paſſing it, it was carried in the Affirmative, by Nine voices, and no more: and aſſoon as it was declared, Mr *Hambden* moved, "that there might be an Order entred for the preſent Print-"ing it; which produced a ſharper Debate than the former. It appear'd then, that They did not intend to ſend it up to the Houſe of Peers, for Their concurrence; but that it was upon the matter an Appeal to the People; and to infuſe Jealouſies into their minds. It had ſeldom been the cuſtom to Publiſh any Debates, or Determinations of the Houſe, which were not regularly firſt tranſmitted to the Houſe of Peers; nor was it thought intruth, that the Houſe had Authority to give warrant for the Printing of any thing; all which was offer'd by Mr *Hyde*, with ſome warmth, aſſoon as the motion was made for the Printing it: and He ſaid, "He believ'd the Printing it in that manner, was not Lawful; "and He fear'd it would produce Miſchievous effects; and therefore "deſired the leave of the Houſe, that if the Queſtion ſhould be put, and "be

It was carried by Nine voices.

"be carried in the Affirmative, that He might have liberty to enter his "Proteſtation; which he no ſooner ſaid, than *Jeffery Palmer* (a man of great reputation, and much eſteem'd in the Houſe) ſtood up, and made the ſame motion for himſelf, "that He might likewiſe Proteſt; Many afterwards, without diſtinction, and in ſome diſorder, cry'd out together, "They did Proteſt: So that there was after ſcarce any quiet and regular Debate. But the Houſe by degrees being quieted, They all conſented, about Two of the Clock in the morning, to adjourn till Two of the Clock the next Afternoon. And as they went out of the Houſe, the Lord *Falkland* aſk'd *Oliver Cromwell*, "Whether there had been "a Debate? to which He anſwer'd, "he would take His word another "time; and whiſper'd him in the ear, with ſome aſſeveration, "that if "the Remonſtrance had been rejected, He would have ſold all he had "the next morning, and never have ſeen *England* more; and He knew, "there were many other honeſt men of the ſame reſolution. So near was the poor Kingdom at that time to its Deliverance.

HOWEVER They got this victory, they did not in a long time recover the ſpirits they loſt, and the agony they had ſuſtain'd, whilſt it was in ſuſpenſe; and they diſcern'd well enough, that the Houſe had not at that time half its Members preſent; though They had provided, that not a man of Their Party was abſent; and that they had even carried it by the hour of the night, which drove away a greater number of old and infirm Oppoſers, than would have made Thoſe of the Negative Superior in number: So that They had little hope, in a Fuller Houſe, to Prevail in any of their Unjuſt deſigns, except they found ſome other expedient, by hopes or fears, to work upon the affections of the ſeveral Members.

IN order to which, They ſpent moſt part of the next day in their Private conſultations, how to Chaſtiſe ſome of Thoſe who offended them the day before; and reſolv'd in the firſt place, not to ſuffer that Precedent to be introduced into the Houſe, "that men ſhould Proteſt "againſt the Senſe of the Houſe: which, it is true, had not been uſed in the Houſe of Commons, This Subject was the more grateful to them, becauſe they ſhould heartily take Revenge upon Mr *Hyde*, whom they perfectly hated; and to whoſe activity, they imputed the trouble they had ſuſtain'd the day before; and He was the Firſt who made the Proteſtation, that is, aſk'd leave to do it; which produced the other ſubſequent clamour, that was indeed in ſome diſorder. But here they differ'd amongſt themſelves; all the Leading violent men, who bore the greateſt ſway, were moſt glad of the occaſion, as it gave them opportunity to be rid of Mr *Hyde*; which they paſſionately deſired: but Sr *John Hotham*, *Cholmondley*, and *Stapleton* (who never ſever'd, and had a numerous Train attending their motions) remember'd the Service Mr *Hyde* had done againſt the Court of *York* (the overthrowing whereof was Their peculiar glory) and would not conſent that they ſhould queſtion Him; but were ready to concur with them in the Proſecution of any other of the Proteſtors; whereof there was number enough. This made ſo great a Difference amongſt them, that for the preſent they agreed no further, than "that they would that Afternoon only provide, "that the next morning they would fall upon that matter; and then they might conſult together at night, what perſon they would Sacrifice.

ABOUT Three of the Clock, when the Houſe met, Mr *Pym* "la"mented the Diſorder of the night before, which, he ſaid, might pro-

"bably

"bably have engaged the Houſe in Blood, and had proceeded principal-
"ly from the offering a Proteſtation; which had been never before of-
"fer'd in That Houſe; and was a Tranſgreſſion that ought to be ſevere-
"ly Examin'd, that Miſchief might not reſult hereafter from that Pre-
"cedent: and therefore propoſed, That the Houſe would the next morn-
"ing enter upon that Examination; and in the mean time, men might
"recollect themſelves, and They who uſed to take Notes, might peruſe
"their Memorials; that the Perſons who were the chief cauſes of the
"Diſorder, might be named, and defend themſelves the beſt they could:
and with this reſolution the Houſe aroſe; the vexation of the night be- 10
fore, being very viſible in the looks and countenance of many. Nei-
ther that nights deliberation; nor all the Artifice or Importunity that
could be uſed, could remove the obſtinate Northern men from their re-
ſolution; They declared poſitively, "That if they Proſecuted Mr *Hyde*,
"They, and all their Friends, would engage in his Defence: which
made the Others reſolve, not to incur the danger or inconvenience of
ſuch a Schiſm; and ſo they unanimouſly agreed upon Another perſon,
whom they would accuſe.

THE next morning, They firſt enlarged upon the Offence it ſelf;
"of the Miſchief it had like to have produced; and would unavoidably 20
"produce, if the cuſtom or liberty of it were ever admitted; That it
"was the Firſt time it had ever been offer'd in That Houſe; and that
"care ought to be taken, that it ſhould be the Laſt; by ſevere Judge-
"ment of the Houſe, upon Thoſe perſons who had begun the Pre-
"ſumption.

Mr HYDE, who had then known nothing of the Private conſulta-
tion; and had many reaſons to believe Himſelf to be deſign'd; ſtood up
(notwithſtanding ſome Signs made to him at a diſtance by his Northern
Friends, which he underſtood not) and ſaid, "It concern'd him to Ju-
"ſtify what he had done, being the Firſt man who mention'd the Prote- 30
"ſtation: upon which, there was a general Noiſe and Clamour "to
"Withdraw; and as great," to Speak: He proceeded, and ſaid, "He was
"not old enough to know the Ancient Cuſtoms of That Houſe; but,
"that He well knew, it was a very Ancient Cuſtom in the Houſe of
"Peers; and Leave was never denied There to any man, who ask'd that
"he might Proteſt, and enter his Diſſent, againſt any Judgement of the
"Houſe, to which he would not be underſtood to have given his Con-
"ſent: That He did not underſtand any reaſon, why a Commoner
"ſhould not have the ſame Liberty, if he deſired not to be involv'd in
"any Vote, which he thought might poſſibly be Inconvenient to him. 40
"That He had not offer'd his proteſtation againſt the Remonſtrance,
"though he had oppoſed it all he could, becauſe it remain'd ſtill within
"thoſe Walls; That he had only deſired leave to Proteſt againſt the
"Printing it; which He thought, was not in many reſpects Lawful for
"Them to do; and might prove very Pernicious to the Publick Peace,

THEY were very much offended with all he ſaid, and his aſſurance in
ſpeaking; and Mr *Strode* could not contain himſelf from ſaying, "that
"That Gentleman had confeſs'd that He had Firſt propoſed the Pro-
"teſtation; and therefore deſired, He might Withdraw; which many
Others likewiſe call'd for: till Sr *John Hotham* appear'd with ſome 50
warmth againſt it; and young *Hotham*, his Son, accuſed *Jeffery Palmer*
"of giving the cauſe of Diſorder, by ſaying, *I do Proteſt*, without
"asking the Leave of the Houſe; and encouraging Others to cry out

"every

"every man, *I do Proteſt*: whereupon, They all fell into great Noiſe and Confuſion; and ſo, without much more diſcourſe, Mr *Palmer* was call'd upon "to Explain; which, as He was about to do, Mr *Hyde* (who lov'd him much; and had rather have ſuffer'd Himſelf, than that He ſhould) ſpoke, to the Orders of the Houſe; and ſaid, "That it was "Againſt the Orders and Practice of the Houſe, that any man ſhould be "call'd upon to Explain, for any thing he ſaid in the Houſe Two days "before; when it could not be preſumed, that his Own Memory could "Recollect all the words he had uſed; or, that any body elſe could Charge "him with them; and appeal'd to the Houſe, whether there was any "Precedent of the like. And there is no doubt, there never had been; and it was very Irregular. But They were too poſitively reſolv'd to be diverted; till, after two hours Debate, He himſelf deſired, "that, to "ſave the Houſe further trouble, he might Anſwer, and Withdraw; which he did. When it drew towards Night, after many hours Debate, it was order'd, "that he ſhould be committed to the Tower; the angry men preſſing, with all their power, "that he might be Expell'd the "Houſe; having born him a long grudge, for the civility He ſhew'd in the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*; that is, that He had not uſed the ſame reproachful language which the Others had done: but They were at laſt glad to compound for his bare commitment to the Tower; from whence he was within few days enlarged, and return'd again to the Houſe. In the cloſe of that day, and the riſing of the Houſe, without much oppoſition, They obtain'd an Order for the Printing their Remonſtrance. *The Remonſtrance order'd to be Printed.*

THAT Remonſtrance, after many clauſes and unbecoming expreſſions were caſt out, contain'd, "That there had been, from the Beginning of his Majeſty's Reign, a Malignant and Pernicious Deſign, of "Subverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, "upon which the Religion and Juſtice of the Kingdom was eſtabliſh'd: "That the Actors and Promoters thereof, were the Jeſuited Papiſts; the "Biſhops, and Corrupt part of the Clergy; and Such Counſellors and "Courtiers, as had engaged themſelves to further the Intereſts of ſome "Forreign Princes or States, to the Prejudice of the King and State at "home: All which had endeavour'd to raiſe Differences and Diſcontents betwixt the King and his People, upon queſtions of Prerogative "and Liberty; to Suppreſs the Purity of Religion, and Such Men as "were beſt affected to it, as the greateſt Impediment to that Change "which They thought to introduce; to cheriſh and maintain thoſe Opinions in Religion, which brought Ours neareſt and moſt agreeable "to the Papiſts; and to continue, multiply, and enlarge the Differences "between the Proteſtants themſelves, diſtinguiſhing between Proteſtants and Puritans, by introducing and countenancing ſuch Opinions "and Ceremonies, as were fitteſt for accommodation with Popery; "that ſo, of Papiſts, Arminians, and Libertines, They might compoſe "a Body, fit to act Such Counſels and Reſolutions, as were moſt conducible to Their Own ends: and laſtly, to render the King Diſaffected "to Parliaments, by Slanders and Falſe Imputations, and ſo putting him "upon other ways of Supply, as of more advantage than the ordinary "courſe of Subſidies; which brought infinite Loſs to the King and People, and cauſed the Diſtractions that enſued. *The ſubſtance of it.*

THEY remember'd "the Breach of the Parliament at *Oxford* in "the Firſt year of his Majeſty's Reign; and reproach'd him with the

"Fruitleſs Voyage to *Cadiz*, at his firſt coming to the Crown; the Loſs "of *Rochel*, by firſt Suppreſſing Their Fleet with His Own Royal "Ships, by which the Proteſtant Religion in *France* infinitely ſuffer'd; "the making a War with *France* precipitately, and a Peace with *Spain*, "without Their conſent, and ſo deſerting the Cauſe of the *Palatinate*; "and, with a Deſign, to bring in *German* Horſe, to force the King- "dom, by Violence, to Submit to ſuch Arbitrary Contributions, as "ſhould be required of them.

THEY remember'd him "of Charging the Kingdom by Billetting of "Soldiers, and by raiſing of Coat and Conduct money for thoſe Soldiers, "in the Second and Third years of his Reign; of his Diſſolving the "Parliament, in his Second year, after Their declaration of an intent "to grant Five Subſidies; and the exacting thoſe five Subſidies after- "wards by a Commiſſion of Loan; upon the refuſal whereof, divers Gen- "tlemen were Impriſon'd, whereof ſome Died, by the Diſeaſes they "contracted in that Impriſonment; of great Sums raiſed by Privy- "Seals; and of an attempt to ſet the Exciſe on foot.

THEY remember'd "the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the Fourth "year of his Reign, and the Untrue and Scandalous Declarations there- "upon; the Impriſoning divers Members of that Parliament after the "Diſſolution, and detaining them cloſe Priſoners for Words ſpoken in "Parliament, Sentencing and Fining them for thoſe Words; One of "which Died in Priſon for want of ordinary refreſhment, whoſe Blood "(They ſaid) ſtill cry'd for Vengeance.

THEY reproach'd his Majeſty "with Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and Vio- "lence, which, after the Breaking of that Parliament, broke in upon "them, without any reſtraint or moderation; with the great Sums of "money He had exacted throughout the Kingdom for default of Knight- "hood, in the Fourth year of his Reign; with the receiving Tonnage "and Poundage, from the death of King *James*; and raiſing the Book "of Rates, and laying New Impoſitions upon Trade; with the Enlarge- "ment of Forreſts, and Compoſitions thereupon; the ingroſſing Gun- "powder, and ſuffering none to buy it without Licence; with all the "moſt odious Monopolies, of Soap, Wine, Salt, Leather, Sea-coal, and "the reſt (which had been granted from his Majeſty's firſt coming to the Crown, and ſome of them before) "with the new Tax of Ship-mo- "ney, and the ill guarding the Seas, and leaving the Merchants naked "to the violence of the *Turkiſh* Pirates, notwithſtanding that extraor- "dinary and extravagant Supply; with the Vexations upon pretence of "Nuiſances in Building, and thereupon raiſing great Sums of money "for Licences to Build; and of Depopulation, that men might pay "Fines to continue the ſame miſdemeanour; with the Seizing the Mer- "chants Money in the Mint; and an abominable Project of making "Braſs Money.

THEY repeated "the extravagant Cenſures of the Star-chamber, "whereby the Subject had been oppreſs'd, by Fines, Impriſonments, "Stigmatizing, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, "Baniſhments; the Severe and Illegal Proceedings of the Council-Ta- "ble, and Other new erected Judicatories; and the Suſpenſions, Ex- "communications, and Deprivations, of Learned and Pious Miniſters, "by the High Commiſſion Court; which grew to that Exceſs of Sharp- "neſs and Severity, that They ſaid it was not much leſs than the "*Romiſh* Inquiſition,

THEY

THEY reproach'd the King "with the Liturgy and Canons ſent into "*Scotland*, as an Attempt upon the Proteſtant Religion; with the "Forcing that Nation to raiſe an Army in Their Own Defence, and "raiſing an Army Againſt them; with the Pacification, and Breach of "that Pacification; that He call'd a Parliament after, in hope to Cor-"rupt it, and make it Countenance the War with *Scotland*; which when "He found it would Not do, he Diſſolv'd it, and then committed Mem-"bers to Priſon; and compell'd men to lend Money againſt their "wills; and Impriſon'd ſuch as refuſed.

THEY mention'd "the Synod held by the Biſhops after the end of "the Parliament, and the Canons and Oath made by them; the raiſing "the Armies, Here and in *Ireland*, againſt the *Scots*; and the liberal "Collection and Contribution from the Clergy, and the Catholicks, to-"wards that War; all the Favours that had been done to the Papiſts; "the Reception and Entertainment of Seignior *Con*, and the *Comte Ro-"zetti*, by the Queen, from *Rome*; and ſome Miniſters ſent by her Ma-"jeſty thither.

IN a word, They left not any Error or Misfortune in Government; or any Paſſionate Exerciſe of Power, unmention'd, or unpreſs'd; with the Sharpeſt, and moſt Pathetical Expreſſions to affect the People, that the general obſervation of the Wiſeſt, or the particular animoſity of the moſt Diſobliged, or Ill Affected perſons, could ſuggeſt, to the Diſad-vantage of the King; from the death of his Father, to the unhappy be-ginning of the preſent Parliament.

THEN They magnified Their own Services: "That having found "the Kingdom groaning under theſe Difficulties, which ſeem'd to be "inſuperable, They had, by the Divine Providence, overcome them all; "That They had aboliſh'd Ship-money, and all Monopolies; and had "taken away that which was the Root of all thoſe Evils, the Arbitrary "Power of Taxing the Subject, pretended to be in the King: That "the Living Grievances, the Evil Counſellors, were ſo quell'd, by the "Juſtice done to the Earl of *Strafford*; the Flight of the Lord *Finch*, "and Secretary *Windebank*; the Accuſation and Impriſonment of the "Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Delinquents; that it was not "like to be only an Eaſe to the Preſent Times, but a Preſervation to the "Future.

THEY reckon'd up "all the Good Laws, and the Benefit the People "receiv'd by thoſe Laws; ſpoke of many Good Deſigns They had, for "the Benefit of the Kingdom: But then Complain'd, "of Oppoſitions, "and Obſtructions, and Difficulties, with which They were encounter'd, "and which ſtill lay in their Way, with ſome ſtrength, and much "obſtinacy; That there was a Malignant Party took heart again, that "Preferr'd ſome of their own Agents and Factors, to Degrees of Ho-"nour, and to Places of Truſt and Employment. That They had endea-"vour'd to work in his Majeſty Ill Impreſſions and Opinions of Their "Proceedings; as if They had done alltogether Their Own work, and "not His; and had obtain'd many things from him Prejudicial to the "Crown, in reſpect of Prerogative, and Profit. To wipe out which "Slander, They declared, All They had done was for His Majeſty, his "Greatneſs, Honour, and Support: That, when They gave five and "twenty thouſand pounds a month, for the relief of the Northern Coun-"ties, in the ſupport of the *Scotiſh* Army, It was given to the King, "for that He was bound to Protect his Subjects; and that, when They

"undertook the charge of the Army, which coſt above fifty thouſand "pounds a month, It was given to the King, for that it was his Majeſty's "Army, and the Commanders and Soldiers under contract with Him; "and that, when They undertook to Pay their Brethren of *Scotland* "three hundred thouſand pounds, It was to repair the Damages and "Loſſes They had ſuſtain'd by his Majeſty and his Miniſters; and that "thoſe particulars, amounted to above Eleven hundred thouſand pounds.

THEN They negligently and perfunctorily paſs'd over his Majeſty's Graces and Favours; "as being little more than in Juſtice He was obliged "to grant; and of no conſiderable Loſs and Damage to Himſelf: and "promiſed the good People ſhortly Eaſe in the matter of Protections, "(by which, the Debts from Parliament men, and their Followers and "Dependents, were not recoverable) and ſpeedily to paſs a Bill to that "purpoſe.

THEN They inveigh'd againſt the Malignant Party, "that had ſought "to cauſe Jealouſies between Them and their Brethren of *Scotland*; "and that had ſuch a Party of Biſhops and Popiſh Lords in the Houſe "of Peers, as hinder'd the Proceedings of divers good Bills, Paſs'd in "the Commons Houſe, concerning ſundry great Abuſes and Corruptions "both in Church and State (when, at that time, the Houſe of Peers had only refuſed to concur with them in Two Bills; that, of the Proteſtation; and, the taking away the Votes of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers) "that had attempted to Diſaffect and Diſcontent his Majeſty's "late Army, and to bring it up againſt the Parliament, and City of *London*; that had raiſed the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and, if not by Their "Wiſdom prevented, had brought the like Miſery and Confuſion in "This Kingdom.

THEN They declared, "That They meant to have a general Synod, "of the moſt Grave, Pious, Learned, and Judicious Divines, of this "Iſland (when, at that time, there was ſcarce one Orthodox Divine of *England* in reputation with them) "who, aſſiſted by ſome from For-"reign Parts, profeſſing the ſame Religion, ſhould conſider of all things "neceſſary for the Peace and good Government of the Church; and "preſent the reſult of their Conſultations to the Parliament, to be There "allow'd and confirm'd: That They would provide a competent Main-"tenance for Conſcientious and Preaching Miniſters, throughout the "Kingdom: That They intended to Reform and Purge the Fountains "of Learning, the two Univerſities; that the Streams flowing from "thence might be clear and pure, and an Honour and Comfort to the "whole Land: That his Majeſty ſhould be Petition'd by Both Houſes, "to employ ſuch Counſellors, Embaſſadors, and other Miniſters, in "managing his buſineſs at home and abroad, as the Parliament have "cauſe to confide in; without which, They could not give his Majeſty "ſuch Supplies for His Own ſupport; or ſuch Aſſiſtance for the Proteſtant Party beyond the Seas, as was deſired.

WITHALL They declared, "That the Commons might have cauſe, "often, Juſtly to take Exceptions at ſome men for being Counſellors, "and yet not charge thoſe men with Crimes; for that there are grounds "of Diffidence, which ly not in Proof; and others, which though they "may be Proved, yet are not Legally Criminal; as to be a known "Favourer of Papiſts; or to have been very forward in Defending or "Countenancing ſome great Offenders, queſtion'd in Parliament; or to "ſpeak Contemptuouſly of Either Houſe of Parliament, or Parliamen-

"tary

"tary Proceedings; or Such as are ſuſpected to get Counſellors Places,
"or any other of truſt concerning Publick Employment for Money:
"That all good courſes may be taken to Unite the two Kingdoms of
"*England* and *Scotland*; to be mutually aiding and aſſiſting one ano-
"ther, for the Common Good of the Iſland, and the Honour of Both:
With ſome other particulars of this nature.

The ways by which the Party grew in the Houſe of Commons.

I KNOW not, how Thoſe men have already anſwer'd it to Their Own Conſciences; or how they will anſwer it, to Him who can diſcern their Conſciences; who, having aſſumed their Countries Truſt, and, it may be, with great Earneſtneſs labour'd to procure that Truſt, by Their Supine Lazineſs, Negligence, and Abſence, were the Firſt Inlets to thoſe Inundations; and ſo contributed to thoſe Licenſes which have overwhelm'd us. For, by this means, a Handful of men, much inferior in the beginning, in number and intereſt, came to give Laws to the Major part; and to ſhew that Three Diligent perſons, are really a Greater and more Significant number, than Ten Unconcern'd, They, by Plurality of Voices, in the end, converted or reduced the Whole Body to Their opinions. It is true, Men of Activity and Faction, in any deſign, have many Advantages, that a Compoſed and Settled Council, though induſtrious enough, uſually have not; and ſome, that Gallant men cannot give themſelves leave to entertain: for, beſides Their through conſidering and forming their Counſels before they execute them; They contract a habit of Ill Nature and Diſingenuity neceſſary to Their affairs, and the temper of Thoſe upon whom they are to work, that Liberal minded men would not perſwade themſelves to entertain, even for the Prevention of all the Miſchief the Others intend. And whoſoever obſerves, the Ill Arts by which Theſe men uſed to prevail upon the People in general; Their abſurd, ridiculous Lying, to win the affections, and corrupt the underſtandings, of the Weak; and the bold Scandals, to confirm the Wilful; the boundleſs Promiſes They preſented to the Ambitious; and Their groſs, abject Flatteries, and Applications, to the Vulgar Spirited; would hardly give himſelf leave to uſe thoſe Weapons, for the Preſervation of the Three Kingdoms.

THE King had at that time a greater Diſadvantage (beſides the concurrence of ill and extraordinary accidents) than Himſelf, or any of his Progenitors, had ever had before; having no Servant, of the Houſe of Commons, of Intereſt, Ability, and Reputation, and of Faithfulneſs and Affection to his Service: Sr *Thomas Jermyn*, who was very Honeſt to him, and of good Abilities, through his indiſpoſition of health, and trouble of mind for his Son's misfortune, having left the Houſe, and the Court, and being retired into the Country; and Sr *Harry Vane* (who was the other only Privy-Counſellor) having committed thoſe Faults to the King, he knew could not be forgiven; and thoſe Faults to the Country, could not be forgotten; gave himſelf entirely to the diſpoſition of his new Maſters: and Mr *Saint-John*, who at the beginning was made Sollicitor General; and thereby, had obliged himſelf by a particular Oath, "to Defend his Majeſty's Rights; and in no caſe to be of "Counſel, or give Advice, to the Prejudice of the King, and the Crown; was the Chief Inſtrument, to Deviſe and Contrive all the Propoſitions, and Acts of Undutifulneſs towards him. So that, whilſt Theſe men, and Their Conſorts, with the greateſt deliberation, conſulted, and diſpoſed themſelves to compaſs Confuſion; They, who out of the moſt abſtracted Senſe of Loyalty to the King, and Duty to their Country, ſeem'd from

any relations to the King's ſervice, or hopes from the Court, preſerv'd their own Innocence, and endeavour'd to uphold the good old frame of Government, receiv'd neither countenance nor conduct, from Thoſe who were naturally to have taken care of that province. And ſure, the Raging and Fanatick Diſtemper of the Houſe of Commons (to which all other diſtempers are to be imputed) muſt moſt properly be attributed, to the Want of Such good Miniſters of the Crown in that Aſſembly, as being Unaw'd by any Guilt of their Own, could have watch'd Other men's; and inform'd, encouraged, and influenced Thoſe, who ſtood well inclined to the Publick Peace.

To which purpoſe, if that Stratagem (though none of the beſt) of winning men by Places, had been practiſed, aſſoon as the reſolution was taken at *York* to call a Parliament (in which, it was apparent, dangerous attempts would be made; and that the Court could not be able to reſiſt thoſe attempts) and if Mr *Pym*, Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Hollis*, had been then Preferr d, with Mr *Saint-John*; before they were deſperately embark'd in their deſperate deſigns; and had Innocence enough about them, to truſt the King, and be truſted by him; having yet contracted no Perſonal animoſities againſt him: it is very poſſible, that They might either have been made Inſtruments to have done good Service; or at leaſt been reſtrain'd, from endeavouring to Subvert the Royal Building, for ſupporting whereof They had been placed as principal Pillars.

But the Rule the King gave himſelf (very reaſonable at any other time) that They ſhould Firſt do Service, and compaſs this or that thing for him, before they ſhould receive Favour, was Then very unſeaſonable: ſince, beſides that They could not intruth do him that Service without the qualification, it could not be expected They would deſert that Side, by the Power of which They were ſure to make themſelves conſiderable, without an unqueſtionable mark of intereſt in the Other, by which They were to keep up their Power and Reputation: and ſo, whilſt the King expected They ſhould manifeſt their inclinations to His Service, by their Temper and Moderation in thoſe Proceedings that moſt offended him; and They endeavour'd, by doing all the Hurt they could, to make evident the Power They had to do him Good; He grew ſo far Diſobliged, and provoked, that he could not in Honour Gratify them; and They ſo Obnoxious, and Guilty, that they could not think themſelves Secure in his Favour: and thence, according to the Policy and Method of Injuſtice, continued to Oppreſs that Power They had Injured; and to raiſe a Security for Themſelves, by Diſabling the King to queſtion their tranſgreſſions.

The King's Reception in London *upon his return out of* Scotland, Nov. 25.

Notwithstanding all theſe Contrivances, to Leſſen the Reputation of the Court (to which many other particulars contributed; which will be touch'd hereafter) The City of *London* made great Preparations to receive the King. *Gourney*, then Lord Mayor, was a man of Wiſdom, and Courage; and expreſs'd great Indignation, to ſee the City ſo Corrupted, by the ill artifices of Factious perſons; and therefore attended upon his Majeſty, at his entrance into the City, with all the Luſtre and good Countenance it could ſhew; and as great profeſſions of Duty, as It could make, or the King expect. And on *Thurſday*, the Five and Twentieth of *November*, the King entred into *London*; receiv'd with the greateſt acclamations of Joy, that had been known upon any occaſion; and after a moſt magnificent Entertainment, by Sr *Richard Gourney*

Gourney Lord Mayor, at the *Guild-Hall*; where the King, Queen, Prince, and the whole Court, of Lords and Ladies, were Feasted; his Majesty was attended by the whole City to *White-Hall*; where he lodg'd that night; and the Earl of *Essex* resign'd his Commission, of General on this side *Trent*; which had been granted for the Security of the Kingdom, at his Majesty's going into the North.

Sr H. Vane turn'd out from being Secretary of State.

The next day, the King went to *Hampton-Court*; and assoon as he came thither, took away the Seals from Sr *Henry Vane* (having before taken away his Staff of Treasurer of the Houshold from him, and conferr'd it upon the Lord *Savile*, in lieu of the Presidentship of the North; which he was to have had, if Both Houses had not declared that Commission to be Illegal) and appointed the Guards, that were kept at *Westminster* for the Security of the two Houses, ever since the News out of *Scotland*, to be dismiss'd; and shortly after publish'd a Proclamation, "for Obedience to be given to the Laws establish'd, for the exer-"cise of Religion.

A Petition presented to the King, together with the Remonstrance, on Decemb. 1. and Printed.

These proceedings of his Majesty, much troubled the Managers in the House; and the Entertainment given to him by the City of *London*, in which Their entire confidence was, much dejected them; and made them apprehend, their Friends There were not so Powerful as They expected: However, They seem'd to abate nothing of their mettal; and shortly after his return, resolv'd to present Their Remonstrance, lately framed, to him, together with a Petition; in which, They complain'd "of a Malignant Party, which prevail'd so far, as to bring di-"vers of Their Instruments to be of his Privy-Council; and in other em-"ployments of trust and nearness about his Majesty, the Prince, and the "rest of his Children: to which Malignant Party, amongst other "wickedness, They imputed the Insurrection of the Papists in *Ireland*; "and therefore, for the Suppressing that Wicked and Malignant Party, "They besought his Majesty, that He would concur with his People, "in a Parliamentary way, for the depriving the Bishops of their Votes "in Parliament (when at that time the Bill to that purpose had not pass'd the House of Peers) "and abridging Their immoderate power "over the Clergy; and for the removing unnecessary Ceremonies, by "which divers weak Consciences had been scrupled; That He would re-"move from his Council Such persons, as persisted to favour any of those "Pressures wherewith the People had been griev'd; and that He would "for the future employ Such persons in the Publick affairs, and take "Such to be near him in Places of trust, as his Parliament might have "cause to confide in; and that He would reject, and refuse, all media-"tion and sollicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near soever; "That He would forbear to alienate any of the Forfeited Escheated "Lands in *Ireland*, which should accrew to the Crown by reason of "this Rebellion. Which Desires of Theirs being graciously fulfill'd by "his Majesty (They said) They would apply themselves to such Courses "and Counsels, as should support his Royal Estate, with Honour and "Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad; and by Their "Loyal Affections and Service, lay a sure and lasting foundation of "the Greatness and Prosperity of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity "in future times.

This Petition, together with the Remonstrance, was presented at *Hampton-Court*, on the First day of *December*; and within few days after, both the Petition and Remonstrance were by Order Printed, and with

with great induſtry Publiſh'd throughout the Kingdom. Albeit the King, at the receipt thereof, deſired them not to publiſh either, till He ſhould ſend his Anſwer: which he did ſhortly after, expreſſing;

The King's Anſwer to the Petition.

"How ſenſible He was of that Direſpect; reprehending them for "the Unparliamentarineſs of their Remonſtrance in Print; whereof (He ſaid) "He would reſerve to himſelf to take ſuch courſe, as He ſhould "think fit, in Prudence and Honour. But to their Petition, He told them, "That if They would make that Wicked and Malignant Party, "whereof they complain'd, known to his Majeſty, He would be as ready "to Suppreſs and Puniſh it, as They could Be to Complain; That by "thoſe Counſellors whom He had expoſed to Trial, He had given ſuffi- "cient teſtimony, that there was no man ſo near him, in place or af- "fection, whom he would not leave to the Juſtice of the Law, if They "ſhould bring ſufficient Proofs, and a particular Charge againſt him; "in the mean time, He wiſh'd them to forbear ſuch general Aſperſions, "as ſince they named None in Particular, might reflect upon All his "Council; That for the Choice of his Counſellors, and Miniſters of "State, it was the natural Liberty all Freemen have, and the undoubted "Right of the Crown, to call Such to his Secret Council, and Publick "Employment, as He ſhould think fit; yet He would be careful, to "make election of Such, as ſhould have given good teſtimonies of their "Abilites and Integrity, and againſt Whom, there could be no juſt "cauſe of Exception; That for the depriving the Biſhops of their Votes "in Parliament, They ſhould conſider, that Their Right, was grounded "upon the Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and conſtitution of "Parliament.

"For what concern'd Religion, Church Government, and the re- "moving unneceſſary Ceremonies, if the Parliament ſhould adviſe him "to call a National Synod, He ſhould conſider of it, and give them "due Satisfaction therein; declaring His reſolution, to maintain the "Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd by Law, as well againſt all invaſions "of Popery, as from the irreverence of Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts; "wherewith, of late, this Kingdom and this City abounds, to the great "dishonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the Suppreſſion of "whom, his Majeſty required Their timely and active aſſiſtance.

"To Their deſire concerning *Ireland*, He told them, He much "doubted, whether it was Seaſonable to declare reſolutions of that "nature, before the events of the War were ſeen; however, He thank'd "them for their advice; and conjured them, to uſe all poſſible diligence "and expedition in advancing the Supplies thither; the Inſolence and "Cruelty of the Rebels daily increaſing.

THE graciouſneſs and temper of this Anſwer, made no impreſſion on them; but They proceeded in their uſual manner; framing and encouraging, underhand, thoſe whiſpers, by which the Rebellion in *Ireland*, might be underſtood to receive ſome extraordinary countenance from the Court of *England*; the ſcandal whereof, They knew, would quickly fall upon the Queen.

AT this time, the diligence and dexterity of the Lord Mayor, cauſed an Addreſs to be prepared to his Majeſty, from the Court of Aldermen; which was ſent by the two Sheriffs, and two Others of that Body; by which, "his Majeſty was humbly deſired to reſide at *White-Hall*: which angred the Governing Party, as much as Their kind reception had done. The Petition was graciouſly receiv'd; all the Aldermen Knighted; and the Court, within a day or two, remov'd to *White-Hall*.

THE

THE Letters out of *Ireland* were very importunate for relief, of Men, Money, and Proviſions; the Rebels very much increaſing and taking courage, from the ſlow proceeding Here for their ſuppreſſion: which indeed was not advanced equal to mens expectations; though the King, upon his firſt coming to the Houſes after his return from *Scotland*, with great earneſtneſs recommended it to them. Only, the Propoſitions made from *Scotland*, "for the ſending ten thouſand men from "Thence, into *Ulſter*, to be paid by the Parliament, were conſented to; whereby ſome Soldiers were diſpatch'd thither, to defend Their Own Plantation; and did intruth, at Our Charge, as much Oppreſs the *Engliſh* that were There, as the Rebels could have done; and had upon the matter the ſole Government of that Province committed to them, the chief Towns and Garriſons which were kept by *Engliſh* being deliver'd into Their hands. The Lievtenant himſelf, the Earl of *Leiceſter* (who was now grown gracious to the Managers) made not that haſt to his Charge, ſome men thought neceſſary; pretending "that the Rebels "had Yet ſome apprehenſions and terrour of His coming thither with "great Forces, and Proviſions of all kinds; but that if They ſhould hear "He were Landed, with ſo ſmall a Strength as was yet raiſed, and in no "better Equipage than he was yet able to go in, They would take Cou-"rage, and would Oppreſs him, before more Succours could come; by "reaſon, that They who yet ſtood upon their guard, and publickly ſided "not with Either (till, by the reſiſtance and oppoſition They found pre-"pared for them, they might gueſs Who was like to prevail) would "Then freely declare, and join with the reſt.

Affairs in Ireland.

THE ſlow levying of Men, was imputed to the Difficulty of getting Voluntiers; Their numbers, who had Commiſſion, upon beating Drums, riſing very inconſiderably: and therefore, They prepared a Bill for Preſſing; which quickly paſs'd the Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that there could be Then a Scarcity of Men, or that it could be hard, within three Months after the Disbanding the Northern Army, to bring together as Many men as they had occaſion to uſe: but Their buſineſs was to get Power, not Men; and therefore, this Stratagem was uſed, to transfer the Power of Preſſing men from the King, to Themſelves; and to get the King, that He might be Now Able to raiſe men for *Ireland*, to Diſable himſelf from Preſſing, upon any Other occaſion. For, in the Preamble of this Bill which They ſent up to the Lords (as They had done before, the firſt Act for Tonnage and Poundage) They declared, "That the King had in no caſe, "or upon any occaſion, but the Invaſion from a Forreign Power, Au-"thority to Preſs the Free-born Subject; which could not conſiſt with "the Freedom and Liberty of his perſon.

A Bill prepared in the Houſe of Commons for Preſſing men for Ireland.

The Preamble of the Bill, as it came from the Commons; excepted againſt in the Houſe of Lords.

THIS doctrine was new to the Lords, and contrary to the uſage and cuſtom of all times; and ſeem'd to Them a great Diminution of that Regal Power, which was neceſſary for the Preſervation of his own Subjects, and Aſſiſtance of his Allies; which in many caſes He was bound to yield. And the Atturney General took the Courage, "to deſire the "Lords (as He ſhould often have done in other caſes) "that He might "be heard, on the King's behalf, before They conſented to a Clauſe ſo "Prejudicial to the King's Prerogative. This neceſſary ſtop was no ſooner made, than the Commons laid aſide the conſideration of *Ireland*; order'd their Committee, "to meet no more about that buſineſs; the Levies which were then making of Voluntiers, ſtood ſtill; and They de-

clared, "that the Loſs of *Ireland* muſt be imputed to the Lords. On the other ſide, the Lords too well underſtood that Logick, to be moved by it; and were rather ſenſible of the Inconveniences They had incurr'd, by Their former Compliance, than inclined to repeat the ſame error.

IN the mean time, Letters came every day from *Ireland*, paſſionately bemoaning Their condition; and multitudes of Men, Women, and Children, who were deſpoil'd of their Eſtates, and forced into this Kingdom for want of Bread, ſpoke more lamentably than the Letters. In this ſtrait, They knew not what to do; for whatever diſcourſe They pleaſed Themſelves with, concerning the Lords, it was evident the Fault would ly at Their Own doors: beſides that, his Majeſty might make uſe of That occaſion, to take the whole buſineſs out of Their hands, and manage it Himſelf by his Council; which would both leſſen Their reputation and intereſt, and indeed defeat much of what They had projected.

Saint-John adviſes the King to offer an Expedient.

HEREUPON, Mr *Saint-John*, the King's Sollicitor (a man that might be truſted in any company) went privately to his Majeſty; and ſeem'd to Him much troubled, "at the Interruption given by the Commons; "and to grant, that the Preamble was Unreaſonable, and ought to be "inſiſted againſt by the Lords, on the behalf of his Majeſty's Prero-"gative: However, He told him, ſince He thought it impoſſible to re-"ctify the Commons in their underſtandings, it would be a great bleſ-"ſing to his Majeſty, if He could offer an Expedient to remove that "Rub, which muſt prove Fatal to *Ireland* in a ſhort time; and might "grow to ſuch a Diſunion between the two Houſes, as might much "cloud the happineſs of This Kingdom; and undoubtedly, could not but "have a very Popular Influence upon Both, when Both Sides would "be forwarder to acknowledge his Majeſty's great Wiſdom and Piety, "than they could be now made, to retract any thing that was Erroneous "in Themſelves: and then "adviſed him to come to the Houſes; and "to expreſs His Princely Zeal for the relief of *Ireland*; and taking "notice of the Bill for Preſſing, depending with the Lords, and the Di-"ſpute raiſed, concerning that ancient and undoubted Prerogative, to "avoid further Debate, to offer, That the Bill ſhould Paſs with a *Salvo* "*Jure*, both for the King and People; leaving ſuch Debates, to a time "that might better bear it.

The King puts it in practice:

WHICH advice his Majeſty follow'd; and coming to the Houſe, ſaid the very words He had propoſed to him. But now Their buſineſs was done (which truly, I think, no other way could have been compaſs'd) the Divided Lords and Commons preſently Unite themſelves, in a Petition to the King; "acknowledging His Royal Favour and Protection "to be a great Bleſſing and Security to them, for the enjoying and pre-"ſerving all thoſe private and publick Liberties and Priviledges which "belong unto them; and whenſoever any of thoſe Liberties or Privi-"ledges ſhould be invaded, They were bound, with humility and con-"fidence, to reſort to his Princely juſtice for redreſs and ſatisfaction; "becauſe the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, were the Birth-"right and Inheritance, not only of Themſelves, but of the whole King-"dom, wherein every one of his Subjects was intereſs'd: That amongſt "the Priviledges of Parliament, it was Their ancient and undoubted "Right, that his Majeſty ought not to take notice of any matter in agi-"tation and debate, in Either Houſe of Parliament, but by Their in-"formation

The Lords and Commons declare this to be a Breach of Priviledge, in a Petition to the King.

"formation and agreement; and that his Majeſty ought not to pro-
"pound any condition, proviſion, or limitation, to any Bill, or Act, in
"debate or preparation, in Either Houſe of Parliament; or to declare
"His conſent or diſſent, His approbation or diſlike, of the ſame, before
"it be preſented to him in due courſe of Parliament. They declared,
"That all thoſe Priviledges had been lately broken, to Their great ſor-
"row and grief, in that Speech which his Majeſty had made to them;
"wherein He took notice of a Bill for Preſſing of Soldiers, not yet a-
"greed upon; and offer'd a *Salvo Jure*, and proviſional clauſe, to be added
"to it, before it was preſented to him: and therefore They beſought
"him, by his Regal Power to Protect them, in Thoſe and the Other Pri-
"viledges of his High Court of Parliament; and that He would not,
"for the time to come, break or interrupt them; and that, for the Re-
"paration of them in that Their Grievance and Complaint, He would
"declare and make known the Name of ſuch Perſon, by whoſe Miſ-
"information, and Evil Counſel, his Majeſty was induced to the ſame,
"that he might receive condign Puniſhment. And this They did de-
"ſire, and as his greateſt and moſt faithful Council did adviſe, his Maje-
"ſty to perform; as a great advantage to him, by procuring and con-
"firming a Confidence and Unity betwixt his Majeſty and his Peo-
"ple. *&c.*

AND having deliver'd this Petition, They no more conſider'd *Ireland*, till this manifeſt Breach ſhould be repair'd; which They reſolv'd nothing ſhould do, but the Paſſing the Bill: and therefore, when the King offer'd, by a meſſage ſent by the Earl of *Eſſex*, "That He would
"take care, by Commiſſions which He would grant, that ten thouſand
"*Engliſh* Voluntiers ſhould be ſpeedily raiſed, for the ſervice of *Ire-*
"*land*, if the Houſes would declare that They would Pay them; the overture was wholely rejected: They neither being willing that ſuch a body of men ſhould be raiſed by the King's direction (which would probably be more at His devotion than They deſired) nor in any other way than They propoſed: and ſo in the end (after other Ill Accidents intervening, which will be remembred in order) He was compell'd to Paſs the Bill concerning Preſſing which They had prepared.

Whereupon, the Bill concerning Preſſing, Paſs'd.

HOWEVER, for all This, and the better, it may be, for all this; the King, upon his arrival at *White-Hall*, found Both his Houſes of Parliament of a much better Temper than They had been; Many having great Indignation, to ſee his Majeſty ſo Ill treated by his Own Servants, and Thoſe, who were moſt obliged to his bounty and magnificence; and likewiſe to diſcern, how much Ambition and Private Intereſt, was cover'd under Publick Pretences. They who were Intruth zealous, for the Preſervation of the Laws, the Religion, and True Intereſt of the Nation, were ſollicitous, to Preſerve the King's Honour from any indignity, and his Regal Power from violation; and ſo allways oppoſed Thoſe who intrench'd upon Either, and who could compaſs Their ends by no other means than by trampling upon Both. So that, intruth, That which was call'd the King's Party, in Both Houſes, was made up of Perſons who were Strangers, or without any Obligation, to the Court; of the beſt Fortunes, and the beſt Reputation, in their ſeveral Countries where they were known; as having allways appear'd very Zealous in the maintainance of their Juſt Rights, and Oppoſed, as much as in Them lay, all Illegal and Grievous Impoſitions: whilſt His own Privy-Council (Two or Three only excepted) and much the greater number of all

his own Servants, either Publickly Oppoſed, or Privately Betray'd him; and ſo much the more virulently abhor'd all Thoſe who now appear'd to carry on His Service, becauſe They preſumed to undertake, at leaſt endeavour (for They undertook nothing, nor look'd for any Thanks for their labour) to do That which Themſelves ought to have done; and ſo They were upon this Diſadvantage, that whenever They preſs'd any thing in the Houſe, which ſeem'd immediately to advance the King's Power and Authority, ſome of the King's Council, or his Servants, moſt oppoſed it, under the notion "of being Prejudicial to the King's In-"tereſt: whilſt They who had uſed to govern and impoſe upon the Houſe, made a ſhew of being more modeſt, and yet were more inſolent; and endeavour'd, by ſetting new Counſels on foot, to entangle, and engage, and indeed to over-reach the Houſe; by cozening them into Opinions which might hereafter be applicable to Their Ends, rather than to purſue Their old Deſigns, in hope to obtain in the end a Succeſs by their Authority. The Night of the Remonſtrance had humbled them in that point: and from that time, They rather contrived ways to Silence Thoſe who oppoſed them; by traducing them Abroad, or taking advantage againſt them in the Houſe, for any Expreſſions They uſed in Debate which might be miſinterpreted; and ſo calling them to the Bar, or committing them to the Tower: which did intruth ſtrike ſuch a Terrour into the minds of many, that They forbore to come to the Houſe, rather than expoſe themſelves to many Uneaſineſſes there.

A Propoſal in the Houſe of Commons, for a Committee to conſider of the Preſent State and Power of the Militia:

THERE was at this time, or thereabout, a Debate ſtarted in the Houſe, as if by meer chance, which produced many Inconveniences after; and, if there had not been too many concurrent cauſes, might be thought the ſole cauſe and ground of all the Miſchiefs that enſued. Upon ſome report or diſcourſe of ſome Accident, which had happen'd upon or in the Disbanding the late Army, an obſcure Member moved, "That "the Houſe would enter upon the conſideration, Whether the Mili-"tia of the Kingdom was ſo Settled by Law, that a Suddain Force or "Army could be drawn together, for the Defence of the Kingdom if it "ſhould be invaded, or to Suppreſs any Inſurrection or Rebellion if "it ſhould be attempted.

THE Houſe kept a long Silence after the motion, the newneſs of it amuſing moſt men, and few intruth underſtanding the meaning of it; untill one, and another of the Members, who were leaſt taken notice of, ſeeming to be moved by the weight of what had been ſaid, enlarged upon the ſame argument: and in the end it was propoſed, "That a Com-"mittee might be appointed, to conſider of the Preſent State of the "Militia, and the Power of it; and to prepare ſuch a Bill for the Settling "it, as might provide for the Publick Peace, and for the Suppreſſing "any Forreign Enemy, or Domeſtick Inſurrection.

This debated.

HEREUPON, They were inclined to nominate a Committee, to prepare ſuch a Bill as ſhould be thought neceſſary: Upon which, Mr *Hyde* ſpoke againſt the making any ſuch Committee; ſaid, "There could "be no doubt, that the Power of the Militia reſided in the King, in "Whom the Right of making War and Peace was inveſted; that there "had never Yet appear'd any Defect of Power, by which the Kingdom "had been in Danger, and we might reaſonably expect the ſame Secu-"rity for the future. With which the Houſe ſeem'd well ſatisfied, and compoſed, and inclined to go on upon ſome other Debate; untill *Saint-John*, the King's Sollicitor, and the Only man in the Houſe of his

Learned Council, ſtood up, and ſaid, "He would not ſuffer that Debate "in which there had been ſo many weighty particulars mention'd, to "be diſcontinued, without ſome Reſolution; That He would be very "glad there were that Power in the King (whoſe Rights He was bound "to defend) as the Gentleman who ſpoke laſt ſeem'd to imagine; which "for His part He knew there was not; That the queſtion was not a-"bout taking away Power from the King, which was veſted in him "(which was His Duty allways to oppoſe) but to enquire, whether there "be Such a Power in him, or any where elſe, as is neceſſary for the "Preſervation of the King and the People, in many caſes that may fall "out; and if there be not, then to ſupply him with that Power and Au-"thority; and ſaid, "He did take upon him with confidence to Af-"firm, That there was a Defect of Such Power and Authority: He put them in mind, "how that Power had been executed in the age in "which we live; That the Crown had granted Commiſſions to great "men, to be Lord Lieutenants of Counties; and They, to Gentlemen of "quality, to be their Deputy Lieutenants; and to Colonels, and other Of-"ficers, to conduct and liſt Soldiers; and then He wiſh'd them to con-"ſider, what Votes They had paſs'd, of the Illegality of all thoſe Com-"miſſions, and of the Unjuſtifiableneſs of all the Proceedings which had "been by virtue of thoſe Commiſſions; So that let the Occaſion or "Neceſſity be what it would, He did preſume, no man would hereafter "Execute any ſuch Commiſſion; and if there were any man ſo hardy, "that nobody would Obey them; and therefore deſired Them to con-"ſider, whether there be not a Defect of Power, and whether it ought "not to be ſupplied.

and Sol. Gen. Saint-John declares the Power of it Not to be in the King:

IT was now evident enough, that the Debate was not begun by chance, but had been fully deliberated; and what Uſe They would make upon occaſions, of thoſe Volumes of Votes, They had often poured out upon all accidental Debates; and no man durſt take upon him to Anſwer all that had been alledg'd, by ſaying, all thoſe Votes were of no Validity; and that the King's Right was, and would be, judg'd the ſame it had been before, notwithſtanding thoſe Votes; which is very true: But this being urged by the King's own Sollicitor, They appointed Him "to bring in and prepare ſuch a Bill as He thought neceſſary; few men imagining, that ſuch a Sworn Officer would not be very careful and tender of all his Maſter's Prerogatives, which He was expreſly Sworn to Defend.

He is appointed to bring in a Bill to Settle that matter;

WITHIN few days after, He brought in a very ſhort Bill; in which was mention'd by way of Preface, "That the Power over the Militia of "the Kingdom was not Settled, in any ſuch manner, that the Secu-"rity of the Kingdom was provided for, in caſe of Invaſion, or Inſurre-"ction, or any ſuddain accidents; and then an Enacting clauſe, "That "henceforward the Militia, and all the Power thereof, ſhould be veſted in --&c; and then a large Blank left, for inſerting Names, and af-terwards, "the abſolute Authority to Execute --&c The ill meaning whereof was eaſily underſtood; and with ſome warmth preſs'd, "That "by this Bill, all the Power would be taken out of the Crown, and put into the hands of Commiſſioners. To which the Sollicitor made anſwer, "That the Bill took no Power from any body who had it, but "provided to give Power where it was not; nor was There mention "of any Commiſſioners; but a Blank was therefore left, that the Houſe "might fill it up as They thought fit, and put the Power into Such

which he does;

"hands as They thought proper; which, for ought He knew, might be "the King's; and He hoped it would be so.

The Bill receiv'd. AND with this Answer the Bill was receiv'd, notwithstanding all opposition, and read: all Those persons who had been formerly Deputy Lieutenants, and lay under the Terrour of that Vote, presuming, that this Settlement would provide for the Indemnity of all that had pass'd before; and the Rest, who might still be exposed to the same hazards, if they should be required to act upon the like occasions, concurring in the desire, that somewhat might be done for a general Security; and They who had contrived it, were well enough contented that it was Once read; not desiring to prosecute it, till some more favourable conjuncture should be offer'd: and so it rested.

The King dismisses Sr William Balfour *from being Lieutenant of the Tower.* ABOUT this time, the King not being well satisfied in the affection or fidelity of Sr *William Balfour*; whom He had some years before, to the great and general Scandal, and Offence of the *English* Nation, made Lieutenant of the Tower; and finding that the Seditious Preachers every day prevail'd in the City of *London*, and Corrupted the Affections and Loyalty of the meaner People towards the Government of the Church and State; resolv'd to put that Place (which some men fancied to be a Bridle upon the City) into the Hands of Such a man as He might rely upon: and yet, He was willing to be quit of the Other, without any act of Disobligation upon him; and therefore gave him three thousand pounds, ready money, which was raised by the Sale of some of the Queen's own Jewels: and immediately caused Colonel *Lunsford* to be Sworn in his place, Lieutenant of the Tower.

Colonel Lunsford *put in his place.* THIS was no sooner known, than the House of Commons found themselves concern'd in it; and upon pretence "that so excellent a per- "son, as Sr *William Balfour* (who intruth was very gracious to them, for the safe keeping the Earl of *Strafford*) "could not be remov'd from "that Charge, but upon some eminent Design against the City and the "Kingdom; and that the man who was appointed for his Successor "was a person of great Licence, and known only by some Desperate "acts; for which He had been formerly Imprison'd by the State, and "having made his escape, fled the Kingdom: They desired the Lords "to join with Them in a Petition to the King, to put the Tower into "Better hands; making such arguments against the Person of the man, as before spoken of. The Lords replied to them, "That it was an ar- "gument of that nature, They thought not themselves competent Ad- "visers in it; the custody of the Tower being solely at the King's di- "sposal, who was Only to judge of the Fitness of the Person for such a "Charge: But, at the same time that They refused to join in a Publick Desire to the King, They intimated Privately Their Advice to him, "That He should make choice of a Fitter Person, against whom no Ex- "ceptions could be made. For indeed, Sr *Thomas Lunsford* was not then known enough, and of reputation equal to so invidious a province; and thereupon, within two or three days at most, He resign'd the Place, and the King gave it Sr *John Byron.*

The Colonel resigns, and Sr John Byron *is put in.* THIS gave them no Satisfaction in the Change, since it had no reference to Their Recommendation; which They only look'd after: but it gave them great delight, to see that the King's Counsels were not so fix'd, but Their Clamour might alter them; and that doing Hurt, being as desirable a degree of Power, to some men, as doing Good, and likely to gain them more Proselytes, They had Marr'd a man, though

They could not Make one. And without doubt, it was of great Diſadvantage to the King, that That counſel had not been form'd with ſuch deliberation, that there would need no alteration; which could not be made, without a kind of recognition.

Touching the Bill againſt the Biſhops Votes, depending in the Houſe of Peers.

ALL this time, the Bill depended in the Lords Houſe, "for the taking "away the Votes of Biſhops, and removing them from the Houſe of "Peers; which was not like to make a more proſperous progreſs there, than it had ſix months before; it being evident, that the Juriſdiction of the Peerage was invaded by the Commons: and therefore, that it was not reaſonable to part with any of their Supporters. But the Virulence againſt them ſtill increaſed; and no Churches frequented, but where They were Preach'd againſt, as Anti-chriſtian; The Preſſes ſwell'd with the moſt virulent Invectives againſt them; and a Sermon was Preach'd at *Weſtminſter*, and afterwards Printed, under the Title of *The Proteſtation Proteſted*, by the infamous *Burton*, wherein He declared, "That all men were obliged by their late Proteſtation, by what means "ſoever, to remove both Biſhops and the Common-Prayer-Book out "of the Church of *England*, as Impious and Papiſtical: whilſt all the Learned and Orthodox Divines of *England*, were look'd upon under the notion of Scandalous Miniſters; and if the Meaneſt, and moſt Vitious Pariſhioner They had, could be brought to prefer a Petition againſt either of them to the Houſe of Commons (how Falſe ſoever) He was ſure to be Proſecuted as ſuch.

A Petition publiſh'd, in the name of the Apprentices, againſt Papiſts and Prelates.

IN the end, a Petition was Publiſh'd, in the name "of the Appren-"tices, and Thoſe whoſe Apprenticeſhips were lately expired, in and about the City of *London*; and directed, "To the King's moſt Excel-"lent Majeſty in the Parliament now aſſembled; Shewing, "That They "found by experience, both by Their Own and Maſters Tradings, the "beginning of great Miſchiefs coming upon them, to nip them in the "bud, when they were firſt entring into the world; the Cauſe of which, "They could attribute to no others but the Papiſts, and the Prelates, "and that Malignant Party which adhered to them: That They ſtood "ſolemnly engaged, with the utmoſt of their Lives and Fortunes, to "Defend his Sacred Majeſty, and Royal Iſſue, together with the Rights "and Liberties of Parliaments, againſt Papiſts, and Popiſh Innovators; "ſuch as Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and Their dependents, appear to be. "They deſired his Majeſty in Parliament to take notice, that, notwith-"ſtanding the much unwearied pains and induſtry of the Houſe of Com-"mons, to ſubdue Popery, and Popiſh Innovators; neither is Popery "Yet ſubdued, nor Prelates are yet remov'd; whereby Many had taken "encouragements deſperately to Plot againſt the Peace and Safety of "his Dominions: witneſs the moſt Barbarous and Inhumane Cruelties "perpetrated by the Papiſts in *Ireland*; from whence (They ſaid) a "new ſpring of Fears and Jealouſies aroſe in them: and therefore They "deſired, that the Popiſh Lords, and other eminent and dangerous Pa-"piſts, in all the parts of the Kingdom, might be look'd unto, and Se-"cured; the Laws againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits fully executed; and the "Prelacy rooted up; That ſo the work of Reformation might be Pro-"ſperouſly carried on; Their diſtracting Fears remov'd; that the free-"dom of Commerce and Trade might paſs on more chearfully, for the "encouragement of the Petitioners, *&c.*

THIS, and ſuch ſtuff, being Printed, and ſcatter'd amongſt the People; Multitudes of mean perſons flock'd to *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and about the

the Lords House; crying as they went up and down, *No Bishops, No Bishops*," that so they might carry on the Reformation.

The Commons Petition the King for a Guard.

IT SAID before, that upon the King's return from *Scotland*, He discharged the Guards that attended upon the Houses. Whereupon, the House of Commons (for the Lords refused to join with them) Petition'd the King, "in regard of the Fears They had of some Design from the "Papists, that They might continue such a Guard about them as They "thought fit.

His Majesty's Answer.

TO which his Majesty answer'd, "That He was confident They had "no just cause of Fear; and that They were as Safe, as Himself and "his Children: but, since They did avow such an apprehension of Dan-"ger, that He would appoint a sufficient Guard for them. And there-upon, directed the Train-bands of *Westminster* and *Middlesex* (which consisted of the most substantial Housholders, and were under known Officers) in fit numbers to attend.

THIS Security was not liked; and it was ask'd,--*Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes*--? And when the disorderly Rabble, spoke of now, first came down, They resisted them, and would not suffer them to disturb the Houses; and Some of them, with great rudeness, pressing to the door of the House of Peers, their Lordships appointed the Guards to be call'd up to remove them; and the Earl of *Dorset*, being then Lord Lievtenant of *Middlesex* (the Crowd oppressing him, and refusing to leave the Room) in some Passion, call'd upon the Guard "to give Fire upon "them; whereupon, the Rabble Frighted, left the place, and hasted away.

THE House of Commons, incensed that Their Friends should be so used, much Inveigh'd against the Earl of *Dorset*; and talk'd, "of Ac-"cusing him of High Treason; at least, "of drawing up some Impeach-"ment against him; for some Judgement He had been Party to, in the Star-chamber, or Council-Table: and so, giving these hints of Their Displeasure, that He might have the more care how he carried him-self; They concluded, that since They could not have Such a Guard as pleased Them, They would have None at all: and so sent to the Lords "for the Discharge of the Train-bands that attended: who willingly consented to it; and it was done accordingly: The House of Commons declaring, "That it should be Lawful, for every Member to bring "his own Servant, to attend at the door, Arm'd with such Weapons as "They thought fit.

Great Tumults about the House of Peers.

IT was quickly understood abroad, that the Commons liked well the Visits of their Neighbours: So that the People assembled in greater Numbers than before, about the House of Peers; calling still out with One voice, *No Bishops, No Popish Lords*; Crowded and Affronted such Lords as came near them, who They knew affected not their ends, call-ing them *Rotten-hearted Lords*.

HEREUPON, the House of Peers desired a Conference with the Commons; at which, They complain'd of those Tumults; and told them, "That such Disorders would be an Imputation upon the Parliament, and "make it be doubted, Whether They had Freedom; and so might hap-"pily become a Blemish to those many good Laws They had already "Pass'd, as well as Prevent the making more; and therefore desired them, "that They would, for the Dignity of Parliaments, join with Them in a "Declaration, for the Suppressing such Tumults. This was reported to the Commons; and soon laid aside; "for the handling of other matters "of more Importance.

THE

THE Tumults continued; and their Insolences increas'd; insomuch, as many Dissolute and Prophane People, went into the Abby at *Westminster*, and would have pull'd down the Organs, and some Ornaments of the Church; but being resisted, and by force driven out, They threatned, "They would come with greater numbers, and pull down the "Church.

HEREUPON, the Lords send again to the House of Commons, to join with them in their Declaration; and many Members of that House complain'd, "that they could not come with safety to the House; and "that some of them had been assaulted, and very ill entertain'd, by those "People that crowded about the door. But this Conference could not be procured; the Debate being still put off to some other time; after several Speeches had been made in Justification of them, and Commendation of their affections: Some saying, "They must not Discourage their "Friends, This being a time They must make use of All friends; Mr *Pym* himself saying, "God forbid the House of Commons should pro-"ceed, in any way, to Dishearten people to obtain their Just Desires in "Such a way.

The Lords direct a Writ to be issued out to appoint Watches.

IN the end, the Lords required the advice of the Judges, "what "course was Legally to be taken, to Suppress and Prevent those Disor-"ders; and thereupon, directed the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, "to "issue out a writ, upon the Statute of *Northampton*, to the Sheriff "and Justices, to appoint strong Watches in such places as They judg'd "most convenient, to hinder that unlawful conflux of People to *West-minster*, to the disturbance of Their consultations. Which Writ issuing accordingly, the Justices of the Peace, in obedience thereunto, appointed the Constables to attend at the Water side, and places near about *Westminster*, with good Watches, to hinder that Tumultuous resort.

The House of Commons discharges them.

THIS was no sooner done, than the Constables were sent for, by the House of Commons, and after the view of their Warrants, required to Discharge their Watches. And then the Justices were convened, and examin'd; and albeit it appear'd, that what They had done was in pursuance of a Legal Writ, directed to them under the Great Seal of *England*, by the advice of the Lords in Parliament; without so much as conferring with the Lords upon that act of Theirs; the setting such a Watch, was voted to be "a Breach of Priviledge: and one of the Justices of the Peace, who according to his Oath had executed that Writ, was committed to the Tower for that offence.

UPON this encouragement, all the Factious and Schismatical People about the City and Suburbs, assembled themselves together with great licence; and would frequently, as well in the night as the day, convene themselves, by the sound of a Bell, or other token, in the Fields, or some convenient place, to consult, and receive Orders from Those by whom they were to be disposed. A meeting of this kind being about the time we speak of in *Southwark*, in a place where their Arms and Magazine for that Burrough was kept; the Constable, being a sober man, and known to be an Enemy to those acts of Sedition, went among them, to observe what they did; he was no sooner espied, but he was reproach'd with disdainful words, beaten, and dragg'd, in so barbarous a manner, that he hardly escaped with his life. Complaint was made to the next Justices; and Oath of the Truth of the complaint made: whereupon, a Writ was directed to the Sheriff, to impannel a Jury according to Law, for the inquisition and examination of that Riot.

THIS was complain'd of in the Houſe of Commons, as an act that concern'd Their Priviledges; for that it was pretended, "That meeting "in *Southwark* had been made by godly and well affected men, only "to draw up and prepare a Petition againſt Biſhops; and that the Con- "ſtable, being a Friend to Biſhops, came amongſt them to croſs them, "and to hinder men from Subſcribing that wholeſom Petition. Upon this diſcourſe, without any further examination, an Order was made by that Houſe, "That the Under-Sheriff of *Surrey* ſhould be enjoin'd, "not to ſuffer any Proceedings to be made upon any Inquiſition, that "might concern any perſons who met together to Subſcribe a petition "to be preferr'd to that Houſe.

"BY this, and other means, all obſtacles of the Law being remov'd, and the People taught a way to aſſemble Lawfully together, in how Tumultuous a manner ſoever, and the *Chriſtmas* Holy-days giving more leave and licence to all kind of People, the Concourſe grew more numerous about *Weſtminſter*; the Rabble ſometimes, in their paſſage between the City and *Weſtminſter*, making a ſtand before *White-Hall*, and crying out, *No Biſhops, No Biſhops, No Popiſh Lords*, would ſay aloud, "That They would have no more Porters Lodge, but would Speak "with the King when They pleaſed: and when They came near the two Houſes, took Papers out of their Pockets, and getting upon ſome place higher than the reſt, would Read the Names of ſeveral perſons, under the Title of *Diſaffected Members of the Houſe of Commons*; and call'd many Lords, *Falſe, Evil*, and *Rotten-hearted Lords*. But Their Rage and Fury againſt the Biſhops grew ſo high, that They threatned to Pull down the Lodgings where they lay; offer'd to Force the Doors of the Abby at *Weſtminſter*, which were kept Lock'd many days, and defended by a continual Guard within; and Aſſaulted the Perſons of ſome of the Biſhops in their Coaches; and laid hands on the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, in that manner, that, if he had not been ſeaſonably reſcued, it was believ'd They would have Murder'd him: So that all the Biſhops, and many other Members, of Both Houſes, withdrew themſelves from attending in the Houſes, out of a real apprehenſion of Endangering their Lives.

The Tumults increaſe about White-Hall *and* Weſtminſter.

Whereupon all the Biſhops and many of Both Houſes withdrew from Their Attendance.

THESE Inſurrections by this means were ſo Countenanced, that no induſtry or dexterity of the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sr *Richard Gourney*, could give any Check to them; but inſtead thereof, Himſelf (with great and very notable courage Oppoſing all Their Fanatick humours, both in the Court of Aldermen and at the Common Council) grew to be reckon'd in the Firſt Form of the *Malignants* (which was the term They impoſed upon all Thoſe They meant to render Odious to the People) inſomuch, as His Houſe, was no leſs Threatned and Diſquieted by the Tumults, than the Houſe of Lords: and when He apprehended ſome of Thoſe who were moſt notorious in the Riot, and committed them to the cuſtody of Both the Sheriffs of *London* in Perſon, to be carried to *Newgate*, They were, by the power and ſtrength of their Companions, Reſcued from Them in *Cheapſide*, and the Two Sheriffs compelled to Shift for their own ſafety. And when it was offer'd to be proved by a Member in the Houſe of Commons, That the Wife of Captain *Venn* (having received a Letter from Her Husband to that purpoſe) who was one of the Citizens that ſerved for *London*, and was known Himſelf to lead thoſe men, that came Tumultuouſly down to *Weſtminſter*, and *White-Hall*, at the time of the Paſſing the Bill of

Attainder

Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*, had with great induſtry Sollicited many People to go down with their Arms to *Weſtminſter*, upon a day (that was named) when She ſaid, her Husband had ſent her word, that in the Houſe of Commons They were together by the Ears, and that the worſer Party was like to get the better of the good Party; and therefore her Husband deſired his Friends to come with their Arms to *Weſtminſter* to help the good Party; and that thereupon many in a ſhort time went thither: They who offer'd to make Proof of the ſame, were appointed to Attend many days; but notwithſtanding all the importunity that could be uſed, were never admitted to be Heard.

ALL this time the King (who had been with great Solemnity invited by the City of *London*, and deſired to make his Reſidence nearer to Them than *Hampton-Court*) was at *White-Hall*, where, beſides his ordinary Retinue, and menial Servants, many Officers of the late Diſbanded Army, who Sollicited Their remainder of Pay from the Two Houſes, which was ſecured to Them by Act of Parliament, and expected ſome farther imployment in the War with *Ireland*, upon obſervation, and view of the Inſolence of the Tumults, and the Danger, that they might poſſibly bring to the Court, offer'd themſelves for a Guard to his Majeſties Perſon; and were with more Formality, and Ceremony entertained by Him, than upon a juſt computation of all diſtempers, was by many conceived Seaſonable. And from theſe Officers warm with indignation at the Inſolences of that vile Rabble, which every day paſſed by the Court, firſt Words of great Contempt, and then, thoſe words commonly finding a Return of equal Scorn, Blows were faſtened upon ſome of the moſt Pragmatical of the Crew. This was looked upon by the Houſe of Commons like a Levying War by the King, and much pity expreſſed by Them, that the poor People ſhould be ſo uſed, who came to Them with Petitions (for ſome few of them had received ſome Cuts, and Slaſhes, that had drawn Blood) and that made a great argument for Reinforcing their Numbers. And from thoſe conteſtations, the two Terms of *Round-Head* and *Cavalier* grew to be received in diſcourſe, and were afterwards continued for the moſt Succinct diſtinction of affections throughout the quarrel: They who were looked upon as Servants to the King, being then called *Cavaliers*; and the other of the Rabble contemned, and deſpiſed, under the names of *Round-Heads*.

Some Officers Repell the Rabble about White-Hall.

Hence the terms of Round-Head *add* Cavalier.

THE Houſe of Commons being at this time without any Member, who having Relation to the King's Service, would expreſs any Zeal for it, and could take upon him to ſay to others, whom he would truſt, what the King deſired, or to whom they, who wiſhed well, could reſort for advice, and direction; ſo that whilſt there was a ſtrong Conjunction, and Combination to diſturb the Government by depraving it, whatever was ſaid or done to Support it, was as if it were done by chance, and by the private dictates of the reaſon of private men; the King Reſolved to call the Lord *Falkland*, and Sr *John Colepepper*, who was Knight of the Shire for *Kent*, to his Council; and to make the former Secretary of State in the place of *Vane*, that had been kept vacant; and the latter Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, which Office the Lord *Cottington* had Reſigned, that Mr *Pym* might be put into it, when the Earl of *Bedford* ſhould have been Treaſurer, as is mention'd before. They were Both of great Authority in the Houſe; neither of them of any relation to the Court; and therefore what They ſaid made the more Impreſſion; and They were frequent Speakers. The Lord *Falkland* was

The Lord Falkland *made Secretary of State, and S^r* John Colepepper *Chancellor of the* Exchequer.

wonderfully beloved by all who knew him, as a man of Excellent Parts, of a Wit ſo Sharp, and a Nature ſo Sincere, that nothing could be more Lovely. The Other was generally eſteemed as a good Speaker, being a man of an Univerſal Underſtanding, a Quick Comprehenſion, a Wonderful Memory, who commonly Spoke at the end of the Debate; when he would recollect all that had been ſaid of Weight on all ſides with great exactneſs, and expreſs his own Senſe with much clearneſs, and ſuch an application to the Houſe, that no man more gathered a general Concurrence to his Opinion than he; which was the more notable, becauſe his Perſon, and manner of Speaking were ungracious enough; ſo that He prevailed only by the ſtrength of his Reaſon, which was inforced with Confidence enough.

THE King knew Them to be of good Eſteem in the Houſe, and good Affections to his Service, and the quiet of the Kingdom; and was more eaſily perſwaded to beſtow thoſe Preferments upon Them, than the Lord *Falkland* was to accept that which was deſigned to him. No man could be more Surprized than He was, when the firſt Intimation was made to him of the King's purpoſe: He had never propoſed any Such thing to himſelf, nor had any Veneration for the Court, but only Such a Loyalty to the King as the Law required from him. And He had naturally a Wonderful Reverence for Parliaments, as believing them moſt Sollicitous for Juſtice, the Violation whereof in the leaſt degree he could not forgive any Mortal Power: and it was only his Obſervation of the Diſingenuity, and want of Integrity in this Parliament, which leſſened that Reverence to it, and had diſpoſed him to croſs, and oppoſe Their deſigns: He was ſo totally unacquainted with buſineſs, and the forms of it, that He did believe really he could not Execute the Office with any Sufficiency. But there were Two Conſiderations that made moſt Impreſſion upon him; the One, leſt the world ſhould believe, that his own Ambition had procured this Promotion, and that he had therefore appeared Signally in the Houſe to Oppoſe thoſe Proceedings, that he might thereby render himſelf gracious to the Court: The Other, leſt the King ſhould expect ſuch a Submiſſion, and Reſignation of himſelf, and his own reaſon, and judgment to his Commands, as he ſhould never give, or pretend to give; for he was ſo ſevere an adorer of Truth, that he could as eaſily have given himſelf leave to Steal as to Diſſemble; or to Suffer any Man to think that he would do any thing, which he Reſolved not to do; which he thought a more miſcheivous kind of lying, than a poſitive averring, what could be moſt eaſily contradicted.

IT was a very difficult task to Mr *Hyde*, who had moſt credit with Him, to perſwade Him to Submit to this purpoſe of the King's chearfully, and with a juſt Senſe of the Obligation, by Promiſing that in thoſe Parts of the Office, which required moſt Drudgery, he would help him the beſt he could. But above all he prevailed with him, by inforcing the Ill conſequence of his refuſal to take the Office, which would be interpreted to his diſlike of the Court, and his Opinion, that more would be required from him than he could Honeſtly comply with, which would bring great Prejudice to the King. On the other hand, the great Benefit that probably would redound to the King, and the Kingdom, by his accepting ſuch a Truſt in ſuch a general defection, by which he would have opportunity to give the King a truer Information of his own Condition, and the State of the Kingdom, than it might be preſumed had been given to him, and to prevent any Counſels or Practice, which might

might more alienate the affections of the People from the Government; and then, that by this Relation He would be more able to do the King Service in the Houſe, where He was too well known to have it believed, that He Attained to it by any unworthy Means or Application. In the end, He was perſwaded to Submit to the King's good Pleaſure, tho' he could not be prevailed with to accept it with ſo good a grace, as might raiſe in the King any Notable Expectation of his departing from the Severity of his own Nature.

THUS, He and *Colepepper* were both inveſted in thoſe Offices, to the no ſmall diſpleaſure of the Governing Party, which could not diſſemble their Indignation, that any of Their Members ſhould Preſume to receive thoſe Preferments, which they had deſigned otherwiſe to have diſpoſed of. They took all opportunities to expreſs their diſlike of Them, and to Oppoſe any thing they Propoſed to Them. And within few days there came a Letter out in Print, pretended to be Intercepted, as written from a Roman Catholick to another of the ſame Profeſſion, in which he gives an account, "That They had at laſt, by the intereſt of "their Friends, procured thoſe two Honourable Perſons (before mentioned) "to be preferred to thoſe Offices, and that they were well aſ- "ſured that they would be ready to do Them, and all their Friends, all "good Offices. Sr *John Colepepper* thought fit to take notice of it in the Houſe, and to make thoſe Profeſſions of his Religion, which he thought neceſſary. But the Lord *Falkland* choſe rather to Contemn it, without taking notice of the Libell, well knowing that he was Superior to thoſe Calumnies, as indeed he was; all of that Profeſſion knowing that He was moſt Irreconcilable to their Doctrine, tho' He was always Civil to their Perſons. However grievous this Preferment was to the angry part of the Houſe, it was very grateful to all thoſe, both within and without the Houſe, who wiſhed well to the King, and the Kingdom.

THE King at the ſame time Reſolved to remove another Officer, who did differve him notoriouſly, and to Prefer Mr *Hyde* to that place, with which his Gracious intentions his Majeſty acquainted him, but he poſitively refuſed it, and aſſured him, "That He ſhould be able to do "much more Service in the condition he was in, than he ſhould be, "if that were improved by any Preferment, that could be conferred "upon him at that time; and he added, "that he had the Honour to "have much Friendſhip with the two Perſons, who were very Seaſona- "bly advanced by his Majeſty, when his Majeſtys Service in the Houſe "of Commons, did intruth want ſome Countenance, and Support; and "by his converſation with Them, he ſhould be ſo well inſtructed by "Them, that he ſhould be more uſeful to his Majeſty, than if it were "under a nearer relation and dependence. The King, with a very Gracious Countenance, told him, "that he perceived he muſt, for ſome time, "defer the laying any Obligation upon him; but bid him be aſſured he "would find both a Proper Time, and a Suitable Preferment for him, "which he ſhould not refuſe. In the mean time, he ſaid, he knew "well the Friendſhip between the two Perſons, whom he had taken to "his Council, and him; which was not the leaſt motive to him to make "that choice; and that he would depend as much upon His Advice, as "upon either of Theirs; and therefore wiſhed that all Three would Con- "fer together, how to Conduct his Service in the Houſe, and to adviſe "his Friends how to carry themſelves moſt to the advantage of it, and "to give him conſtant Advertiſement of what had Paſſed, and Counſel

"when it was fit for him to do any thing; and Declared, that He would "do nothing, that in any degree concerned, or related to his Service "in the Houſe of Commons, without their joynt Advice, and exact "Communication to them of all his own Conceptions; which, without doubt, his Majeſty did at that time ſtedfaſtly Reſolve, tho' in very few days he did very Fatally ſwerve from it.

By what hath been ſaid before, it appears that the Lord *Digby* was much truſted by the King, and he was of great familiarity, and friendſhip with the other Three, at leaſt with Two of Them; for he was not a Man of that Exactneſs, as to be in the entire Confidence of the Lord *Falkland*, who looked upon his infirmities with more Severity than the other Two did; and he liv'd with more Frankneſs towards thoſe Two, than he did towards the Other: Yet even between thoſe two there was a free Converſation, and Kindneſs to each other. The Lord *Digby* was a man of very Extraordinary parts by Nature and Art, and had ſurely as good and excellent an Education as any man of that Age in any Country: A Graceful and Beautiful Perſon; of great Eloquence and Becomingneſs in his diſcourſe (ſave that ſometimes he ſeemed a little affected) and of ſo Univerſal a Knowledge, that he never wanted Subject for a diſcourſe: He was equal to a very good part in the greateſt Affairs, but the unfitteſt man alive to conduct them, having an ambition, and vanity Superior to all his other parts, and a confidence in himſelf, which ſometimes intoxicated, and tranſported, and expoſed him. He had from his Youth, by the diſobligations his Family had undergone from the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the great men who ſucceeded him, and ſome ſharp reprehenſion himſelf had met with, which obliged him to a Country Life, contracted a prejudice, and ill will to the Court; and ſo had in the beginning of the Parliament, engaged himſelf with that Party, which diſcovered moſt averſion from it, with a Paſſion and Animoſity equal to theirs, and therefore very acceptable to Them. But when he was weary of their violent Counſels, and withdrew himſelf from them with ſome circumſtances, which enough provoked them, and made a Reconciliation, and mutual Confidence in each other for the future, manifeſtly impoſſible amongſt them; he made private and ſecret offers of his Service to the King, to whom in ſo general a defection of his Servants, it could not but be very agreeable; and ſo his Majeſty being ſatisfied both in the Diſcoveries he made of what had paſſed, and in his Profeſſions for the future, removed him from the Houſe of Commons, where he had rendred himſelf marvellouſly ungracious, and called him by Writ to the Houſe of Peers, where he did viſibly Advance the King's Service, and quickly rendred himſelf grateful to all thoſe, who had not thought too well of him before, when he deſerved leſs; and men were not only pleaſed with the Aſſiſtance he gave upon all Debates, by his Judgment and Vivacity, but looked upon him, as one, who could derive the King's Pleaſure to them, and make a lively repreſentation of their good demeanour to the King, which he was very luxuriant in promiſing to do, and officious enough in doing as much as was Juſt.

He had been inſtrumental in promoting the Three Perſons above mentioned to the King's favour; and had himſelf intruth ſo great an Eſteem of them, that he did very frequently, upon Conference together, depart from his own Inclinations and Opinions, and Concurred in Theirs; and very few men of ſo great parts were, upon all occaſions, more Counſellable than he; ſo that he would ſeldom be in danger of running into

into great Errors, if he would communicate, and expoſe all his own thoughts, and inclinations to ſuch a diſquiſition; nor was he uninclinable in his Nature to ſuch an entire communication in all things, which he conceived to be difficult. But his Fatal infirmity was, that he too often thought difficult things very eaſy; and conſidered not poſſible conſequences, when the Propoſition adminiſtred ſomewhat that was delightful to his Fancy, by purſuing whereof he imagined he ſhould reap ſome Glory to himſelf, of which he was immoderately Ambitious; So that if the conſultation were upon any Action to be done, no man more implicitly entred into that Debate, or more chearfully reſigned his own conceptions to a joynt determination: But when it was once affirmatively reſolved (beſides that he might poſſibly reſerve ſome impertinent circumſtance, as he thought, the imparting whereof would change the nature of the thing) if his Fancy ſuggeſted to him any particular, which himſelf might perform in that Action, Upon the imagination that every body would approve it if it were propoſed to them, he choſe rather to Do it, than Communicate it, that he might have ſome Signal part to himſelf in the Tranſaction, in which no other Perſon might claim a ſhare.

By this unhappy temper he did often involve himſelf in very unproſperous Attempts. The King himſelf was the unfitteſt Perſon alive to be ſerved by Such a Counſellor, being too eaſily inclined to ſuddain Enterprizes, and as eaſily Startled when they were entred upon. And from this unhappy compoſition in the One, and the Other, a very unhappy Counſel was propoſed, and reſolution taken, without the leaſt communication with either of the Three, who had been ſo lately admitted to an entire Truſt.

The Biſhops, who had been, in the manner before ſpoken of, driven, and kept from the Houſe of Peers, and not very Secure in their own, could not have the patience to Attend the Diſſolution of this Storm, which in wiſdom They ought to have done: but conſidering Right and Reaſon too abſtractly, and what in Juſtice was due, not what in Prudence was to be expected; ſuffer'd Themſelves implicitly to be guided by the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who was of a reſtleſs, and overweening Spirit, to ſuch an Act of indiſcretion, and diſadvantage to Themſelves, that all their Enemies could not have brought upon Them. This Biſhop, as it is ſaid, was a man of a very Imperious and fiery Temper; D*Williams*, who had been Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* in the time of King *James*. After his removal from that Charge, He had lived Splendidly in his Dioceſs, and made himſelf very popular amongſt thoſe, who had no reverence for the Court; of which he would frequently, and in the preſence of many, ſpeak with too much Freedom, and tell many Stories of Things and Perſons upon his own former Experience; in which, being a man of great Pride and Vanity, He did not allways confine himſelf to a preciſe Veracity, and did often preſume in thoſe unwary diſcourſes, to mention the Perſon of the King with too little Reverence. He did affect to be thought an Enemy to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; whoſe Perſon he ſeemed exceedingly to contemn, and to be much diſpleaſed with thoſe Ceremonies and Innovations, as they were then called, which were countenanced by the Other; and had himſelf publiſhed, by his own Authority, a Book againſt the uſing thoſe Ceremonies, in which there was much good Learning, and too little Gravity for a Biſhop. His Paſſion and his Levity, gave every day

great

great advantages to thoſe who did not love him, and He provoked too many, not to have thoſe advantages made uſe of: So that, after ſeveral Informations againſt Him in the Star-Camber, He was Sentenced, and Fined in a great ſum of money to the King, and committed Priſoner to the Tower, without the pity, or compaſſion of any, but thoſe, who, out of hatred to the Government, were ſorry that they were without ſo uſeful a Champion; For He appeared to be a man of a very corrupt Nature, whoſe Paſſions could have tranſported Him into the moſt unjuſtifiable Actions.

He had a Faculty of making relations of things done in his own Preſence, and diſcourſes made to himſelf, or in his own hearing, with all the circumſtances of anſwers, and replies, and upon Arguments of great Moment; all which, upon Examination, were ſtill found to have nothing in them, that was Real, but to be the pure effect of his own Invention. After He was Sentenced in the Star-Chamber, ſome of his Friends reſorted to him, to lament, and condole with him for his misfortune, and ſome of them ſeemed to wonder that in any Affair of ſuch a Nature, He had not found means to have made ſome Submiſſion, and Compoſition, that might have prevented the publick Hearing, which proved ſo much to his Prejudice in point of Reputation, as well as Profit. He anſwered them with all the formality imaginable, "that they "had reaſon indeed to wonder at him upon the Event; but when they "ſhould know how he had governed himſelf, He believed they would "ceaſe to think him worthy of blame. And then related to them, "that "aſſoon as Publication had paſſed in his Cauſe, and the Books were taken "out, he had deſired his Council (who were all able men, and ſome of "them very Eminent) in the Vacation time, and they at moſt leaſure, to "meet together, and carefully to look over, and peruſe all the Evidence, "that was taken on Both ſides; and that then they would attend him "ſuch a morning, which he appointed upon their conſent, at his own "Houſe at *Weſtminſter*: That they came at the time appointed; and "being then ſhut up in a Room together, He asked them, whether they "had ſufficiently peruſed all the Books, and were throughly informed "of his Caſe? To which they all anſwered, that they had not only read "them all over together, but had ſeverally every man by himſelf peruſed "them again, and they believed they were all informed of the whole. "That He then told them he had deſired this Conference with them, not "only as his Council, by whoſe opinion he meant to govern himſelf, but "as his particular Friends, who, he was ſure, would give him their beſt "Advice, and perſwade him to do every thing as they would do themſelves, if They were in His Condition. That he was now offer'd to make "his Peace at Court, by ſuch an humble Submiſſion to the King, as he "was moſt inclined, and ready to make; and which he would make the "next day after his Cauſe was Heard, tho' he ſhould be Declared to be "Innocent, of which he could make no doubt; But that which troubled "him, for the preſent, was, that the Infamouſneſs of the Charge againſt "him, which had been often Expoſed, and Inlarged upon in ſeveral mo"tions, had been ſo much taken notice of through the Kingdom, that it "could not conſiſt with his Honour to divert the Hearing, which would "be imputed to his want of Confidence in his Innocence, ſince men did "not ſuſpect his Courage, if he durſt rely upon the other; but that he "was Reſolved, as he ſaid before, the next day after he ſhould be Vindicated from thoſe Odious Aſperſions, he would caſt himſelf at the King's "feet,

"feet, with all the humility, and ſubmiſſion, which the moſt Guilty "man could make profeſſion of. It was in this point he deſired their "Advice, to which he would, without adhereing to his own Inclina- "tion, entirely conform himſelf; and therefore deſired them, Singly in "order, to give him their Advice. He repeated the Several, and Diſtinct "diſcourſe every man had made, in which he was ſo Punctual, that "he applied thoſe Phraſes, and Expreſſions, and Manner of Speech to "the Several men, which they were all taken notice of Frequently to "uſe; as many men have ſome Peculiar Words in diſcourſe, which they "are moſt delighted with, or by cuſtom moſt addicted to: and in Con- "cluſion, that they were Unanimous in their judgments; that he "could not, with the preſervation of his Honour, and the opinion of "his Integrity, decline the Publick Hearing; where he muſt be un- "queſtionably declared Innocent; there being no Crime, or Miſdemea- nour proved againſt him in Such a manner, as could make him liable "to Cenſure: they All commended his reſolution of Submitting to "the King aſſoon as he had made his Innocence to appear; and they "All adviſed him to purſue that Method. This, he ſaid, had Swayed "him; and made him decline the Other Expedient, that had been pro- "poſed to him.

THIS Relation wrought upon Thoſe, to whom it was made, to raiſe a Prejudice in them againſt the Juſtice of the Cauſe, or the Reputation of the Council, as they were moſt inclined; whereas there was not indeed the leaſt ſhadow of Truth in the whole Relation; except that there was Such a Meeting, and Conference, as was mentioned, and which had been conſented to by the Biſhop upon the joint deſire, and importunity of all the Council; Who, at that Conference, Unanimouſly adviſed and deſired him "to uſe all the Means and Friends he could, "that the Cauſe might Not be brought to Hearing; but that he ſhould "purchaſe his Peace at any Price; for that if it were Heard, he would "be Sentenced very grievouſly; and that there were many things "Proved againſt him, which would ſo much reflect upon his Honour, "and Reputation, and the more for being a Biſhop, that all his Friends "would abandon him; and be for ever after Aſhamed to appear on "his behalf. Which Advice with great Paſſion, and Reproaches upon the Several Perſons for their preſumption, and ignorance in matters ſo much above Them, he utterly and Scornfully rejected. Nor indeed was it poſſible, at that time, for him to have made his Peace; for tho', upon ſome former Addreſſes, and Importunity on his behalf by ſome Perſons of Power, and Place in the Court, in which the Queen her ſelf had endeavoured to have done him good Offices, the King was inclined to have ſaved him, being a Biſhop, from the Infamy he muſt undergo by a Publick Trial; yet the Biſhops Vanity had, in thoſe conjunctures, ſo far tranſported him, that he had done all he could to have inſinuated, "that the Court was aſhamed of what they had done; and had pre- "vailed with ſome of his Powerful Friends to perſwade him to that "compoſition: upon which the King would never hear more Any per- ſon, who Moved on His behalf.

IT had been once mentioned to Him, whether by Authority, or no, was not known, "that his Peace ſhould be made, if he would reſign his "Biſhoprick, and Deanery of *Weſtminſter* (for he had That in Com- mendam) "and take a good Biſhoprick in *Ireland*; which he poſitively refuſed; and ſaid, "he had much to do to defend himſelf againſt the

"Arch-Biſhop Here; but if he was in *Ireland*, There was a Man (meaning the Earl of *Strafford*) who would cut off his Head within one "Month.

THIS Biſhop had been for ſome years in the Tower, by the Sentence of the *Star-Chamber*, before this Parliament met; when the Lords, who were the moſt Active and Powerful, preſently reſolved to have him at Liberty. Some had much Kindneſs for him; not only as a known Enemy to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; but as a Supporter of Thoſe Opinions and Thoſe Perſons, which were againſt the Church it ſelf. And he was no ſooner at Liberty, and brought into the Houſe, but, as has been before mention'd, he defended, and ſeconded the Lord *Say*, when he made an Invective with all the malice, and bitterneſs imaginable, againſt the Arch-Biſhop then in Priſon; and when he had concluded, that Biſhop ſaid; "that he had long known that noble Lord, "and had allways believed him to be as well affected to the Church as "Himſelf; and ſo he continued to make all his Addreſs to that Lord, and Thoſe of the ſame party. Being now in full Liberty, and in ſome Credit, and Reputation, he applied himſelf to the King; and made all poſſible profeſſions of Duty to his Majeſty, and Zeal to the Church; proteſting "to have a perfect Deteſtation of Thoſe Perſons, who ap- "peared to have no Affection or Duty towards his Majeſty, and of all "evil intentions againſt the Religion Eſtabliſh'd; and that the Civility "he had expreſſed towards them, was only out of gratitude for the good "will They had ſhewed to Him; and eſpecially that he might the bet- "ter promote his Majeſtys Service. And it being his Turn ſhortly after, as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, to Preach before the King; he took occaſion to ſpeak of the Factions in Religion; and mentioning the Presbyterian Diſcipline, he ſaid, "it was a Government only fit for Taylors, "and Shoomakers, and the like: not for Noblemen, and Gentlemen: which gave great Scandal, and Offence to his great Patrons; to whom he eaſily reconciled himſelf, by making Them as merry with ſome Sharp Sayings of the Court, and by performing more Subſtantial Offices for them.

WHEN, upon the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*, it was reſolved to decline the Judgment of the Houſe of Peers, and to proceed by Bill of Attainder; and thereupon it was very unreaſonably Moved, "that the "Biſhops might have no Vote in the paſſing that Act of Parliament; "becauſe they pretended it was to have their hand in Blood, which was "againſt an old Canon; This Biſhop, without communicating with any of his Brethren, very Frankly declared his opinion, "that they ought "not to be preſent; and offered, not only in his own Name, but for the reſt of the Biſhops, "to withdraw allways when That buſineſs was "enter'd upon: and ſo betrayed a Fundamental Right of the whole Order; to the great Prejudice of the King, and to the taking away the life of that Perſon, who could not otherwiſe have Suffer'd.

AND ſhortly after, when the King declared, that he neither would, nor could in Conſcience, give his Royal Aſſent to that Act of Attainder; when the Tumults came about the Court with noiſe and clamour for Juſtice; the Lord *Say* deſired the King to conſer with his Biſhops for the Satisfaction of his Conſcience; and deſired him to to ſpeak with That Biſhop in the point. After much diſcourſe together, and the King inſiſting upon many particulars, which might induce others to conſent; but were known to Himſelf to be Falſe; and therefore he could never

in

in conſcience give his own conſent to them. The Biſhop, as hath been mentioned before, amongſt other Arguments, told him; "that he muſt "conſider, that as he had a Private Capacity, and a Publick, ſo he "had a Publick Conſcience as well as a Private; that though his Pri- "vate Conſcience, as a Man, would not permit him to do an Act con- "trary to his own Underſtanding, Judgment, and Conſcience; yet his "Publick Conſcience, as a King, which obliged him to do all things "for the Good of his People, and to preſerve his Kingdom in Peace for "Himſelf and his Poſterity, would not only Permit him to do That, "but even Oblige, and Require him. That he ſaw in what Commo- "tion the People were; that his own Life, and that of the Queens, and "the Royal Iſſue might probably be Sacrificed to that Fury; and it "would be very ſtrange, if his Conſcience ſhould prefer the life of one "Single Private Perſon how Innocent ſoever, before all thoſe other "Lives, and the preſervation of the Kingdom.

THIS was the argumentation of that unhappy Caſuiſt; who truely, it may be, did believe himſelf; for towards the end of the War, and when the King's power declined; he, being then an Arch-Biſhop, did in Perſon aſſiſt the Rebels to take a Caſtle of the King's; in which there was a Gariſon, and which was taken by a long Siege; becauſe he might thereby the better enjoy the Profits of his own Eſtate, which lay thereabouts.

UPON all theſe great Services He had performed for the Party, he grew every day more Imperious; and after the King thought it neceſſary to make him Arch-Biſhop of *York*, which, as the time then was, could not qualify him to do more harm, and might poſſibly diſpoſe, and oblige him to do ſome good; he carried himſelf ſo Inſolently, in the Houſe and out of the Houſe, to all perſons, that he became much more Odious univerſally, than ever the other Arch-Biſhop had been; having ſure more Enemys than He, and few or no Friends, of which the Other had abundance. And the great hatred of this Man's Perſon and Behaviour, was the greateſt invitation to the Houſe of Commons ſo irregularly to Revive that Bill to remove the Biſhops; and was their chief incouragement to hope, that the Lords, who had rejected the Former, would now Paſs, and conſent to this Second Bill.

THIS was one of the Biſhops, who was moſt rudely treated by the Rabble; who gathered themſelves together about the Houſe of Peers, crying out *No Biſhops, No Biſhops*: and his Perſon was aſſaulted, and Robes torn from his back; upon which, in very juſt diſpleaſure, he returned to his houſe, the Deanery at *Weſtminſter*; and ſent for all the Biſhops, who were then in the Town (it being within very few days of *Chriſtmaſs*) of which there were Twelve or Thirteen; and, in much Paſſion, and with his Natural Indignation, he propoſed as abſolutely neceſſary; "that they might Unanimouſly, and Preſently prepare a "Proteſtation, to ſend to the Houſe, againſt the Force, that was uſed "upon them; and againſt all the Acts, which were, or ſhould be done "during the time, that They ſhould by Force be kept from doing their "Dutys in the Houſe. And Immediately, having Pen and Ink ready, Himſelf prepared a Proteſtation; which being read to them, they all approved; depending upon His great experience in the Rules of the Houſe, where he had ſate ſo many years, and in ſome Parliaments in the place of Speaker, whilſt he was Keeper of the Great Seal; and ſo preſuming, that He could commit no errour in Matter or Form: and

without further communication, and advice, which both the Importance of the Subject, and the Diſtemper of the time did require; and that it might have been conſidered as well what was Fit, as what was Right; without further delay, than what was neceſſary for the fair Writing, and Ingroſſing the Inſtrument, they had prepared; they all ſet their hands to it. Then the Arch-Biſhop went to *White-Hall* to the King, and preſented the Proteſtation to Him; it being directed to his Majeſty with an Humble Deſire, that He would ſend it to the Houſe of Peers, ſince They could not preſent it Themſelves; and that he would command, that it ſhould be Enter'd in the Journal of the Houſe. His Majeſty caſting his eye perfunctorily upon it, and believing it had been drawn by Mature Advice, no ſooner received it, than he delivered it to the Lord Keeper, who unfortunately happened to be likewiſe preſent, with his command that he ſhould deliver it to the Houſe as ſoon as it met; which was to be within two hours after. The Petition contained theſe words,

The Petition and Proteſtation of the Biſhops to the King and Houſe of Lords.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty; and the Lords and Peers now aſſembled in Parliament.

"The humble Petition, and Proteſtation of all the Biſhops and "Prelates now called by his Majeſties Writs to attend the Par- "liament, and preſent about *London* and *Weſtminſter* for that "Service.

"THAT, whereas the Petitioners are called up by Several and Re- "ſpective Writs, and under great Penaltys to attend in Parliament; "and have a clear and indubitable Right to Vote in Bills, and "other matters whatſoever Debatable in Parliament, by the ancient "Cuſtoms, Laws, and Statutes of this Realm; and ought to be Pro- "tected by your Majeſty, quietly to attend, and proſecute that great "Service:

"THEY humbly Remonſtrate, and Proteſt before God, Your Majeſty, "and the noble Lords, and Peers now aſſembled in Parliament; that "as They have an indubitable Right to Sit, and Vote in the Houſe "of Lords, ſo are they (if they may be protected from Force, and "Violence) moſt ready, and willing to perform their Dutys accord- "ingly; and that they do Abominate all Actions or Opinions tending "to Popery, and the maintainance thereof; as alſo all Propenſion, "and Inclination to any Malignant Party, or any other Side, or "Party whatſoever, to the which Their own Reaſons, and Conſcien- "ces ſhall not move them to Adhere.

"BUT, whereas They have been at ſeveral times, violently Menaced, "Affronted, and Aſſaulted by Multitudes of People in their coming "to perform their Services in that Honourable Houſe; and lately "Chaſed away, and put in danger of their Lives, and can find no "Redreſs, or Protection upon ſundry Complaints made to both Houſes "in Theſe Particulars:

"THEY likewiſe humbly Proteſt before your Majeſty, and the noble "Houſe of Peers; that, ſaving to themſelves all their Rights, and In- "tereſts of Sitting, and Voting in That Houſe at other times; They "dare not Sit or Vote in the Houſe of Peers, untill your Majeſty ſhall "further ſecure them from All Affronts, Indignitys, and Dangers in "the premiſes.

LASTLY,

"LASTLY, whereas their fears are not built upon Fantaſies, and Con-
"ceits, but upon ſuch Grounds, and Objects, as may well terrify Men
"of good Reſolutions, and much Conſtancy; They do in all Duty and
"Humility Proteſt, before your Majeſty, and the Peers of That moſt
"Honourable Houſe of Parliament, againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes,
"Reſolutions and Determinations, as in themſelves Null and of none
"Effect; which in Their Abſence, ſince the ſeven and twentieth of
"this Inſtant Month of *December* 1641, have allready Paſſed; as
"likewiſe againſt all Such, as ſhall hereafter Paſs in That moſt Ho-
"nourable Houſe, during the time of this Their Forced and Violent
"Abſence from the ſaid moſt Honourable Houſe; not denying but
"if Their Abſenting Themſelves were Wilful and Voluntary, That
"moſt Honourable Houſe might proceed in all Theſe Premiſes, Their
"Abſence, or this Their Proteſtation notwithſtanding.
"AND humbly Beſeeching your moſt excellent Majeſty to Command
"the Clerk of the Houſe of Peers to Enter this Their Petition, and
"Proteſtation amongſt the Records.

"They will ever Pray, *&c.*

Signed

Jo. Eborac.	*Jo. Norwich.*	*Geo. Hereford.*	*Godfr. Glouc.*
Tho. Dureſm.	*Jo. Aſaphen.*	*Rob. Oxon.*	*Jo. Peterburgh.*
Rob. Cov. and *L.*	*Guil. Ba.* and *Wells.*	*Ma. Ely.*	*Mor. Llandaff.*

IT was great pity, that, tho' the Arch-Biſhops Paſſion tranſported him, as it uſually did; and his Authority impoſed upon the reſt, who had no affection to his Perſon, or reverence for his Wiſdom; his Majeſty did not take a little time to conſider of it, before he put it out of his Power to alter it, by putting it out of his Hands. For it might eaſily have been diſcerned by Thoſe, who were well acquainted with the Humour, as well as the Temper of both Houſes, that ſome advantage, and Ill Uſe would have been made of ſome Expreſſions contained in it; and that it could produce no Good Effect. But the ſame Motive and Apprehenſion, that had precipitated the Biſhops to ſo haſty a Reſolution (which was, that the Houſe of Peers would have made that uſe of the Biſhops being kept from the Houſe, that they would in that time have paſſed the Bill it ſelf for taking away their Votes) had its effects likewiſe with the King; who had the ſame imagination, and therefore would loſe no time in the tranſmiſſion of it to the Houſe. Whereas it is more probable, the Lords would never have made uſe of that very Seaſon, whilſt the Tumults ſtill continued, for the Paſſing an Act of that importance; and the Scandal, if not Invalidity of it, would have been an Unanſwerable ground for the King to have refuſed his Royal Aſſent to it.

ASSOON as this Proteſtation, which, no doubt, in the time before the Houſe was to meet, had been communicated to Thoſe who were prepared to ſpeak upon it, was Delivered by the Lord Keeper with his Majeſtys Command, and Read; the Governing Lords manifeſted a great Satisfaction in it; Some of them ſaying, "that there was *Digitus Dei*
"to bring That to paſs, Which they could not Otherwiſe have com-
"paſſed; and without ever Declaring any Judgment or Opinion of their own upon it, which they ought to have done, the matter only having

relation to themſelves, and concerning their own Members; they ſent to deſire a Conference preſently with the Houſe of Commons, upon a buſineſs of Importance; and, at the Conference, only Read, and Delivered the Proteſtation of the Biſhops to them; which, the Lord Keeper told them, he had received from the King's own Hand, with a Command to Preſent it to the Houſe of Peers. The Houſe of Commons took very little time to conſider of the matter; but, within half an hour, they ſent up to the Lords; and, without further Examination, accuſed them all, who had Subſcribed the Proteſtation, of High-Treaſon; and, by this means, they were all, the whole Twelve of them, committed to Priſon; and remained in the Tower till the Bill for the putting them out of the Houſe was Paſſed, which was not till many Months after.

The Proteſtation is Delivered by the Lords to the Houſe of Commons in a Conference.

The Commons accuſe the Biſhops that ſubſcribed it of High-Treaſon, and They are committed to the Tower.

When the Paſſion, Rage, and Fury of this time ſhall be forgotten, and Poſterity ſhall find, amongſt the Records of the Supream Court of Judicature, ſo many Orders, and Reſolutions in vindication of the Liberty of the Subject againſt the Impriſoning of any man, tho' by the King Himſelf, without aſſigning Such a Crime as the Law hath determined to be worthy of Impriſonment; and in the Same Year, by this high Court, ſhall find Twelve Biſhops, Members of This Court, committed to Priſon for High-Treaſon, for the Preſenting This Proteſtation; Men will ſurely wonder at the Spirit of that Reformation: and even that Clauſe of Declaring all Acts Null, which had been, or ſhould be done in Their Abſence, in defence of which no man Then durſt open his Mouth, will be thought good Law, and good Logick; not that the Preſence of the Biſhops in that time was ſo Eſſential, that no Act ſhould Paſs without them; which had given them a Voice, upon the matter, as Negative as the Kings; and Themſelves, in their Inſtrument, Diſclaimed the leaſt Pretence to Such a qualification; but becauſe a Violence, offer'd to the Freedom of any One Member, is a Violation to all the Reſt: as if a Council conſiſt of Threeſcore, and the door to that Council be kept by Armed men, and all Such, whoſe Opinions are not liked, kept out by force; no doubt the Freedom of Thoſe Within is infringed, and all Their Acts as Void and Null, as if they were Locked in, and kept without meat till they alter'd their Judgments.

And therefore you ſhall find in the Journals of the moſt Sober Parliaments, that, upon any eminent Breach of Their Priviledges, as allways upon the Commitment of any Member for any thing Said or Done in the Houſe, ſometimes upon leſs occaſions, that Houſe, which apprehended the Treſpaſs, would ſit mute, without Debating, or Handling any buſineſs, and then Adjourn; and this hath been practiſed many days together, till they had Redreſs or Reparation. And their Reaſon was, becauſe their Body was Lame; and what was befallen One Member, threaten'd the Reſt; and the conſequence of one Act might extend it ſelf to many other, which were not in view; and this made their Priviledges of ſo tender, and nice a temper, that they were not to be Touched, or in the leaſt degree Trenched upon; and therefore that in ſo apparent an Act of Violence, where it is not more clear that they were committed to Priſon, than that they durſt not then Sit in the Houſe, and when it was Lawful in the Houſe of Peers for every diſſenter in the moſt Trivial debate, to enter his Proteſtation againſt that ſenſe he liked not, tho' he were Single in his opinion; That it ſhould Not be Lawful for Thoſe, who could not Enter it Themſelves, to Preſent this

Proteſtation

Proteſtation to the King, to whom they were accountable under a Penalty for their Abſence; and unlawful to that degree, that it ſhould render them culpable of High-Treaſon; and ſo forfeit their Honour, their Lives, their Fortunes, expoſe their Names to perpetual Infamy, and their Wives and Children to Penury, and want of bread; will be looked upon as a Determination of that Injuſtice, Impiety, and Horrour, as could not be believ'd without thoſe deep marks, and prints of Confuſion that followed, and attended That Reſolution.

AND yet the Indiſcretion of Thoſe Biſhops, ſwayed by the Pride, and Paſſion of that Arch-Biſhop, in applying that Remedy at a time, when they ſaw all Forms and Rules of Judgment impetuouſly declined; and the power of their Adverſaries ſo great, that the Laws themſelves ſubmitted to their Oppreſſion; that They ſhould, in Such a Storm, when the beſt Pilot was at his prayers, and the Card, and Compaſs loſt, without the advice of one Mariner, put themſelves in ſuch a Cock-boat, and to be ſevered from the good Ship, gave that Scandal and Offence to all thoſe, who paſſionately deſired to preſerve their Function, that they had no compaſſion, or regard of their Perſons, or what became of them; inſomuch as in the whole Debate in the Houſe of Commons, there was only one Gentleman, who ſpoke on their behalfs, and ſaid; "he did "not believe they were guilty of High-Treaſon, but that they were Stark "Mad; and therefore deſired they might be ſent to *Bedlam*.

THIS high, and extravagant way of proceeding brought no Prejudice to the King; and tho' it made their Tribunal more terrible to men who laboured under any Guilt, yet it exceedingly leſſened the Reverence and Veneration, that formerly had been entertained for Parliaments: and this laſt Accuſation, and Commitment of ſo many Biſhops at Once, was looked upon by all Sober men with Indignation. For whatever Indiſcretion might be in the thing it ſelf, tho' ſome Expreſſions in the matter might be Unskilful and Unwarrantable, and the Form of preſenting and tranſmitting it, Irregular and Uujuſtifiable (for all which the Houſe of Peers might puniſh their Own Members, according to their diſcretion) yet every man knew there could be no Treaſon in it; and therefore the end of their Commitment, and the uſe all men ſaw would be made of it, made it the more Odious; and the Members, who were abſent from both Houſes, which were Three parts of Four, and many of thoſe who had been preſent, Abhorred the Proceedings, and attended the Houſes more diligently; ſo that the Angry Party, who were no more treated with, to abate their Fury, would have been compelled to have given over all their Deſigns for the Alteration of the Government both in Church, and State; if the Volatile, and Unquiet Spirit of the Lord *Digby* had not prevailed with the King, contrary to his Reſolution, to have given Them ſome New Advantage; and to depart from his purpoſe of doing nothing, without very mature Deliberation.

THO' Sr *William Balfour*, who is allready mentioned, had, from the beginning of this Parliament, forgot all his Obligations to the King; and had made himſelf very Gracious to thoſe people, whoſe glory it was to be thought Enemies to the Court; and, whilſt the Earl of *Strafford* was his Priſoner, did many Offices not becoming the Truſt he had from the King, and contributed much to the Jealouſy, which that Party had of his Majeſty; upon which there had been a long reſolution to remove him from that Charge; but to do it with his own Conſent, that there might be no manifeſtation of Diſpleaſure; yet it was a very unſeaſonable

Conjuncture,

Conjuncture, which was taken to execute it in; and this whole Tranſaction was ſo ſecretly carried, that there was neither notice nor ſuſpition of it, till it was heard, that Sr *Thomas Lunsford* was Sworn Lieutenant of the Tower; a man, who, tho' of an ancient Family in *Suſſex*, was of a very ſmall, and decayed Fortune, and of no good Education; having been few years before, compelled to fly the Kingdom, to avoid the hand of Juſtice for ſome riotous Miſdemeanour; by reaſon whereof, he ſpent ſome time in the ſervice of the King of *France*, where he got the reputation of a Man of Courage, and a good Officer of Foot; and in the beginning of the Troubles here had ſome Command in the King's Army; but ſo much inferior to many others, and was ſo little known, except upon the diſadvantage of an Ill Character, that, in the moſt Dutiful time, the Promotion would have appeared very ingrateful. He was utterly a Stranger to the King, and therefore it was quickly underſtood to proceed from the Single election of the Lord *Digby*, to whom he was likewiſe very little known; who had intruth deſigned that Office to his Brother Sr *Lewis Dives*, againſt whom there could have been no exception, but his Relation: but He being not at that time in Town, and the other having ſome ſecret Reaſon to fill that place in the Inſtant, with a man who might be truſted; he ſuddainly reſolved upon this Gentleman, as one, who would be Faithful to him for the obligation, and execute any thing he ſhould deſire, or direct; which was a reaſon he might eaſily have foreſeen would provoke more powerful Oppoſition; which errour, as is ſaid before, was repaired by the ſuddain change, and putting in Sr *John Byron*; tho' it gave little ſatisfaction, and the leſs, by reaſon of another more inconvenient Action, which changed the whole Face of Affairs, and cauſed This to be more reflected upon.

The Atturney Gen. Herbert *accuſes in the Houſe of Lords the Lord* Kimbolton, *and five Members of the Houſe of Commons of High-Treaſon.*

IN the Afternoon of a day when the two Houſes ſate, *Herbert* the King's Atturney informed the Houſe of Peers, that he had ſomewhat to ſay to them from the King; and thereupon, having a Paper in his hand, he ſaid, that the King commanded him to accuſe the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of that Houſe, and five Gentlemen, who were all Members of the Houſe of Commons, of High-Treaſon; and that his Majeſty had himſelf delivered him in Writing ſeveral Articles, upon which he accuſed them; and he read in a Paper theſe enſuing Articles, by which the Lord *Kimbolton*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sr *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Mr *Pym*, Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Strode* ſtood Accuſed of High-Treaſon, for Conſpiring againſt the King, and the Parliament.

The Articles againſt them.

Articles of High-Treaſon, and other Miſdemeanours, againſt the Lord Kimbolton, *M^r* Pym, John Hambden, Denzil Hollis, *S^r* Arthur Haſlerigg, *and* William Strode *Members of the Houſe of Commons.*

1. "THAT They have Traiterouſly endeavoured to Subvert the Fun-
"damental Laws, and Government of this Kingdom; and Deprive the
"King of his Regal power; and to place on his Subjects an Arbitrary,
"and Tyrannical power.

2. "THAT They have endeavoured, by many foul Aſperſions upon
"his Majeſty, and his Government, to alienate the Affections of his
"People, and to make his Majeſty Odious to Them

3. "THAT They have endeavoured to draw his Majeſtys late Army
"to diſobedience to his Majeſtys Command, and to Side with Them in
"Their Traiterous deſign.

4. "THAT

4. "That They have Traiterously invaded and incouraged a Forreign "Power to invade his Majesty's Kingdom of *England*.

5. "That They have Traiterously endeavoured to Subvert the very "Rights, and Beings of Parliament.

6. That, for the compleating of their Traiterous designs, They have "endeavoured, as far as in Them lay, by Force, and Terror to compel "the Parliament to joyn with Them in their Traiterous designs, and, "to that end, have Actually raised, and countenanced Tumults against "the King, and Parliament.

7. "That They have Traiterously conspired to Levy, and actually "have Levied War against the King.

The House of Peers was somewhat appalled at this Alarum; but took time to consider of it, till the next day, that they might see how their Masters the Commons would behave themselves; the Lord *Kimbolton* being present in the House, and making great professions of his Innocence; and no Lord being so hardy to press for his Commitment on the behalf of the King.

A Serjeant at Arms demands the five Members in the House of Commons.

At the same time, a Serjeant at Arms demanded to be Heard at the House of Commons from the King; and being sent for to the Bar, demanded the Persons of five of their Members to be delivered to him in his Majestys Name, his Majesty having accused them of High-Treason. But the Commons were not much surprized with the Accident; for besides that they quickly knew what had passed with the Lords, some Servants of the King, by especial Warrant, had visited the Lodgings of some of the accused Members, and Sealed up their Studies and Trunks; upon information whereof, before that Serjeant came to the House, or Publick notice was taken of the accusation, an Order was made by the Commons; "that if any person whatsoever should come to the Lodgings of "any Member of that House, and there offer to Seal the Doors, Trunks, "or Papers of such Members, or to Seize upon their Persons; that then "such Member should require the aid of the next Constable, to keep such "persons in safe Custody, till the House should give further Order: that "if any person whatsoever should offer to Arrest or Detain any Member "of that House, without first acquainting that House therewith, and "receiving further Order from thence; it should be lawful for such "Member to stand upon his Guard, and make Resistance, and for any "person to assist him, according to the Protestation taken to defend the "Priviledges of Parliament. And so, when the Serjeant had delivered his Message, he was no more called in; but a Message sent to the King, "that the Members should be forth coming assoon as a Legal Charge "should be preferred against them; and so the House Adjourned till the next day, every one of the accused persons taking a Copy of that Order, which was made for Their Security.

The King goes to the House of Commons to demand them.

The next day in the Afternoon, the King, attended only by his own usual Guard, and some few Gentlemen, who put themselves into their company in the way, came to the House of Commons; and commanding all his Attendants to wait at the Door, and give offence to no man; Himself, with his Nephew, the Prince Elector, went into the House, to the great amazement of all: and the Speaker leaving the Chair, the King went into it; and told the House, "he was sorry for that occasion "of coming to them; that yesterday he had sent his Serjeant at Arms "to Apprehend some, that, by his command, were accused of High-

"Treaſon; whereunto he expected Obedience, but inſtead thereof he "had received a Meſſage. He declared to them, that no King of *England* "had been ever, or ſhould be more careful to maintain their Priviledges, "than He would be; but that in Caſes of Treaſon No man had privi- "ledge; and therefore he came to ſee if any of thoſe perſons, whom he "had accuſed, were There; for he was reſolved to have them, where- "ſoever he ſhould find them: and looking then about, and asking the "Speaker whether they were in the Houſe, and he making no anſwer, "he ſaid, he perceived the *Birds were all Flown*, but expected they "ſhould be ſent to him, aſſoon as they returned thither; and aſſured "them in the Word of a King, that he never intended any Force, but "would proceed againſt them in a Fair, and Legal way; and ſo re- turned to *White-Hall*.

THE accuſed perſons, upon information and intelligence what his Majeſty intended to do, how ſecretly ſoever it was carried at Court, having withdrawn from the Houſe about half an hour before the King came thither; the Houſe in great diſorder, aſſoon as the King was gone, Adjourned till the next day in the Afternoon; the Lords being in ſo great apprehenſion upon notice of the King's being at the Houſe of Com- mons, that the Earl of *Eſſex* expreſſed a tender ſenſe he had of the In- conveniences, which were like to enſue thoſe Diviſions; and moved, "that the Houſe of Peers, as a work very proper for them, would inter- "poſe between the King and his People; and Mediate to his Majeſty on "the behalf of the perſons accuſed; for which he was reprehended by his Friends, and afterwards Laughed at himſelf, when he found how much a ſtronger Defence they had, than the beſt Mediation could prove on Their behalf.

HOW ſecretly ſoever this Affair was carried, it was evident that the King's reſolution of coming to the Houſe had been diſcovered, by the Members withdrawing themſelves, and by a Compoſedneſs, which ap- peared in the countenances of many, who uſed to be diſturbed at leſs Surprizing Occurrences; and tho' the purpoſe of accuſing the Members was only conſulted between the King and the Lord *Digby*; yet it was generally believed, that the King's purpoſe of going to the Houſe, was communicated to *William Murry* of the Bed-Chamber, with whom the Lord *Digby* had great Friendſhip; and that it was diſcovered by Him. And that Lord, who had promiſed the King to move the Houſe for the Commitment of the Lord *Kimbolton*, aſſoon as the Atturney General ſhould have accuſed him (which if he had done would probably have raiſed a very hot Diſpute in the Houſe, where many would have joyned with him) never ſpoke the leaſt word; but, on the contrary, ſeemed the moſt ſurprized, and perplexed with the Atturney's Impeachment; and ſitting at that time next the Lord *Kimbolton*, with whom he pre- tended to live with much Friendſhip, he whiſpered him in the ear with ſome commotion (as he had a rare talent in Diſſimulation) "that the "King was very Miſchievouſly adviſed; and that it ſhould go very "hard, but he would know, whence that Counſel proceeded; in order "to which, and to prevent further Miſchief, he would go immediately "to his Majeſty; and ſo went out of the Houſe.

WHEREAS He was the Only Perſon, who gave the Counſel, Named the Perſons, and particularly the Lord *Kimbolton* (againſt whom leſs could be ſaid, than againſt many others, and who was more generally beloved) and undertook to prove that the ſaid Lord *Kimbolton* told the

Rabble,

Rabble, when they were about the Parliament Houſe, that they ſhould go to *White-Hall.* When he found the ill ſucceſs of the Impeachment in both Houſes, and how unſatisfied all were with the proceeding; he adviſed the King the next Morning to go to the *Guild-Hall,* and to inform the Mayor and Aldermen of the Grounds of his Proceedings; which will be mentioned anon. And that People might not believe, that there was any dejection of mind, or ſorrow for what was done; the ſame Night, the ſame Council cauſed a Proclamation to be prepared for the ſtopping the Ports; that the accuſed perſons might not eſcape out of the Kingdom; and to forbid all perſons to receive, and harbour them; when it was well known, that they were all together in a houſe in the City, without any fear of their Security. And all this was done without the leaſt communication with any body, but the Lord *Digby,* who adviſed it; and it is very true, was ſo willing to take the utmoſt hazard upon himſelf; that he did offer the King, when he knew in what houſe they were together, with a ſelect company of Gentlemen, who would accompany him, whereof Sr *Thomas Lunsford* was one, to Seize upon them, and bring them away Alive, or leave them Dead in the place; but the King liked not ſuch Enterprizes.

THAT night, the perſons accuſed removed themſelves into their Strong hold, the City: not that they durſt not venture themſelves at their old Lodgings, for no man would have preſumed to trouble them, but that the City might ſee, that they relied upon that Place for a ſanctuary of their Priviledges againſt Violence and Oppreſſion; and ſo might put on an early Concernment for them. And they were not diſappointed; for in ſpight of all the Lord Mayor could do to compoſe their diſtempers (who like a very wiſe, and ſtout Magiſtrate beſtirred himſelf) the City was that whole night in Arms; ſome people, deſigned to that purpoſe, running from one Gate to another, and crying out, "that "the *Cavaliers* were coming to fire the City; and ſome ſaying, "that "the King himſelf was in the head of them.

The Perſons accuſed remove into the City.

THE next morning, the King being informed of much that had paſſed that night, according to the advice he had received, ſent to the Lord Mayor to call a Common Council immediately; and, about ten of the clock, himſelf, attended only by three or four Lords, went to the *Guild-Hall;* and in the Room, where the People were aſſembled, told them, "he was very ſorry to hear of the Apprehenſions, they had entertained "of Danger; that he was come to them, to ſhew how much he relied "upon their Affections for his Security, and Guard, having brought no "other with him: that he had accuſed certain men of High-Treaſon, "againſt whom he would proceed in a Legal way; and therefore he pre-"ſumed they would not ſhelter them in the City. And uſing many other very Gracious expreſſions of his value of them, and telling one of the Sheriffs (who was of the Two thought leſs inclined to his Service) "that "he would Dine with him, he departed without that Applauſe and Chearfulneſs, which he might have expected from the extraordinary Grace, he vouchſafed to them. And in his paſſage through the City, the Rude People flocked together, and cryed out, *Priviledge of Parliament, Priviledge of Parliament;* ſome of them preſſing very near his own Coach, and amongſt the reſt one calling out with a very loud Voice, *To your Tents O Iſrael.* However the King, tho' much Mortified, continued his Reſolution, taking little notice of the Diſtempers; and, having Dined at the Sheriffs, returned in the Afternoon to *White-Hall;* and

The King goes into the City and ſpeaks to the Citizens.

published, the next day, a Proclamation, for the Apprehenſion of all thoſe, whom he had accuſed of High Treaſon, forbidding any perſon to Harbour them; the Articles of their Charge being likewiſe printed, and diſperſed.

WHEN the Houſe of Commons next met, none of the Accuſed Members appearing, They had Friends enough, who were well inſtructed to aggravate the late Proceedings, and to put the Houſe into a thouſand Jealouſies, and Apprehenſions; and every ſlight Circumſtance carried weight enough in it to diſturb their minds. They took very little notice of the Accuſing the Members; but the King's Coming to the Houſe, which had been Never known before, and Declaring, "that he would "take Them, Wherever he Found Them, was an Evidence, "that he "meant Himſelf to have brought a Force into the Houſe to Apprehend "them, if they had been there; and was looked upon as the higheſt Breach of Priviledge, that could poſſibly be imagined. They who ſpoke moſt Paſſionately, and probably meant as Maliciouſly, behaved themſelves with Modeſty, and ſeemed only concerned in what concerned them All; and concluded, after many Lamentations, "that they did "not think themſelves Safe in that Houſe, till the minds of men were "better Compoſed; that the City was full of Apprehenſions, and was "very Zealous for their Security; and therefore wiſhed, that they might "Adjourn the Parliament to meet in ſome place in the City. But that was found not Practicable; ſince it was not in their own power to do it, without the Conſent of the Peers, and the Concurrence of the King; who were Both like rather to chooſe a place more diſtant from the City.

The Houſe of Commons adjourning themſelves for ſome days, name a Committee to ſit in the City.

So, with more Reaſon, in the end they concluded, "that the Houſe "ſhould Adjourn it ſelf for two or three days, and name a Committee, "who ſhould ſit both Morning and Afternoon in the City; and All "who came to have Voices: and *Merchant-Taylors-Hall* was appointed for the place of their meeting; They who Served for *London*, undertaking, "that it ſhould be ready againſt the next Morning: no man oppoſing or contradicting any thing that was ſaid; They, who formerly uſed to appear for all the Rights and Authority, which belonged to the King, not knowing what to ſay, between Grief and Anger, that the Violent Party had by theſe late Unskilful actions of the Court, gotten great Advantage, and recovered new Spirits: and the Three Perſons before named, without whoſe Privity the King had Promiſed, that he would enter upon no Counſel, were ſo much diſpleaſed and dejected, that they were inclined, never more to take upon them the Care of any thing to be tranſacted in the Houſe; finding allready, that they could not avoid being looked upon as the Authors of thoſe Counſels, to which they were ſo abſolute Strangers, and which they ſo perfectly Deteſted.

AND intruth, They had then withdrawn themſelves from appearing often in the Houſe, but upon the abſtracted conſideration of their Duty and Conſcience, and of the preſent Ill condition the King was in; who likewiſe felt within himſelf the Trouble and Agony, which uſually attends Generous and Magnanimous Minds upon their having committed Errors, which expoſe them to Cenſure, and to Damage. In fine, the Houſe of Commons Adjourned for ſome days, to conſult with their Friends in the City; and the Houſe of Lords held ſo good Correſpondence with them, that they likewiſe Adjourned to the Same days they knew, by ſome Intelligence, the Commons intended to meet again. But the Lords made no Committee to ſit in the City.

The Lords likewiſe Adjourning for the ſame days.

WHEN

The Transactions of the Committee in the City.

WHEN the Committee met the next Morning at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, where All who came were to have Voices; and whither all Did come at first, out of Curiosity to observe what Method they meant to proceed in, rather than Expectation, that they should be able to do any Good there; they found a Guard ready to attend them, of substantial Citizens in Arms, and a Committee from the Common Council, to bid them Welcome into the City; and to Assure them, "that the City would "take care, that They, and all their Members should be Secured from "Violence; and to that purpose had appointed That Guard to attend "them, which should be allways Relieved twice a day, if they resolved "to sit Morning and Afternoon: and acquainted them further, "that "the Common Council, in contemplation that they might stand in want "of any thing, had likewise appointed a Committee of so many Alder-"men, and such a number of the Common Council, which should meet "allways at a place named, at those Hours, which the Committee should "appoint to meet at; to the end, that if any thing were to be required "of the City, they might still know their Pleasure, and take care that "it should be Obeyed. Thus they had provided for such a mutual Communication and Confederacy, that they might be sure allways to be of one mind, and the One to help the Other in the prosecution of those Designs and Expedients, which they should find necessary to their Common end: the Committee of the City consisting of the most eminent persons, Aldermen and others, for their disaffection to the Government of Church and State.

AT their first sitting, the Committee begun with the stating the Manner of the King's coming to the House, and all he Did there; the several Members mentioning all that they would take upon them to remember of his Majestys Doing or Speaking, both as he came to the House, and after he was there; some of them being walking in *Westminster-Hall*, when the King walked through, and so came to the House with him, or near him; others reporting, what they heard some of the Great men who attended his Majesty, say, as they passed by; every idle word having its Commentary; and the persons, whoever were named, being appointed to attend, they having power given them to send for all persons, and to Examine them touching that Affair. Nor had any man the Courage to refuse to Obey their Summons; so that all those of the King's Servants, who were sent for, appeared punctually at the hour that was assigned them; and were Examined upon all Questions, which any one of the Committee would propose to them, whereof many were very Impertinent, and of little respect to the King.

IT was very well known where the Accused Persons were, all together in one House in *Coleman-Street*, near the place where the Committee sate; and whither persons trusted passed to and fro to communicate, and receive Directions; but it was not Seasonable for them Yet to appear in Publick, and to come, and sit with the Committee, or to own the believing, that they thought themselves safe from the Violence, and the Assaults of the Court; the Power whereof they exceedingly Contemned, whilst they seemed to Apprehend it; nor was it yet time to Model in what manner their Friends in the City, and the Country, should appear concerned for them, in preparing whereof no time was lost.

AGAINST the day the House was to meet, the first Adjournment not being for above two or three days, the Committee had prepared Matter

enough for a Report; a Relation of all they had diſcovered upon their Examinations, and ſuch Votes, as they thought fit to offer upon the breach of their Priviledge; that they might thereby diſcover the Affections of the Houſe, of which they could not yet take any meaſure, ſeeing there had been no Debate ſince thoſe Accidents, which could diſcover the General Temper; which, they well enough knew, was not before to their Advantage. In the mean time, they uſed all the ways they could to Aſperſe thoſe, who uſed to Oppoſe them, as the Contrivers of the late Proceedings; and were willing they ſhould know it; which they imagined, would reſtrain them from taking the ſame Liberty, they had uſed to do.

Votes of the Houſe of Commons upon their firſt meeting again.

AND ſo at Their meeting in the Houſe, upon the Report of the Committee, they declared, "that the King's Coming to the Houſe, and "Demanding the Perſons of divers Members thereof to be delivered "unto him, was a high Breach of the Rights and Priviledges of Par-"liament; and Inconſiſtent with the Liberty and Freedom thereof; and "therefore that they could not with the Safety of their own Perſons, "or the Indemnity of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, Sit "there any longer, without a full Vindication of ſo high a Breach, and "a ſufficient Guard, wherein they might Confide; and for that reaſon, "did order, that their Houſe ſhould be again Adjourned for four days; "and that the Committee ſhould meet in the ſame place, to Conſider "and Reſolve of all things, that might concern the Good and Safety of "the City, and the Kingdom; and particularly, How their Priviledges "might be Vindicated, and their Perſons Secured; and ſhould have "power to Conſult and Adviſe with any perſon, or perſons touching the "Premiſes. And, this Order and Declaration being made, they Adjourned: the laſt Clauſe being intended to bring their Members to them.

At the Meeting of the Houſe, the Committee had informed them, Firſt of the great Civilities, they had received from the City in all the particulars, that they might have Order to return the thanks of the Whole Houſe, which they eaſily obtained; and, at their return, they took more Examinations than they had formerly; by which they made a fuller Relation of the King's Coming to the Houſe, and his Carriage and Words there. And becauſe it was Viſible to all men, that the King was ſo far from bringing any Force with him, which they deſired it ſhould be believed he had brought, that he had only his Guard of Halberdiers, and fewer of them, than uſed to go with him on any ordinary Motion; and that fewer of his Gentlemen Servants were Then with him, than uſually attended him, when he went but to walk in the Park; and had only their Little Swords; they were very Punctual in mentioning any Light or Looſe words, which had fallen from any man, that it might be believed, that there was more in the Matter. As they carefully inſerted in their Relation, that one of the Waiters, as he walked very near his Majeſty through the Hall, ſaid, "he had a good Piſtol in "his Pocket; and that another, as they were walking up the Stairs towards the Houſe of Commons, called out, *Fall on*; from which they would have it believed, that there had been very Bloody Intentions.

THEN they propoſed ſome Votes to be offer'd to the Houſe, in which they Voted "the Relation, which was made, to be true; and thereupon, "that the King's Coming to the Houſe was the higheſt Breach of the "Priviledge of Parliament, that could be made; and that the Arreſting, "or endeavouring to Arreſt, any member of Parliament was a high

"Breach of their Priviledge; and that the Perſon, who was ſo Arreſted, "might lawfully Reſcue, and Redeem himſelf; and that all, who were "Preſent, and ſaw the Priviledge of Parliament ſo Violated, might, "and Ought to aſſiſt the Injured perſon in his Defence, and to procure "his Liberty with Force. And theſe Votes the Houſe confirmed, when they were Reported. Tho', in the Debate, it was told them, "that they "muſt take heed, that they did not out of Tenderneſs of their Priviledge, "which was, and muſt be very precious to every man, extend it fur-"ther, than the Law would ſuffer it to be extended: that the Houſe had "allways been very ſevere upon the Breach of any of their Priviledges, "and in the Vindicating thoſe Members, who were Injured; but that "the diſpoſing men to make Themſelves Judges, and to reſcue them-"ſelves or others, might be of evil Conſequence, and produce ill Ef-"fects; at leaſt if it ſhould fall out to be, that the perſons were arreſted "for Treaſon, or Felony, or Breach of the Peace; in either of which "Caſes, there could be no Priviledge of Parliament. This, tho' a known Truth to any, who knew any thing of the Law, was received with Noiſe and Clamour, and with wonderful evidence of Diſlike, and ſome faint Contradictions, "that no Such thing ought to be done, whilſt a Parlia-"ment was Sitting: and then, falling upon the late Action of the King, and the Merit of thoſe perſons, and without much Contradiction, which was found to be Ingrateful, the Houſe Confirmed all that the Committee had Voted; and then Adjourned again for ſome days, and Ordered the Committee to meet again in the City; which they did Morning and Afternoon; and prepared other Votes of a brighter Allay, and more in the face of the King, and the Law, every day adding to the Fury and Fierceneſs of the precedent. The Houſe met and Sate, only to Confirm the Votes which were paſſed by the Committee, and to proſecute Such Matters, as were by Concert brought to them, by Petition from the City; which was ready to Advance any thing, they were directed; and ſo whilſt the Members yet kept themſelves Concealed, many particulars of great Importance were tranſacted in thoſe Short Sittings of the Houſe.

THE King about this time, having found the Inconvenience and Miſchief to himſelf of having no Servant of Intereſt and Reputation, and who took his buſineſs to Heart, in the Houſe of Commons, had made the Lord *Falkland* and Sr *John Colepepper*, both Members of that Houſe, and of unblemiſhed Reputations and confeſſed Abilitys, of his Privy-Council; and the one, the Lord *Falkland*, his Principal Secretary of State, and Sr *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; as is ſaid before. And ſo, having now gotten two Counſellors about him, who durſt Truſt one another, and who were Both fit to be Truſted by Him, which he had been without above a Year paſt, to His, and the Kingdoms irreparable Diſadvantage; he thought fit to Publiſh a Declaration to all his Subjects, in Anſwer to the Remonſtrances, he had lately received from the Houſe of Commons; and was diſperſed throughout the Kingdom. In which, without the leaſt Sharpneſs or return of the Language, he had received; he took notice "of the Fears, and Jealouſies (for thoſe were the New words, which ſerved to Juſtify all Undiſpoſitions, and to excuſe all Diſorders) "which made Impreſſion in the minds "of his People, with reference to their Religion, their Liberty, or their "Civil Intereſts. *The King's Anſwer to the Houſe of Commons former Remonſtrance.*

"As to their Religion, He obſerved the Fears to be of Two ſorts;

"either

"either as Ours here eſtabliſhed might be invaded by the Roman Party;
"or as it was accompanied with ſome Ceremonies, at which ſome ten-
"der Conſciences, or Really were, or Pretended to be Scandalized. For
"the firſt, as there might be any ſuſpition of Favour or Inclination to
"the Papiſts, he ſaid, he was willing to Declare to all the World, that,
"as he had been brought up from his Childhood in, and practiſed that
"Religion, which was Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſo he be-
"lieved he could, having given a good part of his time and pains to the
"Examination of the Grounds of it, as it Differ'd from that of *Rome*,
"maintain the ſame by Unanſwerable Reaſons; and hoped he ſhould be
"ready to Seal it with the effuſion of his Blood, if it ſhould pleaſe God
"to call him to that Sacrifice: and that nothing could be ſo acceptable
"to him, as any Propoſition, which might contribute to the Advance-
"ment of it Here, or the Propagation of it Abroad; this being the
"greateſt means to draw down a Bleſſing from God upon himſelf, and
"this Nation; and if this Profeſſion of his was wanting to his People,
"he thought himſelf extreamly Unfortunate, for that his conſtant Pra-
"ctice in his own Perſon had allways been, without Oſtentation, as much
"to evidence his Care and Duty therein, as he could poſſibly tell how
"to expreſs.

"As for matters of Ceremony, He ſaid, he would, in Tenderneſs to
"any number of his loving Subjects, be willing to comply with the ad-
"vice of his Parliament, that ſome Law ſhould be made for the exem-
"ption of tender Conſciences from puniſhment or proſecution for neglect-
"ing ſuch Ceremonies; and in Such Caſes, which by the judgment of
"moſt men are held to be matters Indifferent, and of ſome to be abſo-
"lutely Unlawful. Provided, that that Caſe ſhould be attempted, and
"purſued with that Modeſty, Temper, and Submiſſion, that in the mean
"time the Peace, and Quiet of the Kingdom ſhould not be diſturbed,
"the Decency, and Comelineſs of God's Service not diſcountenanced;
"nor the Pious, Sober, and Devout actions of thoſe Reverend perſons,
"who were the firſt Labourers in the bleſſed Reformation, or of that
"time, be Scandalized, and Defamed. For, he ſaid, he could not with-
"out Grief of Heart, and without ſome Tax upon himſelf and his Mi-
"niſters for the not executing of the Laws, look upon the bold Licence
"of ſome men in Printing of Pamphlets, in Preaching and Printing of
"Sermons ſo full of bitterneſs and malice againſt the preſent Govern-
"ment, againſt the Laws Eſtabliſhed; ſo full of Sedition againſt his
"own Perſon, and the Peace of the Kingdom; that he was many times
"amazed to conſider by what Eyes thoſe things were Seen, and by what
"Ears they were Heard.

"CONCERNING the Civil Liberties and Intereſts of the Subjects,
"He ſaid, he ſhould need ſay the leſs, having erected ſo many laſting
"Monuments of his Princely and Fatherly care of his People, in thoſe
"excellent Laws paſſed by him this Parliament; which, with very
"much Content to himſelf, he ſaid, he conceived to be ſo Large and
"Ample, that very many Sober men had little left to wiſh for of that
"Kind. He told them, he very well underſtood the Rights and parti-
"cular Advantages, he had Departed from in many of the Acts he had
"paſſed; and therefore he had reaſon to hope, as he had taken all Oc-
"caſions to reinden Their condition moſt Comfortable and Happy; ſo
"They would, in grateful and dutiful return, be allways ready with
"equal Tenderneſs and Alacrity to advance His Rights, and prefer His
"Honour,

"Honour, upon which their own Security and Subſiſtence ſo much de-
"pended; and no Particular ſhould be preſented unto him for the com-
"pleating, and eſtabliſhing that Security, to the which he would not
"with the ſame readineſs contribute his beſt Aſſiſtance. He ſaid, if
"thoſe Reſolutions were the effects of his preſent Counſels, and he took
"God to Witneſs that they were ſuch, and that his Subjects might con-
"fidently expect the Benefit of them from him, certainly no ill Deſign
"upon the Publick could accompany Such reſolutions; neither could
"there be great cauſe of Suſpicion of any Perſons preferred by him to
"degrees of Honour, and places of Truſt and Imployment, ſince this Par-
"liament: and therefore, that amongſt his Misfortunes he reckoned it
"not the Leaſt, that, having not retained in his Service, nor Protected
"any One perſon, againſt whom the Parliament had Excepted, during
"the whole Sitting of it, and having in all that time ſcarce vouchſafed
"to any man an inſtance of his Favour or Grace, but to Such, who were
"under ſome eminent Character of eſtimation amongſt the People, there
"ſhould ſo ſoon be a miſunderſtanding or jealouſy of their Fidelity and
"Uprightneſs; eſpecially in a time, when he took all occaſions to De-
"clare, that he conceived himſelf capable of being ſerved only by Honeſt
"men, and in Honeſt ways.

"HOWEVER if He had been miſtaken in ſuch his Election, the Par-
"ticular ſhould no ſooner be diſcovered to him, either by His own ob-
"ſervation, or other certain Information, than he would leave them to
"Publick Juſtice, under the marks of his Diſpleaſure. If notwithſtand-
"ing this, any Malignant Party ſhould take heart, and be willing to Sa-
"crifice the peace and happineſs of their Country to their own Siniſter
"ends and Ambitions, under what pretence of Religion and Conſcience
"ſoever; if they ſhould endeavour to leſſen his Reputation and Intereſt,
"and to weaken his Lawful power and Authority with his good Sub-
"jects; if they ſhould go about, by diſcountenancing the preſent Laws,
"to looſen the bonds of Government, that all diſorder and Confuſion
"might break in, he doubted not, but God in His good Time would
"diſcover them; and the wiſdom, and courage of his High-Court of
"Parliament would joyn with him in their Suppreſſion, and Puniſh-
"ment.

"HAVING ſaid all He could, to expreſs the clearneſs and uprightneſs
"of his Intentions, and done all he could to manifeſt thoſe intentions,
"he ſaid, he could not but confidently believe, all his good Subjects
"would acknowledge His part to be fully performed, both in Deeds paſt,
"and preſent Reſolutions to Do, what with Juſtice might be required
"of him; and that their Quiet and Proſperity now depended wholely on
"Themſelves, and was in Their own power, by yielding all Obedience
"and due reverence to the Law; which is the Inheritance of every Sub-
"ject, and the only Security he can have for his Life, Liberty, and Eſtate;
"and the which being neglected or diſeſteemed, under what Specious
"ſhews ſoever, a great meaſure of Infelicity, if not an irreparable Con-
"fuſion, muſt without doubt fall upon them. And he doubted not, it
"would be the moſt acceptable Declaration a King could make to his
"Subjects, that he was not only reſolved to keep the Laws himſelf, but
"to maintain them againſt what Oppoſition ſoever, tho' with the hazard
"of his Being. He hoped the Loyalty, and good affections of all his
"Subjects, would concur with him in the conſtant preſerving a good Un-
"derſtanding between him and his People; and that their own Intereſt,

"and compaſſion of the lamentable condition of the poor Proteſtants in "*Ireland*, would invite them to a fair Intelligence and Unity amongſt "themſelves; that ſo they might, with one heart, intend the relieving, "and recovering that unhappy Kingdom; where thoſe barbarous Re- "bels practiſed ſuch inhuman and unheard of Outrages upon the mi- "ſerable People, that no Chriſtian ear could hear without horrour, or "Story parallel. He concluded with conjuring all his good Subjects, of "what Degree or Quality ſoever, by all the bonds of Love, Duty, and "Obedience, that are precious to Good men, to joyn with him for the "recovery of the Peace of That Kingdom, and the preſervation of the "Peace of This; to remove all the doubts and fears, which might in- "terrupt their affection to Him, and all their Jealouſies and Apprehen- "ſions, which might leſſen their Charity to each other; and then, he "ſaid, if the Sins of the Nation had not prepared an inevitable Judg- "ment for all, God would make him a great and glorious King over a "Free, and Happy People.

THO' this Declaration had afterwards a very good influence upon the People, to his Majeſty's advantage; yet for the preſent it gave no allay to their Diſtempers. Their Seditious Miniſters were diſpatched to inflame the Neighbour Counties, and all poſſible art was uſed to inflame the City of *London*; which prevailed ſo far, that notwithſtanding all the oppoſition the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Recorder, and the graveſt and moſt ſubſtantial Aldermen could make, the Major part of the Common Council prevailed to ſend a Petition to the King, in the name of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*; which was the next Sunday Morning delivered to him, with great Solemnity, at *White Hall* by a Number choſen of that Body: Repreſenting "the great dangers, fears, aud Diſtractions, the City then was in, by "reaſon of the prevailing progreſs of the bloody Rebels of *Ireland*; the "putting out of perſons of Honour and Truſt from being Conſtable and "Lieutenant of the Tower, eſpecally in thoſe times, and the prepara- "tions there lately made; the fortifying *White-Hall* with Men, and "Ammunition in an unuſual manner; ſome of which men abuſed, and "wounded divers Citizens paſſing by; the calling in divers Cannoneers, "and other aſſiſtance into the Tower; the diſcovery of divers Fireworks "in the hands of Papiſts, and the miſunderſtanding between his Majeſty, "and the Parliament. That their fears were exceedingly increaſed by "his Majeſtys late going into the Houſe of Commons, attended by a "multitude of Armed men, for the apprehending of divers Members of "that Houſe, to the indangering his own Perſon, and the perſons, and "Priviledges of that Honourable Aſſembly. That the effects of thoſe "fears tended not only to the overthrow of the whole Trade of that "City and Kingdom, which they felt allready in a deep meaſure, but "threaten'd the utter ruin of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives and "Liberties of all his Subjects; and therefore they prayed his Majeſty, "that by the advice of his great Council in Parliament, the Proteſtants "in *Ireland* might be ſpeedily relieved; the Tower put into the hands "of Perſons of truſt; that by removal of doubtful and unknown per- "ſons from about *White-hall*, and *Weſtminſter*, a known and approved "Guard might be appointed for the ſafety of his Majeſty, and the Par- "liament; and that the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the Five Members of the "Houſe of Commons lately accuſed, might not be reſtrained of Liberty, "or otherwiſe proceeded againſt, than according to the Priviledges of "Parliament.

The City Petitions the King.

THE

THE King very well underſtood from what Spirit this Petition proceeded, and the inconvenience of giving ſo much countenance to it, as the very receiving it was, if he could have avoided it. But the Torrent was too ſtrong to be reſiſted by any direct ſtrength he could raiſe againſt it; and therefore he reſolved to endeavour to divide and reduce them, by the moſt gracious deſcending to their pretended fears, and Apprehenſions; and the ſame day, gave them this Anſwer; "That for the ſad *His Majeſtys Anſwer.*
"buſineſs of *Ireland*, he could not poſſibly expreſs a greater ſenſe than
"he had done, there being nothing left on His part Unoffer'd, or Un-
"done. For the Tower, he wonder'd that having removed a Servant
"of truſt from that Charge, only to ſatisfy the fears of the City, and
"put in another of unqueſtionable reputation and known ability, the Pe-
"titioners ſhould ſtill entertain thoſe Fears; and whatſoever preparation
"of ſtrength was there made was with as great an eye of Safety and ad-
"vantage to the City, as to his own Perſon, and ſhould be equally im-
"ployed to both.

"FOR the fortifying *White-Hall* with Men, and Ammunition in an
"unuſual way, He doubted not, that they had obſerved the ſtrange pro-
"vocation he had received to entertain that Guard; that, by the diſor-
"derly and tumultuous conflux of People at *Weſtminſter* and *White-*
"*Hall*, his great Council was not only diſquieted, but his own Royal
"Perſon in Danger; moſt Seditious language being uttered even under
"his own windows. And if any Citizens had been wounded, or ill
"treated, he was confidently aſſured, that it had happened by their
"own evil and corrupt Demeanours. For the Fireworks in the hands
"of a Papiſt, he knew nothing, nor underſtood Whom, or What They
"meant.

"FOR his going to the Houſe of Commons, when his Attendants
"were no otherwiſe armed than as Gentlemen with Swords, He was
"perſwaded, that if they knew the clear grounds, upon which Thoſe
"Perſons ſtood accuſed of High-Treaſon, and what would be proved
"againſt them, with which they ſhould in due time be acquainted, and
"conſidered the Gentle way he took for their Apprehenſion (which he
"preferred before any courſe of Violence, tho that way had been very
"Juſtifiable; ſince it was notoriouſly known that no Priviledge of Par-
"liament can extend to Treaſon, Felony, or breach of Peace) they
"would believe his going thither was an Act of grace and favour to that
"Houſe, and the moſt peaceable way of having that neceſſary Service
"performed; there being ſuch Orders made for the reſiſtance of what
"Authority ſoever for their Apprehenſion: and for the proceedings
"againſt thoſe perſons, he ever intended the ſame ſhould be with all
"juſtice and favour, according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm;
"to which all Innocent men would chearfully ſubmit. And this extra-
"ordinary way of ſatisfying a Petition of ſo unuſual a Nature, he ſaid,
"he was confident would be thought the greateſt inſtance, could be
"given, of his clear intentions to his Subjects; and of the ſingular eſteem
"he had of the good affections of that City, which he hoped in Grati-
"tude would never be wanting to his juſt commands and ſervice.

IT was no wonder, that they, who at Such a time could be corrupted to frame, and deliver Such a Petition, would not be reformed by ſuch an Anſwer. Neither will it be here unſeaſonable, to ſpend a little time in conſidering how the affections and temperament of ſuch a rich and opulent a City, which could naturally expect to proſper only by Peace, and

agreement, were wrought upon, and tranſported, to that degree, as to be the chief Inſtruments of its own, and the Kingdoms deſtruction.

The ſtate and temper of the City of London *at that time.*

THE City of *London*, as the Metropolis of *England*, by its Situation the moſt capable of trade, and by the moſt uſual reſidence of the Court, and the fixt Station of the Courts of Juſtice for the publick adminiſtration thereof throughout the Kingdom, the chief ſeat of trade, was, by the ſucceſſive countenance and favour of Princes, ſtrengthen'd with great Charters and Immunities, and was a Corporation governed within it ſelf; the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, choſen by themſelves; ſeveral Companies incorporated within the great Corporation; which, beſides notable Priviledges, enjoyed Lands, and perquiſites to a very great revenue. By the incredible increaſe of Trade, which the diſtractions of other Countries, and the Peace of this brought, and by the great licence of reſort thither, it was, ſince the King's acceſs to the Crown, in Riches, in People, in Buildings marvellouſly increaſed, inſomuch as the Suburbs were allmoſt equal to the City; a Reformation of which had been often in contemplation, never purſued, wiſe men foreſeeing that ſuch a Fulneſs could not be there, without an Emptineſs in other places; and whilſt ſo many perſons of Honour and Eſtates were ſo delighted with the City, the Government of the Country muſt be neglected, beſides the exceſs, and ill husbandry, that would be introduced thereby. But ſuch foreſight was interpreted a Morofity, and too great an oppreſſion upon the Common Liberty; and ſo, little was applied to prevent ſo growing a Diſeaſe.

AS it had theſe, and many other advantages and helps to be Rich, ſo it was looked upon too much of late time as a Common Stock not eaſy to be exhauſted, and as a body not to be grieved by ordinary Acts of injuſtice; and therefore as it was a place of reſort, in all caſes of neceſſity, for the ſuddain borrowing great ſums of money, in which they were commonly Merchants too good for the Crown, ſo it was become a practice, upon any ſpecious pretences, to void the Security, that was at any time given for money ſo borrowed.

THUS after many queſtionings of their Charter, which were ever removed by conſiderable ſums of money, a Grant made by the King in the beginning of his Reign (in conſideration of great ſums of money) of good quantities of Land in *Ireland*, and of the City of *Londonderry* there, was voided by a Suit in the *Star-Chamber*; all the Lands, after a vaſt expence in building and planting, reſumed into the King's hands, and a fine of Fifty Thouſand pounds impoſed upon the City. Which Sentence being pronounced after a long and publick Hearing, during which time, they were often invited to a Compoſition, both in reſpect of the ſubſtance, and the circumſtances of proceeding, made a general impreſſion in the minds of the Citizens of all conditions, much to the diſadvantage of the Court; and tho' the King afterwards remitted to them the penalties of that Sentence, they imputed that to the power of the Parliament, and rather remember'd how the benefit of their Grant had been taken from them, than by whom it was reſtored; ſo that, at the beginning of the Parliament, the City was as ill affected to the Court as the Country was; and therefore choſe ſuch Burgeſſes to ſit there, as had either eminently oppoſed the Court, or accidentally been oppreſſed by it.

THE chief Government and Superintendency of the City is in the Mayor, and Aldermen; which, in that little Kingdom, reſembles the

Houſe of Peers; and the Common Council is the repreſentative body thereof, like the Houſe of Commons, to order and agree to all Taxes, Rates, and ſuch particulars belonging to the Civil policy. The Common Council are choſen every year, ſo many for every Pariſh, of the wiſeſt, and moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, by the Veſtry, and common convention of the People of that Pariſh; and as the wealthieſt, and beſt reputed men were commonly choſen, ſo, tho' the Election was once a year, it was formerly ſcarce ever known, that any man Once choſen was afterwards rejected or left out, except upon diſcovery of an enormous crime, and decaying in fortune to a Bankrupt: otherwiſe, till he was called to be Alderman, or dyed, he continued, and was every year returned of the Common Council.

AFTER the beginning of this Parliament, when thoſe who ſteer'd at *Weſtminſter* found by their experience in the Caſe of the Earl of *Straſford*, of what conſequence the City might be to them, and afterwards found by the courage of the preſent Lord Mayor, Sr *Richard Gourney*, who cannot be too often or too honourably mentioned, that it might be kept from being diſpoſed by Them; and that the men of wealth, and ability, who at firſt had concurred with them, begun now to diſcern that they meant to lead them further than they had a mind to go; they directed their Confidents, that at the Election of the Common Councilmen by the concurrence and number of the meaner people, all ſuch, who were Moderate men, and Lovers of the preſent Government, ſhould be rejected; and in their places men of the moſt Active and Pragmatical heads, of how mean fortunes ſoever, ſhould be elected. And by this means that body in great part now conſiſted of Upſtart, Factious, Indigent companions, who were ready to receive all advertiſements and directions from *Weſtminſter*, and as forward to incroach upon their Superiors, the Mayor, and Aldermen. And ſo this firebrand of Priviledge inflamed the City at that time.

THAT They might gratify the City in procuring a better Anſwer, than they had received from the King to their Petition, and that they might more expoſe his Majeſty to their Affronts, the Houſe reſumed the buſineſs of the Tower again, with the old reflections upon the removal of the former Good Lieutenant, and the putting in a rude perſon and of a deſperate fortune, as they called him, that he might uſe ſuch Priſoners, as there was an intent to ſend thither, in ſuch a manner, as he ſhould be directed; and that the perſon, who was ſince put in, had put the City into great apprehenſions by the obſervation that was made, that he took great ſtore of proviſions into the Tower, as if he made proviſion for a greater Gariſon, which raiſed great jealouſies; and there was a Petition brought, and delivered to the Houſes in the Names of ſeveral Merchants, who uſed to trade to the Mint; in which they deſired that there might be ſuch a perſon made Lieutenant of the Tower, "as they could Con-"fide in (an Expreſſion that grew from that time to be much uſed) without which no man would venture Bullion into the Mint, and by conſequence no Merchant would bring it into the Kingdom. Whereas in truth there was no Gentleman of the Kingdom of a better reputation amongſt all ſorts of men, and there had been more Bullion brought into the Mint in the ſhort time of His being Lieutenant, than had been in many Months before; and amongſt thoſe perſons, which ſo ſolemnly delivered that Petition, and had all ſubſcribed it, there were very few, who had ever ſent any Silver into the Mint. However the Houſe entertained

the complaint as very reasonable, and sent for a Conference with the Lords; with whom they prevailed to join with them in a desire to the King, "that he would remove Sr *John Byron* from being Lieutenant of "the Tower, which the King for some time refused to do, till they pressed it in another manner; which shall be mentioned anon.

The Committee of the Commons still transacts in the City.

THE Committee, that still continued to Sit in *London*, intended no other business, but their own Priviledges; sent for, and examined, as hath been said, all men, who had attended his Majesty, or had been casually present in the Hall, or at the doors of the Commons House when the King was there; and all such Examinations, as testified any extravagant discourse uttered by any loose fellow, who had accidentally put himself into the company, tho' it appeared he had no relation to the King's Service, were carefully Enter'd, and Published; but such as declared the King's strict command against any Violence, or disorder, and his positive Charge, that no man should presume to follow him into the House of Commons (as full Proof was made to them of those particulars) were as carefully Suppressed, and Concealed.

The Sheriffs of *London* had been directed to appoint a Guard to attend the Committee, whilst it should continue there; and then to guard the Houses when they should again sit at *Westminster*. The accused persons, who lodged all this time in the City, were brought to the Committee with much state, and sate with them to devise some way to Vindicate themselves.

A Declaration of the Commons touching the five Members.

THEN a Declaration was agreed upon by the Commons only, in which was set forth, "that the Chambers, Studies, and Trunks of Mr *Hollis*, "Sr *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr *Pym*, Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Strode* had been "by colour of his Majestys Warrant sealed up; which was not only "against the Priviledge of Parliament, but the common liberty of every "Subject; that the same Members had been the same Day demanded by "a Serjeant at Arms to be delivered to him, that he might Arrest them "of High-Treason; that the next day his Majesty came to the House in "his own person, attended by a multitude of Armed men in a Warlike "manner with Halberts, Swords, and Pistols, who came up to the very "door of the House, and placed themselves there, and in other places, "and passages near to the House, to the great terrour and disturbance "of the Members then Sitting; that his Majesty, sitting in the Speakers "Chair, demanded the persons of those Members to be deliverd to him; "which was a high breach of the Rights, and Priviledges of Parliament, "and inconsistent with the Liberties and Freedom thereof; that afterwards his Majesty did issue forth several Warrants to divers Officers "under his own hand, for the apprehension of their persons, which by "Law he could not do. And thereupon they declared, "that if any "person should arrest Mr *Hollis*, &c. or any other Member of Parliament, by pretence of any Warrant issuing out from the King, he was "guilty of the breach of the Priviledge of Parliament, and a publick "Enemy of the Common-wealth; and that the arresting any Member "of Parliament, by any Warrant whatsoever, without consent of that "House, whereof he is a Member, is a breach of the Priviledge of Parliament; and the person that shall so arrest him, is declared a publick "Enemy of the Common-wealth.

THEY published, that it did fully appear by several Examinations, "that many Soldiers, Papists and others, to the number of about five "hunder'd, came with his Majesty to the House of Commons, armed; "and

"and that ſome of them, holding up their Piſtols cocked near the door "of the Houſe, which they kept open, ſaid, I am a good Markſman, "I can hit right, I warrant you: and ſaid, they would have the door "open; and if any oppoſition was made, they made no queſtion but "they ſhould maintain their Party; and that ſome ſaid, "a Pox take "the Houſe of Commons, let them be Hanged. And when the King "returned from the Houſe, they expreſſed great diſcontent asking, when "comes the *word*; that ſome of them being demanded what they "thought the company intended to have done, anſwered, that queſtion-"leſs in the poſture they were ſet in, if the *word* had been given, they "ſhould have fallen upon the Houſe of Commons, and have cut all their "throats: upon which they ſaid they were of opinion, that the Soldiers "and Papiſts coming in that manner with his Majeſty was to take away "ſome of the Members of the Houſe, and if they ſhould have found "oppoſition, or denial, then to have fallen upon the Houſe in a Hoſtile "manner.

AND they did thereupon declare, "that the ſame was a Traiterous "deſign againſt the King and Parliament. And whereas the perſons ac-"cuſed had, with the approbation of the Houſe, abſented themſelves "from the Service of the Houſe, for avoiding the great and many in-"conveniences, which otherwiſe might have happened; ſince which "time, a Printed Paper in the form of a Proclamation had iſſued out "for the apprehending and impriſoning them, ſuggeſting, that through "the conſcience of their Guilt they were abſent, and fled; they did fur-ther declare, "that the ſaid Printed Paper, was Falſe and Scandalous, and "Illegal; and that notwithſtanding that Printed Paper, or any Warrant "iſſued out, or any other matter againſt them, they might and Ought "to attend the ſervice of the Houſe, and the Committees then on foot; "and that it was lawful for all perſons whatſoever to lodge, harbour, "and converſe with them, and whoſoever ſhould be queſtioned for the "ſame ſhould be under the Protection, and Priviledge of Parliament.

AND they declared, "that the publiſhing the Articles of High-Trea-"ſon againſt the perſons accuſed, was a high breach of the Priviledge of "Parliament, a great Scandal to his Majeſty, and his Government, a "Seditious act manifeſtly tending to the Subverſion of the Peace of the "Kingdom, and an injury, and diſhonour to the Members; and that the "Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject ſo violated and "broken, could not be fully, and ſufficiently Vindicated, unleſs the King "would be graciouſly pleaſed to diſcover the Names of thoſe perſons, "who adviſed him to do the particular Acts before mentioned, that they "might receive Condign Puniſhment.

THIS ſtrange Declaration, ſo contrary to the known rules and judg-ments of Law, and to the known practice and proceedings of Parliament, was no ſooner framed and agreed upon in the Committee, than it was printed, and publiſhed throughout the City, and Kingdom, before it was Confirmed by, or Reported to the Houſe; which is againſt the cuſtom of Parliament. For, by that cuſtom, no Act done at any Com-mittee ſhould be divulged before the ſame be Reported to the Houſe.

THE truth is, it cannot be expreſſed how great a Change there appear-ed to be in the countenance and minds of all ſorts of People, in Town and Country, upon theſe late proceedings of the King. They, who had before even loſt their Spirits, having loſt their credit, and reputation, except amongſt the meaneſt people, who could never have been made

uſe

uſe of by them, when the greater ſhould forſake them; and ſo deſpaired of ever being able to compaſs their deſigns of Malice, or Ambition (and ſome of them had reſumed their old reſolutions of leaving the Kingdom) now again recovered greater Courage than ever, and quickly found that their credit and reputation was as great as ever it had been; the Court being reduced to a lower condition, and to more diſeſteem, and neglect than ever it had undergone. All that they had formerly ſaid of Plots and conſpiracies againſt the Parliament, which had Before been laughed at, was Now thought true and real; and all their fears, and jealouſies looked upon as the effects of their great Wiſdom, and Foreſight. All that had been Whiſpered of *Ireland*, was now talked Aloud and Printed; as all other Seditious Pamphlets and Libels were. The Shops of the City generally ſhut up, as if an Enemy were at their Gates ready to enter, and to plunder them; and the People in all places at a Gaze, as if they looked only for Directions, and were then diſpoſed to any undertaking.

ON the other ſide, They, who had, with the greateſt courage and alacrity, oppoſed all their Seditious practiſes, between Grief and Anger were confounded with the conſideration of what had been done, and what was like to follow. They were far from thinking that the accuſed Members had received much Wrong, yet they thought it an Unſeaſonable time to call them to an Account for it. That if any thing had been to be done of that kind, there ſhould have been a fitter choice of the Perſons, there being many of the Houſe, of more miſchievous inclinations, and deſigns againſt the King's perſon, and the Government, and were more expoſed to the Publick Prejudice, than the Lord *Kimbolton* was; who was a Civil, and well natured man, and had rather kept ill Company, than drank deep of that infection and poiſon, that had wrought upon many others. Then Sr *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and Mr *Strode*, were perſons of too Low an account and eſteem; and tho' their Virulence, and Malice was as conſpicuous, and tranſcendent as any man's, yet their reputation, and intereſt to do miſchief otherwiſe than in concurring in it, was ſo ſmall, that they gained credit and authority, by being joined with the reſt, who had indeed a great Influence. However, ſince there was a reſolution to proceed againſt Thoſe men, it would have been much better to have cauſed them to have been all Severally arreſted, and ſent to the Tower, or to other Priſons, which might have been very eaſily done before ſuſpected, than to ſend in that manner to the Houſes with that Formality, which would be liable to ſo many exceptions. At leaſt, they ought ſo far to have imparted it to Members in both Houſes, who might have been truſted, that in the Inſtant of the Accuſation, when both Houſes were in that Conſternation (as in a great conſternation they were) ſomewhat might have been preſſed Confidently towards the King's ſatisfaction; which would have produced ſome oppoſition and contradiction, and might have prevented that Univerſal concurrence and dejection of Spirit, which ſeized upon, and poſſeſſed both Houſes.

BUT above all, the anger, and indignation was very great and general, that to all the other overſights and preſumptions was added the expoſing the Dignity, and Majeſty, and Safety of the King, in his coming in Perſon, in that manner, to the Houſe of Commons; and in going the next day, as he did to the *Guild-Hall*, and to the Lord Mayors; which drew ſuch Reproaches upon him to his Face. All which was juſtly imputed

to the Lord *Digby*, who had before fewer true Friends than he deſerved, and had now allmoſt the whole Nation his Enemys, being the moſt Univerſally odious of any man in it.

WHEN the Houſe of Commons had Paſſed ſuch Votes from the Committee at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, as they thought neceſſary, and had once more Adjourned thither, the Committee asked the advice of the Houſe, whether the accuſed Members might be preſent with them (who had intruth directed, and governed all their proceedings from the time they Sate there) which was not only approved, but thoſe Members required to attend the Houſe the next day it was to ſit, and ſo to continue the ſervice of the Houſe, which was then Adjourned for three or four days, that the City might appear in ſuch a poſture, as ſhould be thought convenient.

THE noiſe was ſo great of the preparations made in the City to bring the accuſed Members in Triumph to the Parliament, and that the whole Militia would accompany them, whilſt the Seamen and Mariners made an appearance in Barges, and other Veſſels upon the *Thames* to *Weſtminſter*, that the King thought it convenient to remove again from *White-Hall*, and ſo on the tenth of *January*, which was the Eve to that great Feſtival, his Majeſty, the Queen, and the Royal Children, went from *White-Hall* to *Hampton-Court*, waited on by ſome few of their own Houſhold Servants, and thirty or forty of thoſe Officers, who had attended at *White-Hall* for ſecurity againſt the tumults.

BEFORE His going, he ſent to the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland* to attend him in this journey; who were both by their Places, the one being Lord Chamberlain of his Houſhold, the other the firſt Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber or Groom of the Stole, Obliged to that Duty. The Earl of *Eſſex* reſolved to go, and, to that purpoſe, was making himſelf ready, when the Earl of *Holland* came to him, and privately diſſwaded him; aſſuring him, that if They two went, they ſhould be both Murther'd at *Hampton-Court*; whereupon they left the King to his ſmall retinue in a moſt diſconſolate, perplexed condition, in more need of comfort and Counſel, than they had ever known him; and inſtead of attending their Maſter in that exigent, they went together into the City, where the Committee Sate, and where they were not the leſs welcome for being known to have been invited to have waited upon their Majeſties. They who wiſhed the King beſt, were not ſorry that he Then withdrew from *White-Hall*; for the inſolence, with which all that people were tranſported, and the animoſity, which was infuſed into the hearts of the people in general againſt the Court, and even againſt the Perſon of the King, cannot be expreſſed.

WHILST the Committee Sate in *London*, the Common Council likewiſe met, as hath been ſaid, to the end they might be ready to comply in any particulars ſhould be defired from the City; and ſo the Committee having Reſolved, "that the actions of the Citizens of *London*, or "of any other perſon whatſoever for the defence of the Parliament, or "the Priviledges thereof, or the preſervation of the Members thereof, "were according to their duty, and to their late Proteſtation, and the "Laws of this Kingdom: and if any perſon ſhould arreſt, or trouble any of them for ſo doing, he was declared "to be a publick Enemy of "the Common-wealth: and in the next place having Reſolved, "that "that Vote ſhould be made known to the Common Council of the City of "*London*, the accuſed Members about two of the Clock in the Afternoon

The accuſed Members are brought in Triumph to Weſtminſter Jan. 11.

on the eleventh of *January*, being the next after the King went to *Hampton-Court*, came from their lodgings in the City to *Weſtminſter*, guarded by the Sheriffs, and Train'd-bands of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and attended by a conflux of many thouſands of People beſides, making a great clamour againſt Biſhops, and Popiſh Lords, and for the Priviledges of Parliament; ſome of them, as they paſſed by *White-Hall*, asking with much contempt, "what was become of the King and his *Cavaliers*? and "whither he was gone?

FROM *London* bridge to *Weſtminſter*, the *Thames* was guarded with above a hunder'd Lighters and Longboats, laden with ſmall pieces of Ordinance, and dreſſed up with Waſt-cloaths and Streamers, as ready for Fight. And that the Train'd-bands of *London* might be under the command of a perſon fit to lead them, they granted a Commiſſion to Captain *Skippon*, who was Captain of the Artillery Garden, to be Major-General of the Militia of the City of *London*; an Office never before heard of, nor imagined that they had authority to conſtitute. The man had ſerved very long in *Holland*, and from a common Soldier had raiſed himſelf to the degree of a Captain, and to the reputation of a good Officer; he was a man of order and ſobriety, and untainted with any of thoſe vices, which the Officers of that Army were exerciſed in; and had newly given over that ſervice upon ſome exceptions he had to it, and, coming to *London*, was by ſome Friends preferred to that Command in the Artillery Garden, which was to teach the Citizens the exerciſe of their Arms. He was altogether illiterate, and having been bred allways abroad, brought diſaffection enough with him from thence againſt the Church of *England*, and ſo was much careſſed and truſted by that Party.

THIS man marched that day in the head of their tumultuary Army to the Parliament Houſe; where the accuſed Members were no ſooner enter'd, than they magnified "the great kindneſs and affection they had "found in the City, and their zeal to the Parliament; and if their ex- "preſſions of it, upon this extraordinary occaſion, had been ſomewhat "unuſual, that the Houſe was ingaged in honour to Protect and defend "them from receiving any damage. Whereupon the Sheriffs of *London* were called into the Houſe of Commons, and thanked by the Speaker for their extraordinary care, and love expreſſed to the Parliament; and told, "that they ſhould have an Ordinance of Parliament for their In- "demnity, declaring that all their actions of reſpect and kindneſs, which "they had ſhew'd to the Lords and Commons in *London*, and their at- "tending them to, and at *Weſtminſter*, was legal and juſtifiable. The Maſters and Officers of Ships were likewiſe called in, and moſt heartily thanked for their kindneſs; and Serjeant Major-General *Skippon* appointed every day to attend at *Weſtminſter*, with ſuch a Guard as he thought ſufficient for the two Houſes. There was one circumſtance not to be forgotten in the march of the Citizens that day, when the ſhew by Water was little inferior to the other by Land, that the Pikemen had faſten'd to the tops of their pikes, and the reſt in their hats or their boſoms, printed Papers of the Proteſtation which had been taken, and enjoined by the Houſe of Commons the year before for the defence of the Priviledge of Parliament; and many of them had the printed Votes of the King's breaking their Priviledges in his coming to the Houſe, and demanding their Members.

The Buckingham-ſhire *men's Petition to the Houſe of Commons.*

AS SOON as the Citizens and Mariners were diſcharged, ſome *Buckingham-ſhire*, men, who were ſaid to be at the Door, with a Petition, and

and had indeed waited upon the Triumph with a train of ſeveral thouſand men, were called in; who delivered their Petition in the name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Buckingham*, and ſaid it was brought to the Town by about ſix thouſand men. "They commended the un-
"wearied pains of the Houſe of Commons, for the redreſs of the preſſures
"they had lain under, but complained that the ſucceſs was not anſwer-
"able, their endeavours being fruſtrated or retarded by a Malignant
"faction of Popiſh Lords, Biſhops, and Others; and now of late, to take
"all that little hope, was left, from them, of a future reformation, the
"very Being of the Parliament was ſhaken, the Priviledges thereof
"broken in a deſperate and unexampled manner, and the Members
"thereof unaſſured of their lives, in whoſe ſafety, the ſafety of Them,
"and their Poſterity was involved. They held it therefore their duty
"according to their late Proteſtation to defend, and maintain the Perſons
"and Priviledges thereof, to the utmoſt power of their Lives and Eſtates;
"to which purpoſe, they ſaid, they were then come to make the humble
"tender of their Service, and would remain in expectation of their Com-
"mands and Order; to the execution whereof they would with all ala-
"crity addreſs themſelves, ready to live by them, or to dye at their feet,
"againſt whomſoever ſhould in any ſort Illegally attempt upon them.

"THEY beſought them therefore to aſſiſt the ardent prayers of the
"Petitioners, that the Popiſh Lords and Biſhops might be forthwith
"outed the Houſe of Peers; that all Priviledges of Parliament might be
"confirmed to them, and that all evil Counſellors, the *Achans* of the
"Common-wealth, might be given up to the hands of Juſtice; without
"all which, they ſaid, they had not the leaſt hope of *Iſraels* peace, or
"to reap thoſe glorious advantages, which the fourteen Months ſeed
"time of their unparallell'd endeavours had given to their unſatisfied
"expectations.

WHEN they had received thanks for their wonderful affection, and were told, that "by the great care of the City of *London*, the Parliament "was ſufficiently guarded and aſſured; and therefore that they might "depart to their Houſes till further occaſion appeared, of which they "ſhould be ſure to be informed; One of them ſaid, "they had another "Petition, which they meant to prefer to the King; but deſired their "advice, whether that Houſe would vouchſafe to recommend it, or whe-
"ther they themſelves ſhould deliver it. For That, they received New thanks; and were wiſhed "that ſix, or eight of them ſhould preſent it "to his Majeſty in the name of the reſt; for the Houſe ſaw their Wiſdom and moderation ſuch, that they preſumed they of Themſelves were very able to manage that buſineſs.

They alſo Petition the Houſe of Lords.

WHEN they had thus careſſed the Commons, they went to the Houſe of Lords with another Petition, complaining "of the malignant faction, "which render'd the endeavours of the Houſe of Commons ſucceſsleſs; and ſaid "that in reſpect of that late attempt upon the Honourable "Houſe of Commons, they were come to offer their Service, as reſolved "in their juſt defence to live and dye. And therefore they did humbly "pray, that that moſt Honourable Houſe would cooperate with the "Houſe of Commons, in ſpeedily perfecting the moſt neceſſary work of "Reformation, bringing to condign and exemplary puniſhment both "wicked Counſellors, and other Plotters, and Delinquents; and that "the whole Kingdom might be put into ſuch a preſent poſture of Defence, "that they might be ſafe both from all practices of the malignant Party

"at home, and the endeavours of any ill affected States abroad. The Lords were as Civil to them as the Commons had been, and gave them great thanks. And from thence they went to find out the King with their Petition to Him, in which they complained, "that Mr *Hambden*, "whom they had choſen Knight of their Shire, and in whom they had "ever good cauſe to Confide, was, to their great amazement, accuſed, "amongſt the others, of High-Treaſon. They ſaid, that having taken "into their ſerious conſideration the manner of their Impeachment, they "could not but conceive that it did oppugn the Rights of Parliament, "to the maintainance whereof their Proteſtation did bind them; and "they did believe, that the malice, which his, and the others Zeal to "his Majeſtys Service, and the State, had raiſed in the Enemys of his "Majeſty, the Church, and the Common-wealth, had occaſioned that "foul Accuſation, rather than any ill deſerts of Theirs; and that through "Their ſides the judgment and care of the Petitioners and others were "wounded, by whoſe choice they were preſented to the Houſe; and "therefore they did humbly deſire his Majeſty that Mr *Hambden*, and "the reſt, who lay under the burthen of that Accuſation, might enjoy "the juſt Priviledges of Parliament. So from this day we may rea-ſonably date the Levying of War in *England*; whatſoever hath been ſince done being but the Superſtructures upon thoſe foundations, which were then laid.

They Petition the King.

The Houſe of Commons revived the Votes paſſed by their Committee in the City, and added more.

THE Members being in this manner placed again upon their Thrones, and the King retired with his poor family to *Hampton-Court*, they reviewed their Votes, which had paſſed in the Committee in the City, which they had cauſed every night to be printed without ſtaying for the confirmation of the Houſe; and where they had any defect, as they thought, or by the interpretation of others, they ſupplied them with more ſtrength and Authority. So they provided and declared, "that "no Member of Parliament ſhould be arreſted upon any pretence what-"ſoever. And becauſe it had been inſiſted on that they would not make any Declaration ſo much againſt the known Law, which allowed no Priviledge in the caſe of Treaſon, Felony, or breach of the Peace, they now added that "even in the caſe of Treaſon, no Member ought or "could be arreſted, or proceeded againſt, without firſt informing the "Houſe, of which he was a Member, of the Charge and Evidence againſt "him, and receiving Their leave and direction for the proceeding againſt "him. And that men might hereafter be more wary how they were made inſtrumental in bringing any reproach upon them, they Appointed a Committee to prepare a Charge againſt *Herbert* the King's Atturney General for preſuming to accuſe the Members of High-Treaſon; which was made ready accordingly, and proſecuted with wonderful vigour, as will be remembred hereafter.

THEY reſolved that the King ſhould not enjoy much eaſe and quiet in his retreat; and therefore every day ſent ſome Committee or other to him with Petitions and expoſtulations: a Committee of Lords and Commons attended him with a grievous complaint of the Breach of Priviledge, they had ſuſtained by his coming to the Houſe; and deſired him "that he would inform them who had given him that pernicious Coun-"ſel, that ſuch evil Counſellors might be brought to juſtice, and receive "condign puniſhment. And when they found that the Lord *Digby*, whom they generally believed to be the Author and contriver of all that tranſaction, tho' they could have no evidence of it, had withdrawn himſelf

himſelf from Court, and they well enough knew had tranſported himſelf beyond the Seas, they brought Witneſſes to the Bar, who affirmed, "that there were, on ſuch a day, ſeveral Officers, whereof the unbe-"loved *Lunsford* was one, aſſembled together at *Kingſton* upon *Thames* "near *Hampton-Court*; and that the Lord *Digby* came thither to them "in a Coach with ſix Horſes from *Hampton-Court*, and conferred with "them a long time, and then returned again thither. They were well ſatisfied with the evidence, and forthwith accuſed him to the Houſe of Peers of High-Treaſon, for the Levying of War againſt the King and Parliament; and a Proclamation was ſhortly iſſued out for his Apprehenſion, when all the Town knew, that he was ſafely arrived in *Zeeland*. They reſumed the conſideration of the Lieutenant of the Tower; and upon new information that much proviſion was ſent in thither every day, they ſent for Sr *John Byron*, who appeared at their Bar, and gave ſo full anſwers to all the queſtions they asked of him, that they could not but diſmiſs him. However they ſent again to the King to remove him, and put a fitter man into the place, and recommended Sr *John Coniers* to him, as a man in whom they could Confide; and becauſe they did not ſpeedily receive ſuch an Anſwer as they liked, they appointed their Major-General *Skippon* to place ſuch Guards about the Tower, as might prevent the carrying in more proviſion of victual thither, than would ſerve for one days conſumption; notwithſtanding which, the King would not conſent to their deſire.

The Lord Digby *accuſed of High-Treaſon upon pretence of his Levying War at* Kingſton *upon* Thames.

ALL men were now in union in both Houſes: the Lords had not yet recovered the courage to diſſent in any one propoſition made to them from the Commons; and in Their Houſe no man durſt preſume to Debate the matter of Priviledge, how far it extended, and in what caſes it was of no moment, leſt he might be thought to be privy to, and a Counſellor of, that heinous breach, which had given them all this credit. In this conſent and concurrence, all the Votes, which had paſſed at the Committee in *London*, and which had been by them communicated to the Common Council, and ſo divulged throughout the City and Kingdom, were confirmed; and thoſe who objected againſt any expreſſions, which were not warrantable, reprehended for taxing the diſcretion of the Committee.

AND in one day both Houſes agreed in, and executed three Acts of Soveraignty, even of as high nature as any they have ſince ventured upon; the firſt, "in commanding the Sheriffs of *London*, by, and with "the advice of their new Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*, to place a "Guard upon, that is to Beſiege the Tower of *London*, to hinder the go-"ing in of any proviſions, or going out of any Arms or Ammunition; the ſecond, "in appointing Sr *John Hotham* to go to *Hull*, which will be mentioned anon; the third "in ſending an Order to the Governour "of *Portſmouth*, that no body ſhould be admitted into that town and "fort, or ſuffer'd to paſs from thence, or any thing to be diſpoſed of "there, but by order from the King ſignified by both Houſes of Par-"liament.

AFTER this, a meſſage was reſolved upon to be ſent to the Governour "of the Prince, "that he ſhould not ſuffer the Prince to be tranſported out "of the Kingdom, as he would anſwer the breach of Truſt repoſed in him "concerning Religion, and the honour, ſafety, and peace of the three "Kingdoms; and they declared, "that any perſon, who ſhould perſwade "or attend upon him in ſuch tranſportation, ſhould be under the ſame

"Cenſure. With theſe high Acts of publick concernment they joined the vindication of themſelves from the late Treſpaſs: and to that end cauſed the Atturney General to be publickly examined upon Interrogatories, "whether he did contrive, frame, or adviſe the Articles of Impeachment againſt the Members that were accuſed? whether he knew "the truth of them upon his Own knowledge, or by information? whether he would undertake to make them good, when he ſhould be thereunto called? from whom he received them, and by whoſe direction or "advice he did exhibite them? whether he had any teſtimony or proof "of them before the exhibiting? And having received his Anſwer, "that he had neither framed, nor adviſed them, nor knew any thing of "the truth of them, nor could undertake to juſtify them, but that he "had received them from the King, and was by him commanded to exhibite them; they preſently declared, "that he had broken the Priviledge of Parliament in preferring thoſe Articles, and that the ſame "was Illegal, and he Criminal for ſo doing; and that a Charge ſhould "be ſent to the Lords, in the name of the Houſe of Commons, againſt "the Atturney General, to have ſatisfaction for the great ſcandal, and "injury to the Members thereof, unleſs he did within five days bring in "his Proof, and make good the Articles againſt them.

The Commons examine the Atturney Gen. touching the Impeachment of the five Members.

His Anſwer.

They Vote a Charge againſt him.

So that they had now raiſed to themſelves an unqueſtionable ſtock of ſecurity, when they had declared, "that they might neither be apprehended by a Warrant under the King's own hand, nor accuſed by "his Atturney General, except Themſelves were willing: and they, who had concluded it moſt exactly juſt, that the Houſe of Peers muſt Impriſon their own Members, as faſt as the Commons accuſed them of High-Treaſon, and, by that rule, had, within leſs than a week before, freed themſelves of twelve Biſhops, who allways oppoſed their deſigns (and in a caſe, where every man's Conſcience abſolved them of the Guilt, of which they were charged) thought it now Unanſwerable reaſon to condemn the Juſtice of the King's proceedings; "becauſe if a man "ſhould be committed and impriſoned aſſoon as the King accuſed him "of High-Treaſon, the Parliament might by conſequence be Diſſolved; "ſince he might ſucceſſively accuſe the whole body; which Logick, if they had not pleaſed to Vote the contrary, would have run as well in their own caſe, upon their own licence of accuſing, and more dangerouſly in reſpect of the Houſe of Peers, which might poſſibly indeed have been thereby Diſſolved.

THO' the King had removed himſelf out of the noiſe of *Weſtminſter*, yet the effects of it followed him very cloſe; for beſides the *Buckinghamſhire* Petitioners, who alarm'd him the ſame, or the next day after he came to *Hampton-Court*, ſeveral of the ſame nature were every day preſented to him, in the name of other Countys of the Kingdom; all which were printed, and ſcattered abroad with the Declaration of the Lord *Digby*'s Levying War at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, and the Proclamation for apprehending him; all which being ſo induſtriouſly diſperſed, and without any colour, or ground of danger, but only that the Kingdom might be inured to the ſtyle of the two Houſes, and exerciſed in their commands againſt the time that they meant to be in earneſt, gave the King reaſon to remove in few days from *Hampton-Court* to his Caſtle at *Windſor*, where he could be more ſecure from any ſuddain popular Attempt; of which he had reaſon to be very apprehenſive, when after thoſe high Acts of Sedition at *London* and *Weſtminſter* were declared

The King removes to Windſor.

to

to be according to the Laws of the Land, and the Proteſtation lately taken, that Proteſtation was by a new Order enjoined to be adminiſter'd throughout the Kingdom, and the Names of all thoſe who refuſed to take it, which there was reaſon to believe many would upon Their new Gloſſes, return'd to the Houſe of Commons, who were as ſevere Inquiſitors as could be found any where.

Thence ſends a Meſſage to both Houſes.

FROM thence his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, "that he "took notice, that his proceedings againſt thoſe Perſons, whom he had "accuſed (naming them) were conceived by many to be Illegal, and "not agreeable to the Priviledge of Parliament, and that he was ſo de- "ſirous to give ſatisfaction to all men in all matters, that might ſeem "to have relation to Priviledge of Parliament, that he would wave his "former proceedings; and all doubts being by that means ſetled, when "the minds of men were compoſed, he would proceed againſt them in "an unqueſtionable way; and he aſſured both Houſes, that, upon all "occaſions, he would be as careful of their Priviledges as of his Life, "or his Crown. To which he added, that, in all his proceedings againſt "thoſe Perſons, he had never the leaſt intention of violating the leaſt "Priviledge of Parliament; and in caſe any doubt of breach of Privi- "ledge remain'd, he would be willing to aſſert it by any reaſonable way "his Parliament ſhould adviſe him to; and therefore he deſired them "forthwith to lay by all jealouſies, and apply themſelves to the publick "and preſſing Affairs, and eſpecially to thoſe of *Ireland*, wherein the "good of the Kingdom, and the true Religion, which ſhould ever be his "firſt care, were ſo highly and ſo nearly concern'd. And he deſired "them, that his care of Their Priviledges might increaſe their care of "His Lawful Prerogative, which was ſo neceſſary to the mutual defence "of each other, and both would be the foundation of a perpetual and "perfect intelligence between his Majeſty and Parliaments, and of the "happineſs and proſperity of his People.

BUT this Meſſage was not ſuch as they looked for; there ſeem'd ſtill to be left a time for proſecution, and tho' the errour in Form ſeem'd to be conſented to, yet the Subſtance and Matter of the accuſation might be ſtill inſiſted on. And therefore they took no notice of it, but proceeded in inflaming all men with the ſenſe of the breach of Priviledge; and finding the general mettal ſomewhat to abate, that they might keep up the apprehenſion of danger, and the eſteem of their Darling the City, they conſult about Adjourning both Houſes into *London*; but finding ſome danger of infringing the Act of Parliament, from whence ſome advantage might be taken to their prejudice, till that power might be cleared by a Law, they were contented to Adjourn their Houſes as they had done for ſome days, and to appoint Committees, qualified with more power than the Houſes had, to meet in *London*; which for the convenience of the Common Council, who took up the *Guild-Hall*, choſe to ſit in *Grocers-Hall*.

The Houſes appoint Committees to ſit in Grocers-Hall.

IT was wonder'd, that having All places ſo much at their devotion, they would remove from their more convenient ſeats at *Weſtminſter*; where they might tranſact whatſoever they deſired without interruption, and where they were only diſturbed by their own direction. But the advantage they reaped by it was extraordinary; for, beſides the fears they diſperſed abroad, and the confidence they gave their own Friends of the City by being with them, they were ſure, for the moſt part, to have a Committee to their own hearts deſire; ſince, beſides many out

of

of Lazineſs or Indignation would not attend the Service in ſo inconvenient a place, very many, who troubled them moſt in their Counſels, Durſt not in earneſt go thither, for fear of uncomely Affronts, if not danger, their names being publiſhed in the tumults as Diſaffected perſons; and They were thoſe indeed, which conſtituted the Malignant party, which they prayed againſt: and they found it much eaſier to tranſact any thing contrived and framed by ſuch a Committee, than originally offer'd and debated in either Houſe, before the myſtery was underſtood by their Proſelytes, and when thoſe, who too well underſtood it, did render their deſigns ſometimes ineffectual.

THE minds of men throughout the Kingdom being now prepared to receive all their Dictates with reverence, and to obey all their Orders, and to believe that all their ſafety conſiſted in, and depended upon their Authority, and there being few within the Houſe, who had courage to oppoſe and contradict them, they ſent to the Lords to quicken them in the Bill, they had formerly ſent to them concerning removing the Biſhops out of their Houſe; which now, when there were ſo many of them Priſoners in the Tower, they preſumed would not meet with ſo great an oppoſition. In the Houſe of Commons they called to have the Bill read, which had layn ſo long there, the ſame that had been brought in by St *Johns* for the ſetling the Militia of the Kingdom; to which they Now added "the putting all the Forts, Caſtles, and Garriſons into the "hands of ſuch perſons as they could *Confide* in; which was the Expreſſion they uſed, when they had a mind to remove any man from a place, of which he was juſtly poſſeſſed, "that they could not *Confide* in "him, which they thought to be reaſon enough to diſplace any man. When this Bill had been with much ado accepted, and firſt read, there were few men, who imagined it would ever receive further countenance: but now there were few, who did not believe it to be a very neceſſary proviſion for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. So great an impreſſion had the late proceedings made upon them; ſo that with little oppoſition it paſſed the Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords.

The Commons go upon St John's Bill of the Militia and paſs it.

UPON the disbanding the late Army in the North, all the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition, that was provided for that ſervice, had been by the King's command ſent to *Hull*, where it ſtill remained; and his Majeſty intended it ſhould be kept there, for a Magazine upon all occaſions. And he had a little before theſe late paſſages ſent the Earl of *New-Caſtle* thither, with a private Commiſſion to be Governour thereof, aſſoon as it ſhould be fit to publiſh ſuch a Command; and in the mean time by his own Intereſt to draw in ſuch of the Country, as were neceſſary to Guard the Magazine. But nothing the King did in the moſt private manner, but was quickly known to thoſe, from whom it ſhould moſt have been concealed. And ſo the Earl of *New-Caſtle* was no ſooner gone, but notice was taken of it; and he had not been three days in *Hull*, before the Houſe of Peers ſent for him, to attend the Service of that Houſe, which he had rarely uſed to do, being for the moſt part at *Richmond* attending upon the Prince of *Wales*, whoſe Governour he was. He made no haſt to return upon the Summons of the Houſe, but ſent to the King to know His pleaſure; who not thinking matters yet ripe enough to make any Such declaration, appointed him to come away; upon which he appeared in the Houſe, without being asked where he had been.

BUT

BUT both Houſes ſhortly after moved the King, "that the Magazine "at *Hull* might be removed to the Tower of *London*, which would be "very neceſſary for the quieting the minds of that Country, and abating "the fears and jealouſies in the hearts of very many, who did apprehend "ſome deſign in the keeping ſo much Ammunition in the Northern "parts: and his Majeſty not giving them a ſpeedy Anſwer, they ſent down Sr *John Hotham*, whoſe Eſtate lay within three or four miles of *Hull*, and he had ſome command of the Train'd-bands, "to be Governour "thereof, and to draw in ſuch of the Country as He thought fit for the "place. And tho' *Hotham*, had concurred with them in all their violent ways, yet they well knew that he was not poſſeſſed with their Principles in any degree, but was very well affected in his judgment to the Government both in Church and State, but had been firſt ingaged by his particular malice againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and afterwards terrified by their Votes againſt Sheriffs and Deputy Lieutenants; and therefore they ſent his Son, a Member likewiſe of the Houſe, and in whom they more Confided, to aſſiſt him in that Service, or rather to be a Spy upon his Father. And this was the firſt Eſſay they made of their Sovereign power over the Militia and the Forts, whilſt their Bill was yet depending, and was a ſufficient manifeſtation what they intended to do, when it ſhould be paſſed; towards which they made all the haſt they could, exerciſing the King's patience every day with ſome diſagreeable Meſſage to him, upon their Priviledges, and requiring "vindication, "and reparation, and diſcovery of the perſons who had promoted that "Proſecution. And tho' the Council once a week attended upon his Majeſty at *Windſor*, he could not freely conſult with them upon what moſt concerned him.

Both Houſes move the King that the Magazine at Hull *might be removed to the Tower.*

They ſend both the Hothams *to* Hull.

IN this ſad condition was the King at *Windſor*, fallen in ten days from a Height and Greatneſs that his Enemys feared, to ſuch a Lowneſs, that his own Servants durſt hardly avow the waiting on him. For tho', 'tis true, the acts of the Houſe of Commons, and the Tumults, were as great affronts to Majeſty, before this laſt Act upon the Members, as any that could be imagined poſſible to ſucceed, yet the Houſe of Peers was Then well diſpoſed, and might have been managed with a little patience, to have blaſted all the extravagances of the Commons. And the truth is, the greateſt extravagances appeared to the ſtanders by to be but the attempts of perſons in Deſpair, and the ſtruglings of men at the laſt Gaſp. And, without doubt, if the King could have had the patience to have ſate ſtill a Spectator of the Diſſentions between the two Houſes, and incouraging the Lords, who were firm to him, and putting thoſe matters in iſſue, wherein the Commons had invaded both His and the Lords Priviledges; if he had commanded his Council at Law and the Judges, to have proceeded by the ſtrict rules of the Law againſt Seditious perſons at large, for Preaching and Printing againſt the peace of the Kingdom, and put the Commons Houſe either to have been quiet, whilſt their Champions were exemplary puniſhed (which would have put a ſpeedy end to their Licence) or to have appeared the Champions for an Infamous Act againſt the Law and the Juſtice of the Kingdom, their Juriſdiction would probably in a ſhort time have been brought within the Due limits, and the ſtouteſt Factor for the violent Party been glad to have compounded for an Act of Oblivion.

AND I have heard from Credible perſons, that the Chief of that Faction afterwards confeſſed, that if that extraordinary Accident had

not happened to give them New credit and reputation, they were sinking under the weight of the Expectation of those, whom they had deluded, and the Envy of those, whom they had oppressed. I am sure, they who out of Conscience, and Loyalty to their King and Country, diligently attended the publick Service, were strangely surprized at the matter and manner of that accusation; and foresaw, from the minute, the infinite disadvantage it would bring to the King's affairs. Not that they thought the Gentlemen accused, less Guilty; for their extream dishonest acts in the House were so visible, that nothing could have been laid to their charge incredible: but the going through with it was a matter of so great difficulty and concernment, that every Circumstance ought to have been fully deliberated, and the several parts distributed into Such hands, as would not have Shaken in the execution. And the saying, that the King had not competent persons enough, whom he might trust in so important a Secret (which I believe was true) is rather an Argument, that the thing was not to be attempted at all, than that it was to be attempted in That manner; for whoever would have betrayed the trust, would be sure to find fault with it, when it was endeavoured without him, especially if it miscarried. The truth is, there was little reason to believe, that the House of Peers would commit the Lord *Kimbolton* upon the Accusation of Mr Atturney in that conjuncture of time; and less that the House of Commons would deliver up their Members to the Serjeant at Arms, when they should be demanded; which was an Irregular thing, and implied unreasonably, that They had some Power to Keep them, Who were Desired to deliver them. Yet if the choice had been better made, and the several persons first Apprehended, and put into distinct close Custodies, that neither any body else should have heard from them, nor they one from another, all which had not been very difficult, the high Spirit of both Houses might possibly have been so dejected, that they might have been Treated withall. But even that attempt had been too great for the Solitary State the King was in at that time; which was most naturally to have been improved by standing upon his guard, and denying all that was in his Power to deny, and in compelling his Ministers to execute the Law in Those Cases, that Demonstrably concerned the publick Peace.

The Committee at Grocers-Hall *design a new Remonstrance.*

THE Committee at *Grocers-Hall*, very much exalted to find no opposition in any thing they desired from both Houses, resolved to make what advantage they could of that Season of their Power; and therefore not vouchsafing to return any Answer to the King's Message of retractation, they concluded upon "a new Remonstrance to be made of "the State of the Kingdom; in which they would present to the King's "view the causes of the present evils and distractions, and propose to "him, by way of Advice, the Remedies, that in Their opinion he was "to apply those evils.

The matter they prepared for it.

"THE Causes they agreed to be, the evil Council about the King "and Queen, disposing all occurrences of State, and abusing the King's "Authority and Power to the prejudice of Religion, the hazarding the "publick Peace, and strengthning a malignant Party in the Kingdom; "the influence, which the Priests and Jesuits had upon the affections and "Counsels of the Queen, and the admission of her Majesty to intermeddle "with the Great Affairs of State, and with the disposing of places and "preferments of the Highest concernment in the Kingdom; whereby "those of great power and authority were ingaged to favour Such de-

"signs,

"ſigns, as were infuſed into her Majeſty by thoſe of that Religion: the "want of a due reformation of the Church Government, and Liturgy "then uſed; the want of a Preaching Miniſtry, and a competent main-"tainance for them; the over ſtrict preſſing of divers Ceremonies in the "Liturgy and Rubrick, and the preſſing other Ceremonies not injoined "by Law; the Votes of the Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers, which "was a hindrance of the reformation, and a protection of the malignant "Party; the preferring ſuch as had adhered to Delinquents, and the "diſpleaſure ſhewed againſt thoſe, who had been uſed as Witneſſes in the "Proſecution of them; the breaches of the Priviledges of Parliament; "and the managing the great affairs of the Realm in Cabinet Councils "by men unknown, and not publickly truſted; the preferring men to "degrees of honour and offices, and diſplacing others, in Parliament "time, and without the conſent of that Council, and many other par-"ticulars; to which they thought theſe Remedies moſt natural, and pro-"per to be applied.

"THAT all Privy Counſellors, and others of truſt and imployment "beyond the Seas, ſhould be removed from their Places, and only ſuch "admitted, as ſhould be recommended to the King by both Houſes of "Parliament; and that ſuch Counſellors and Officers, as ſhould be ſo "diſplaced, and not again recommended, ſhould not have acceſs to the "Courts of the King and Queen: that all Prieſts, Papiſts, and ill affected "perſons, tho' profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould be removed "from the Queen's perſon, and from having any Office or imployment "under her, and that all her Servants ſhould take Such an Oath as ſhould "be deviſed by Parliament; that he, or ſhe would not at any time di-"rectly, or indirectly by Him, or Her ſelf, or any other, move or peti-"tion, or ſollicite her Majeſty in any matter concerning the State, and "Government of the Kingdom, or concerning any favour or immunity "to be conferred upon any Papiſts, or for any honour, preferment, or "imployment of any perſon whatſoever.

"THAT the King would remove from about his own perſon, and the "Queens, and from both their Courts, Mr *William Murrey*, Mr *Porter*, "Mr *John Winter*, and Mr *William Crofts*, being all perſons of evil fame, "and Diſaffection to the publick Peace and proſperity of the Kingdom, "and inſtruments of Jealouſy and diſcontent between the King and the "Parliament: that the King would not entertain any advice or media-"tion from the Queen in matters of Religion, or concerning the Go-"vernment of any of his Dominions, or for the placing or diſplacing of "any great Officers, Counſellors, Embaſſadors, or Agents beyond the "Seas, or any of his Servants attending his Royal perſon either in his "Bed-Chamber, or Privy-Chamber, or attending the Prince, or any of "the Royal iſſue after they ſhall attain to the age of Five years:

"THAT the Queen ſhould take a ſolemn Oath, in the preſence of both "Houſes of Parliament, that ſhe would not hereafter give any Counſel, "or uſe any mediation to the King, concerning the diſpoſing of any Of-"fices or Places above mentioned, or at all intermeddle in any affairs of "State, or Government of the Kingdom: that all Officers and Coun-"ſellors, that ſhould be imployed in any of the Places before mentioned, "ſhould take a ſolemn Oath, that they had not made uſe of any power "or mediation of the Queen directly, or indirectly, for their prefer-"ment, or in obtaining any ſuch Place or imployment: That the affairs "of the Kingdom ſhould not be concluded or tranſacted by the advice

"of Private men, or by any unknown or unſworn Counſellors, but ſuch "matters as were fit for the Council, by the Privy Counſellors only; and "ſuch as were fit for the Parliament, by the Parliament only;

THAT no perſon whatſoever, under the penalty of Treaſon, ſhould "preſume to ſollicite, or further any propoſition for the Marriage of any "of the King's Children with any Prince or Perſon of the Popiſh Reli- "gion; and that no Marriage for any of the King's Children ſhould be "concluded with any Prince or Perſon whatſoever, without the Conſent "and Advice of both Houſes of Parliament: That none of the King's "Children, except the Princeſs *Mary* then affianced, ſhould at any time "go beyond the Seas without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; "and that no perſon under penalty of High-Treaſon ſhould aſſiſt, or at- "tend any of his Majeſty's Children in any ſuch voyage beyond the Seas, "without the like conſent of both the Houſes of Parliament:

"THAT no Maſs, or Popiſh Service, ſhould be ſaid in the Courts of "the King or Queen, or in the Houſe of any Subject of the Kingdom; "and that more Laws ſhould be made againſt the Papiſts; and all the "Prieſts, which were condemn'd, ſhould be forthwith executed. That "the Votes of Popiſh Lords might be taken away; and a Reformation "made of the Church Government, and Liturgy by the Parliament; "and that no Penalty ſhould be incurred for omiſſion of any Ceremony, "till the Reformation ſhould be perfect: That all Delinquents ſhould be "ſubject to ſuch penalties and forfeitures as ſhould be agreed on, and "impoſed by Bill, in both Houſes of Parliament: That ſuch as ſhould "be declared in Parliament to adhere to any Delinquents, and had there- "upon received any preferment from the King, ſhould be removed from "ſuch preferment; and ſuch as ſhould be declared by both Houſes to "have been imployed and uſed againſt Delinquents, and had thereupon "fallen into the King's diſpleaſure, and been put from their Places, "ſhould be reſtored to their Places, and his Majeſtys favour:

"THAT every perſon, who, being a Member of the Houſe of Com- "mons in that Parliament, had been accuſed of any offence againſt that "Houſe, and, the accuſation depending, had been called up to the Houſe "of Lords in the quality of a Peer, ſhould by Act of Parliament be put "out of that Houſe; and that hereafter no Member of the Houſe of "Commons ſhould without Their conſent be called up to be a Peer, ex- "cept in caſe of Deſcent: That no perſon, which ſhould hereafter be "made a Peer of the Realm, ſhould be admitted to have his Seat, or Vote "in the Houſe of Peers, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parlia- "ment: That thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had this "Parliament been called to the Houſe of Peers, except in caſe of Deſcent, "ſhould be excluded from giving their Votes in the Houſe of Peers, un- "leſs both Houſes of Parliament ſhould aſſent thereunto: That no Mem- "ber of either Houſe of Parliament ſhould be preferred or diſplaced, "ſitting the Parliament, without the conſent of that Houſe, whereof "he was a Member: That Such of either Houſe as had been preferred "to any Place, or Office, during the Parliament, might be put out of "thoſe Places:

"THAT the King would declare the Names of thoſe, who adviſed "him to the accuſation of the Members, and all the particulars that en- "ſued upon that accuſation; and that he would make publick Declara- "tion and promiſe in Parliament, never more to receive information "from any man to the prejudice of any Member of either Houſe, for any

"thing

"thing done in that Houſe, without diſcovering the Name of ſuch per-
"ſon, who gave him ſuch information.

THESE, and many other particulars of the like nature, were the reſults of that Committee at *Grocers-Hall*; which I inſert here, being the proper time of their Birth, that the world may ſee, what their Projections were in the Infancy of their viſible power and advantage, tho they were not digeſted into avow'd Propoſitions till long after, as the effects of riper diviſions, and fuller grown jealouſies. For by that time they had ſhaped and framed theſe Devices, they found the eyes of the People not ſo univerſally ſhut as they had been; and that the King's Coming to the Houſe of Commons, or the accuſing the Members, was not more ſpoken of than the Tumults, and the Driving the King out of *London*, and not ſuffering him to be quiet at *Hampton-Court*. Then the Lords begun to take New courage, and tho' they were ſomewhat intoxicated with the fears and jealouſies concerning their Priviledges, yet they thought Treſpaſſes of that kind capable of reparation, and ſo were willing to receive any Overture from the King to that purpoſe. It was concluded therefore, "the time was not yet ripe to do all at once, "till more men were engaged, and reſolved, "with more patience to "win their ground by inches.

THE King continued at *Windſor* to expect the end, or the iſſue of this tempeſt; and finding that they hardly would take notice of his former Meſſages, but proceeded in the High-ways of Deſtruction, for he had advertiſement of their moſt ſecret combinations, reſolved to ſend ſuch a Meſſage to the two Houſes, whoſe United reputation was yet too great to ſtruggle with, as might at leaſt divide Thoſe, who deſired the publick Peace, from the Miniſters of Confuſion: and ſo on the 20th of *January* ſent this propoſition and Meſſage to them in writing, "For preventing "thoſe evils, which the manifold Diſtractions threaten'd to the King- "dom; that They would with all ſpeed fall into a ſerious conſideration "of all thoſe particulars, which they held neceſſary, as well for the up- "holding and maintaining the King's juſt and Regal Authority, and the "ſetling his Revenue, as for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of "Their Priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying of their Eſtates, and for- "tunes, the liberties of their perſons, the ſecurity of the true Religion "now profeſſed in the Church of *England*, and the ſetling of Ceremonies "in ſuch a manner, as might take away all Juſt offence; which when "they ſhould have digeſted, and compoſed into one entire body, that "ſo his Majeſty and themſelves might be able to make the more clear "judgment of them, it ſhould then appear, by what his Majeſty would "do, how far he had been from intending, or deſigning any of thoſe "things, which the too great Fears and Jealouſies of ſome perſons ſeemed "to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal, and exceed the "greateſt examples of the moſt Indulgent Princes in their Acts of grace "and favour to their People; ſo that if all the preſent Diſtractions, "which ſo apparently threaten'd the ruine of the Kingdom, did not, by "the Bleſſing of Allmighty God, end in a happy and bleſſed accommo- "dation, his Majeſty would Then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, "God and Man, to witneſs, that it had not failed on His part.

The Kings propoſition and Meſſage to both Houſes Jan. 20.

THIS Meſſage was received by the Lords with great ſigns of joy, inſomuch that they deſired the Commons to joyn with them in returning their thanks to his Majeſty for his Gracious offers, and to aſſure him, "that they would forthwith apply themſelves to thoſe conſiderations,

Both Houſes Petition the King about the accuſed Members.

"he propoſed. However the next day they joined together in a Petition to the King, "that he would, in very few days, ſend in his Proofs, and "Proceed againſt the Members he had accuſed of High-Treaſon, or de-"clare Them to be Innocent, and Himſelf to be ill adviſed; to the

His Majeſtys Anſwer.

which he Anſwered, "that he was ready to proceed againſt them, but "that there might be no new miſtakes in the way, and Form of the "proceedings, he deſired, that it might be firſt reſolved, whether his "Majeſty were bound in reſpect of Priviledges to proceed againſt them "by Impeachment in Parliament, or whether he were at liberty to pre-"fer an Indictment at Common Law in the uſual way, or whether he "had his choice of either; before that was reſolved his Majeſty thought "it unuſual and unfit to diſcover what Proof he had againſt them; but "then he would give ſuch ſpeedy direction for Proſecution, as might "put a determination to the buſineſs.

THIS gave them New offence and trouble; and if the King's Council had had the courage to have inſiſted upon the matter of Law, and the Lords would have given them reaſonable countenance, they would have been much puzled to have procured a Reſolution, that would have ſerved their purpoſes to all parts, and been content to have ſuſpended Their judgment, that ſo the King might have ſuſpended His proſecution. For if the Judges had been called to deliver their opinions in point of Law, which they ought to have been, they could not have avoided the declaring, that by the known Law, which had been confeſſed in all times and ages, no Priviledge of Parliament could extend in the caſe of Treaſon; but that every Parliament man was Then in the condition of every other Subject, and to be proceeded againſt accordingly. In the next place, as they would never have ventured themſelves upon the Houſe of Peers under an Impeachment, and thereby made Them their judges, which indeed was incongruous, every Subject being to be tryed for his Life *per Pares, vel per Legem terræ*, to both which the Lords, and the Impeachment, were directly oppoſite; ſo they would leſs have truſted an Indictment at Law, and a well choſen ſober Jury, who had been bound to follow their evidence of Fact, and were not Judges of the Law, which was ſevere in any Conſpiracy againſt the Crown, or the Perſons of King or Queen.

BUT having ſhut the doors againſt any mention of Law, they made no ſcruple of reſolving, and anſwering his Majeſty, "that they were firſt "to ſee the evidence he had to prove the guilt, before they could give "any direction for the manner of the Proſecution, and proceeding; which they grounded upon a Maxime, they had but lately eſtabliſhed, tho' never till then heard of; "that no Member of Parliament, for what "Offence ſoever, could be Arreſted, or proceeded againſt but by the con-"ſent of that Houſe, of which he was a Member; and then, they ſaid, "they could not give, or deny their conſent by any other meaſure than "the Knowledge of the Crime and Proof, upon which ſuch Member ſtood "accuſed. Which Concluſion had been reaſonable had the Premiſes been juſt; whereas the argument was to be inverted, that Their conſent was not to be asked, becauſe they had no Cogniſance of the Crime, of which their Members were accuſed, nor were Judges whether their accuſation were valid in Law, or ſufficiently proved in Fact.

Obſervations touching Priviledge of Parliament.

IT is not to be believed how many ſober, wellminded men, who were real Lovers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and had a full ſubmiſſion, and reverence to the Known Laws, were impoſed upon, and had their Underſtandings

ſtandings confounded, and ſo their Wills perverted, by the mere mention of Priviledge of Parliament; which, inſtead of the plain, and intelligible notion of it, was by the dexterity of thoſe Bouteſeus, and their under-Agents of the Law, and the Supine Sottiſhneſs of the People, render'd ſuch a myſtery, as could be only explained by Themſelves, and extended as far as they found neceſſary for their occaſions, and was to be acknowledged a good reaſon for any thing, that no Other reaſon could be given for. "We are, ſay they, and have been allways confeſſed, the "only Judges of our own Priviledges; and therefore whatſoever we de- "clare to be our Priviledge, is ſuch: otherwiſe whoſoever determines "that it is Not ſo, makes himſelf Judge of that, whereof the Cogniſance "only belongs to Us. And this Sophiſtical Riddle perplexed many, who, notwithſtanding the deſperate Conſequence they ſaw muſt reſult from ſuch Logick, taking the firſt Propoſition for true, which, being rightly underſtood, is ſo, have not been able to wind themſelves out of the Labyrinth of the Concluſion: I ſay the Propoſition Rightly underſtood: They are the only Judges of their own Priviledges, that is, upon the Breach of thoſe Priviledges, which the Law hath declared to be their own, and what puniſhment is to be inflicted upon ſuch Breach. But there can be no Priviledge, of which the Law doth not take notice, and which is not pleadable by, and at Law.

THE truth and clearneſs of this will beſt appear by Inſtance: If I am Arreſted by Proceſs out of any Court, I am to plead in the Court, that I am a Member of Parliament, and that, by the Priviledge of Parliament, my Perſon ought to be free from Arreſts. Upon this Plea the Judge is bound to diſcharge me; and if he does not, he is a Criminal, as for any other treſpaſs againſt the Law: but the puniſhing the Perſon, who hath made this infringement, is not within His power, but proper to that Juriſdiction, againſt which the contempt is; therefore that Houſe, of which I am a Member, upon complaint made of ſuch an Arreſt, uſually ſends for the perſons culpable, the party at whoſe Suit the Arreſt is made, and the Officers which executed it, and commits them to Priſon, till they make acknowledgement of their Offence. But that Houſe never ſends, at leaſt never did till this Parliament, any Order to the Court out of which the Proceſs iſſued, to ſtay the proceedings at Law, becauſe the Priviledge ought to be legally pleaded. So, after the Diſſolution of Parliament, if I am Arreſted within the days of Priviledge, upon any plea of Priviledge the Court diſcharges me; but then the Party that Arreſts me, eſcapes puniſhment till the next Parliament, the Judge having no more power to commit the man that ſued or arreſted me, than he hath to impriſon a man for bringing an Action at Law, when he hath no good title; neither is He Judge of the contempt.

AGAIN, if a man brings an Information, or an Action of the Caſe, for words ſpoken by me, and I plead that the words were ſpoken by me in Parliament, when I was a Member there, and that it is againſt the Priviledge of Parliament, that I ſhould be impleaded in any other place, for the words I ſpoke There; I ought to be diſcharged from this Action or Information, becauſe this Priviledge is known, and pleadable at Law; but That Judge can neither puniſh, nor examine the breach of Priviledge, nor Cenſure the contempt. And this is the true and proper meaning of the old received Axiom, that they are Judges Only of their own Priviledges.

AND indeed theſe two, of freedom from Arreſts for their Perſons (which

(which originally hath not been of that latitude to make a Parliament a Sanctuary for Bankrupts, where any perſon out-lawed hath been declared incapable of being returned thither a Member) and of liberty of Speech, were accounted their chiefeſt Priviledges of Parliament: For their other, of Acceſs to the King, and correſpondence by Conference with the Lords, are rather of the Eſſence of their Councils, than Priviledges belonging to them. But that their being Judges of their Priviledges ſhould qualify them to make New Priviledges, or that their Judgment ſhould Create them ſuch, as it was a doctrine never before Now heard of, ſo it could not but produce all thoſe Monſtrous effects we have ſeen; when they have aſſumed to ſwallow all the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, the Liberties and Lands of the Church, the Power and Juriſdiction of the Peers, in a word, the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *England*, in the bottomleſs and inſatiable Gulph of their own Priviledges. And no doubt theſe invaſions, on pretence of Priviledge, will hereafter be judged to have been the moſt unparallelled, and capital Breach of thoſe Priviledges, that had ever yet been attempted.

The Lords and Commons differ about addreſſing for removing Sr John Byron *from the Tower.*

IN the Addreſs, which the Houſe of Commons prepared for acknowledgement of the King's Grace and favour in his Meſſage of the twentieth of *January*, they had deſired, "that for a ground of their Confidence, "and removal of Jealouſies, that they might apply themſelves to give his "Majeſty ſatisfaction in the Method he propoſed, his Majeſty would "preſently put the Tower of *London* into the hands of ſuch a perſon, "as Both Houſes ſhould recommend to him, in which the Lords differed with them; as well for that the diſpoſal of the cuſtody thereof was the King's peculiar Right and Prerogative, as likewiſe that his Majeſty had committed the charge thereof to Sr *John Byron*, a perſon of a very Ancient family, an honourable extraction, and good Fortune, and as unblemiſhed a Reputation, as any Gentleman of *England*. The Commons, much troubled that the Lords ſhould Again take the courage to diſſent from them in any thing, reſolved to preſs the King upon their Own ſcore, and to get the recommendation of ſo great an Officer to Themſelves.

The Commons by themſelves Petition the King to do it, and to put all the other Forts, and the Militia into the hands of Confiding men

AND therefore on the ſix and twentieth day of *January*, they ſent a Petition to him in the name of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Commons Houſe aſſembled in Parliament; in which they took notice "of the gracious Meſſage from his Majeſty of the twentieth inſtant, "for which they returned moſt humble thanks, reſolving to take it into "ſpeedy and ſerious conſideration; and ſaid, to inable them with ſecu- "rity to diſcharge their duties therein, they had deſired the Houſe of "Peers to join with them, in humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to raiſe up "unto them a ſure ground of Safety and Confidence, by putting the "Tower, and other principal Forts of the Kingdom, and the whole Mi- "litia thereof, into the hands of Such perſons as his Parliament might "Confide in, and as ſhould be recommended unto him by Both Houſes "of Parliament; that, all Fears and Jealouſies being laid aſide, they "might with chearfulneſs proceed to ſuch Reſolutions, as they hoped "would lay a ſure foundation of Honour, Greatneſs, and Glory to his "Majeſty, and his Royal Poſterity, and of happineſs and proſperity unto "his Subjects throughout all his Dominions; wherein the Houſe of Peers "had refuſed to joyn with them. But they, notwithſtanding, no way "diſcouraged, but confiding in his Majeſty's goodneſs to his people, did "therefore make their humble Addreſs to him to beſeech him, that the

"Tower

"Tower of *London*, and other principal Forts, and the whole Militia of "the Kingdom, might be put into the hands of ſuch perſons as ſhould "be recommended to him by the Houſe of Commons; not doubting but "they ſhould receive a Gracious, and ſpeedy Anſwer to that their hum- "ble Deſire, without which, in all Humane reaſon, the great Diſtractions "of the Kingdom muſt needs overwhelm it with miſery and Ruine.

THE King was not troubled at the receipt of this Petition, glad, that ſince they could not be brought to ſuch a degree of Reaſonableneſs, as might make up all breaches, they would be ſo peremptorily Unreaſonable as might probably ſever Thoſe from them, who were not ſo Deſperate as themſelves; and he hoped, that when the people ſhould obſerve that this graſping of the Militia of the Kingdom into their own hands, as an Expedient for the compoſing their high grown Fears and Jealouſies, was no more than they deſired the Summer before, when Sr *Arthur Haſlerigg* brought in his Bill into the Houſe of Commons, which is before remembred, when that title of Fears and Jealouſies was not diſcovered; and when the Peers ſhould obſerve, that the Houſe of Commons inſolently Demanded, by their own Single Suffrage, the deputing men to Places of that vaſt Importance, they would both conclude, that thoſe immodeſt Askers were not only fit to be Denied, but Reformed: yet believing that Real and Juſt fears might grow up, to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs thoſe Imaginary ones, his Majeſty vouchſafed a very ſoft and gentle Anſwer to that Petition; "that he hoped his "gracious Meſſage would have produced ſome ſuch Overture, as by of- "fering what was fit on Their parts to do, and by asking what was pro- "per for Him to grant, might have begot a mutual Confidence in each "other. Concerning the Tower of *London*, that he did not expect, "having preferred a perſon of a known Fortune, and unqueſtionable Re- "putation, to that Truſt, that he ſhould have been preſſed to remove "him without any particular Charge objected againſt him; however, "that if, upon due examination, any particular ſhould be preſented to "him, whereby it might appear he was miſtaken in his good opinion of "that Gentleman, and that he was unfit for the Truſt committed to "him, he would make no ſcruple of diſcharging him; otherwiſe, he "was obliged in juſtice to himſelf, to preſerve his Own work, leſt his "Favour and good Opinion might prove a Diſadvantage and Misfortune "to his Servants, without any other Accuſation; of which he hoped "his Houſe of Commons would be ſo tender, as of a buſineſs, wherein "his Honour was much concerned, as if they found no material Ex- "ceptions againſt that perſon, they would rather endeavour to ſatisfy "and Reform the Fears of other men, than, by complying with them, "preſs his Majeſty to any thing, which did ſo much reflect upon his Ho- "nour, and Juſtice.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

"FOR the Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom, that he was reſolved "they ſhould allways be in ſuch hands, and Only in ſuch, as the Parlia- "ment might ſafely Confide in; but the Nomination of any perſons to "thoſe Places, being ſo principal and inſeparable a flower of his Crown, "veſted in him, and derived to him from his Anceſtors by the funda- "mental Laws of the Kingdom, he would reſerve to Himſelf; in be- "ſtowing whereof, as he would take care that no corrupt or Siniſter "courſes ſhould prevail with him, ſo he was willing to declare, that he "ſhould not be induced to expreſs that Favour ſo ſoon to any perſons, as "to Thoſe, whoſe good Demeanour ſhould be Eminent in, or to his Par-

"liament. And if he then had, or ſhould at any time, by miſinforma-
"tion confer ſuch a Truſt upon an Undeſerving perſon, he was, and
"would allways be, ready to leave him to the wiſdom and Juſtice of the
"Parliament.

"FOR the Militia of the Kingdom, which by the Law was ſubject to
"no command but of his Majeſty, and of authority lawfully derived
"from him, he ſaid, when any particular courſe for ordering the ſame
"ſhould be conſidered, and digeſted, and propoſed to him, he would re-
"turn ſuch an Anſwer as ſhould be agreeable to his Honour, and the
"ſafety of his People, he being reſolved only to deny thoſe things, the
"Granting whereof would alter the fundamental Laws and endanger
"the very foundation, upon which the Publick happineſs and welfare of
"his people was founded and conſtituted, and which would nouriſh a
"greater, and more deſtructive Jealouſy between the Crown, and the
"Subject, than any of thoſe, which would ſeem to be taken away by
"ſuch a ſatisfaction.

"HE ſaid, he was willing to doubt, that His having granted more
"than ever King granted, would perſwade Them to ask more than
"ever Subjects had asked: but if they ſhould acquaint him with the
"particular grounds of their doubts and their Fears, he would very
"willingly apply Remedies proportionable to thoſe fears; for he called
"God to witneſs, that the preſervation of the publick Peace, the Law,
"and the liberty of the Subject, was, and ſhould allways be, as much
"his care, as his own life, or the lives of his deareſt Children.

"AND therefore he did conjure them by all the acts of Favour they
"had received from him this Parliament, by their hopes of future hap-
"pineſs in his Majeſty, and in one another, by their love of Religion,
"and the Peace of the Kingdom, in which, he ſaid, that of *Ireland* was
"included, that they would not be tranſported by Jealouſies, and appre-
"henſions of Poſſible dangers, to put themſelves, or his Majeſty, into
"Real and Preſent inconveniences; but that they would ſpeedily pur-
"ſue the way propoſed by his former Meſſage, which, in Humane rea-
"ſon, was the only way to compoſe the Diſtractions of the Kingdom,
"and, with God's bleſſing, would reſtore a great meaſure of felicity to
"King and People.

THIS Anſwer being not only a denial, but ſuch an expoſtulation as would render their Counſels of leſs reverence to the people, if upon thoſe reaſons they ſhould recede from what they had with that confidence, and diſdain of the Houſe of Peers demanded of the King; they therefore reſolved to ſet up their reſt upon that ſtake, and to go through with it, or periſh in the attempt. And, to this purpoſe, they again muſter up their Friends in the City, and ſend their Emiſſaries abroad to teach the people a new language. All Petitions muſt now deſire, "that the "Kingdom might be put into a poſture of defence, and nothing elſe "would ſerve to defend them from the many Plots and Conſpiracies "againſt them, or ſecure them from their own Fears and Jealouſies. More Petitions were preſented to the Houſe of Commons by ſome Citi-zens of *London*, in the name of thoſe Merchants, that uſually traded to the Mint with Bullion, who pretended "that their Fears and Jealouſies "were ſo great, that they durſt not carry their Bullion to the Tower, "being not ſatisfied with the preſent Lieutenant there; and therefore "deſired that he might be removed; and more to the like purpoſe.

THEY had wholely undertaken the managing of the War in *Ireland*, and

and really, for many reaſons, neither did uſe, nor deſired to uſe, any great expedition in that work; yet having with great induſtry infuſed into the minds of the people at leaſt a Suſpicion that the Court favoured that Rebellion, they allways made uſe of the ſlowneſs in thoſe proceedings to the King's diſadvantage. About that time, they had deſired the City to furniſh them with one hundred thouſand pounds, for the levying, and accommodating forces to be ſent into that Kingdom, which gave the Common Council, where ſuch loans were allways tranſacted, opportunity to return their opinions, and advice upon the general State of Affairs. They ſaid, "they could lend no more money by reaſon of "thoſe obſtructions, which threaten'd the Peace of this Kingdom, and "had allready render'd it even deſperate: that the not paſſing the Bill "againſt Preſſing of Soldiers, which ſtill depended with the Lords, upon "thoſe reaſons formerly mentioned at large, put many men into fears, "that there was ſome deſign rather to loſe That Kingdom, and to con- "ſume This in the loſs of it, than to preſerve either the one, or the "other; and that the Rebels were grown ſo ſtrong there, that they "made account ſpeedily to extirpate the Britiſh Nation in that King- "dom; and that they intended Then, as they allready bragged, to come "over, and make This the Seat of the War.

The Commons deſire to borrow money of the City.

The Common Council's Anſwer.

"THAT the not putting the Forts into ſuch hands, in whom the Par- "liament might Confide, the not ſetling the Kingdom in a poſture of "defence, the not removing the preſent Lieutenant of the Tower, and "putting ſuch a perſon into that place, as might be well approved by "the Parliament, could not but overthrow Trading more and more, and "make moneys yet more ſcarce in the City and Kingdom. That the "miſunderſtanding between the King and Parliament, the not vindi- "cating the Priviledges thereof, the charging ſome Members of Treaſon "to the deterring of others from diſcharging their Duties, and to the "deſtroying the very Being of Parliaments, did exceedingly fill the minds "of men well affected to the publick, with many fears and diſcourage- "ments; and ſo diſable them from yielding that chearful aſſiſtance, which "they would be glad to afford. That, by this means, there was ſuch a "decay of Trading, and ſuch ſcarcity of money, neither of which could "be cured, till the former evils were removed, as it was like, in very "ſhort time, to caſt innumerable multitudes of poor Artificers into ſuch "a depth of poverty and extremity, as might enforce them upon ſome "dangerous and deſperate attempts, not fit to be Expreſſed, much leſs to "be Juſtified; which they left to the Houſe ſpeedily to conſider, and "prevent. Theſe evils, under which they did exceedingly labour and "languiſh, they ſaid, did ſpring from the imploying of ill affected per- "ſons in places of Truſt and honour in the State, and near to the perſon "of the King; and that they were ſtill continued by means of the Votes "of Biſhops, and Popiſh Lords, in the Houſe of Peers. And ſo having "faithfully repreſented, they ſaid, the true reaſons, which really en- "forced them to return that Anſwer, they craved leave to proteſt before "God and the High Court of Parliament, that if any further miſeries "befell their dear Brethren in *Ireland*, or if any miſchief ſhould break "in upon this Kingdom, to the indangering or diſturbing the peace there- "of, it ought not to be imputed to Them; but only to ſuch, who ſhould "endeavour to hinder the effectual and ſpeedy cure of thoſe evils before "recited, which did ſo much diſable and diſcourage them from doing "that, which the Houſe had deſired of them.

Petitions likewiſe from ſeveral Counties concerning the Militia.

AT the ſame time, were preſented other Petitions, ſubſcribed by many thouſand hands, and in the names of the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, and other Inhabitants, of the Counties of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, and *Hartford*; all which ſeverally inveighed againſt the Malignant Party, which render'd the good endeavours of the Houſe of Commons fruitleſs; "deſired that the Votes of the Biſhops, and Popiſh Lords, "might be taken out of the Houſe of Peers; that they might be put into "a poſture of defence, and the Forts, and Caſtles of the Kingdom, into "ſuch hands as the Parliament might Confide in; that ſo *Ireland* might "be relieved, and This Kingdom made happy. One of them adding, "that the Malignant Party of Prelates and Papiſts, and their adherents, "were inconſiſtent with the happy ſucceſs of the Parliament. Theſe Petitions, and the Anſwer of the Common Council of *London*, were thought ample materials for a Conference with the Lords, who might be thereby remember'd of their Duty; and to that purpoſe Mr *Pym* delivered them at a Conference, and after they were read, told them, "that their Lordſhips might in thoſe Petitions hear the voice, or rather "the Cry of all *England*; and that they were not to wonder if the ur-"gency, the Extremity of the condition we were all in, did produce "ſome earneſtneſs and vehemency of expreſſion more than ordinary; "the agony, terrour, and perplexity, in which the Kingdom laboured, "was univerſal, all parts were affected with it; and therefore in thoſe "Petitions they might obſerve the Groans and miſerable complaints of "all. After a long diſcourſe of the great and notorious dangers the Kingdom was in, by Invaſions threaten'd from abroad, and Inſurrections from within, he told them, "the Obſtructions, that had brought them "into that Diſtemper, were principally the obſtruction of Reformation "in matters of Religion; and that there was never Church or State af-"flicted with more grievances of That kind, than we had been; and "that tho' they were partly eaſed and diminiſhed by the wiſdom of the "Parliament, yet many ſtill remained; and as long as the Biſhops, and "the corrupt part of the Clergy, continued in their power, there would "be little hope of freedom, either from the ſenſe of thoſe that continued, "or the fear of thoſe, which were removed. And of That obſtruction, "he ſaid, he muſt clear the Commons, who were in no part guilty of it. "Some good Bills they had allready paſſed, and others were in prepara-"tion, and might have been paſſed before that time, if they had not "found ſuch ill ſucceſs in the other Houſe: whatſoever miſchief that "obſtruction ſhould produce, They were free from it; they might have "their part of the Miſery, they could have none in the Guilt or "Diſhonour.

Mr Pym *delivers the Petitions to the Lords at a Conference.*

"He told them there was great obſtruction in Trade, which brought "food and nouriſhment to the Kingdom; and then having inlarged him-"ſelf with enumeration of the notable benefits the Kingdom received "by the fullneſs of Trade, he ſaid, he muſt proteſt, the Houſe of Com-"mons had given no cauſe to That obſtruction: They had eaſed Trade "of many burthens, and heavy taxes, and had freed it from many hard "reſtraints by Patents and Monopolies; they had ſought to put the "Merchants into ſecurity and confidence in reſpect of the Tower of "*London*, that ſo they might be invited to bring in their Bullion to the "Mint, as heretofore they had done; they were no way guilty of the "troubles, the Fears, and Publick dangers, which made men withdraw "their ſtocks, and keep their money by them, to be ready for ſuch

"ſuddain

"ſuddain exigents, as, in thoſe great diſtractions, they had too great cauſe "to expect.

"THERE was an obſtruction, he ſaid, in the relief of *Ireland*, but "he muſt declare the Commons were all together innocent of any neglect "therein; they had agreed to the Levies of men and money, and, from "time to time, done all for the furtherance thereof, tho' in the midſt "of many diſtractions and diverſions; but the want of Commiſſions for "levying men, that was the Bill about Preſſing, and diverſe other im- "pediments, had been the cauſes of That obſtruction. Nay, he ſaid, he "did not only find impediments to themſelves, but incouragement to "the Rebels; for many of the chief Commanders now in the head of "the Rebels, after both Houſes had ſtopp'd the Ports againſt all Iriſh Pa- "piſts, had been ſuffer'd to Paſs, by his Majeſtys immediate Warrants, "much to the diſcouragement of the Lords Juſtices and Council there, "which were procured by ſome evil inſtruments too near his Royal per- "ſon, and, they believed, without his Knowledge and intention.

"HE ſaid, there was an obſtruction in providing for the defence of "the Kingdom, that they might be inabled to reſiſt a forreign Enemy, "and to ſuppreſs all civil Inſurrections: what endeavour they had uſed "to remove them, but hitherto without that ſucceſs and Concurrence "which they expected, and where their Stop had been, and upon what "grounds they might proclaim their own Innocency and faithfulneſs in "That particular, they deſired no other witneſſes but their Lordſhips.

"HE told them, the evil Influences, which had cauſed that Diſtem- "per, were the evil Councils about the King, the great power, that a "Factious and Intereſſed Party had in Parliament by the continuance of "the Votes of the Biſhops, and Popiſh Lords, in their Lordſhips Houſe, "and the taking in of others out of the Houſe of Commons, and, other- "wiſe to increaſe their ſtrength, the fomenting a Malignant Party "throughout the Kingdom, the Jealouſies between the King, and his "Parliament. And after many bitter and Seditious expreſſions of the Court, and of all thoſe, who were not of His mind, he concluded, "that "he had nothing to propoſe to their Lordſhips by way of requeſt or de- "ſire from the Houſe of Commons; he doubted not, but their Judg- "ments would tell them what was to be done; their Conſciences, their "Honours, their Intereſts, would call upon them for the doing of it. "The Commons would be glad to have their help and Concurrence in "ſaving the Kingdom; but if their Lordſhips ſhould fail, it ſhould not "diſcourage Them in doing Their duty; and whether the Kingdom be "loſt, or ſaved, they ſhould be ſorry, that the ſtory of this preſent Par- "liament ſhould tell poſterity, that, in ſo great danger and extremity, "the Houſe of Commons ſhould be inforced to ſave the Kingdom Alone, "and that the Houſe of Peers ſhould have no part in the Honour of the "preſervation of it, they having ſo great an intereſt in the good ſucceſs "of thoſe endeavours, in reſpect of their great Eſtates and high degrees "of Nobility.

ASSOON as this Conference was ended, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons was appointed to give Mr *Pym* ſolemn thanks for his ſo well performing that ſervice, and to require them to deliver his Speech in writing into the Houſe, that it might be printed; which was done accordingly, to the end that the people might underſtand, beſides thoſe reproaches upon the King, how negligent the Houſe of Peers were of their welfare and ſecurity. *His Speech printed by Order.*

THE ſame day and hour after that Conference, a great number of people, in the name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Hartford*, preſented a Petition to the Houſe of Peers; in which, amongſt other particulars, "they complained of the delay of putting the Kingdom into a "poſture of War for their better defence, and the want of complyance by "that Honourable Houſe with the Houſe of Commons, in entertaining "thoſe many good Motions, and Paſſing thoſe neceſſary Bills preſented "to them from that Houſe for the Common Good. And therefore they "deſired them, for the better removing of all the cauſes and ſprings of "their Fears and troubles, that the evil Counſellors, and others hinder- "ing the Publick Good, might be taken from his Majeſty, and the voting "of the Biſhops, and Popiſh Lords, to be removed out of that Honoura- "ble Houſe: And that the Petitioners, who would be ever ready to "hazard their Lives and Eſtates for the defence of the King and Parlia- "ment, the Priviledges of the ſame, and in ſpecial thoſe noble Lords "and Gentlemen in both Houſes, whoſe endeavours were for the Publick "Good, might have liberty to Proteſt againſt all thoſe, as Enemys to "the Kingdom, who refuſed to joyn with thoſe Honourable Lords and "the Houſe of Commons, for the putting the Kingdom into a way of "Safety, under the Command of ſuch perſons, as the Parliament ſhould "appoint. But neither this, nor any of the other Proceedings were re- ſented by the Houſe of Peers, tho' their Priviledges were not only invaded, but the very Freedom and liberty of Parliament abſolutely taken away and deſtroyed thereby.

WHEN the Houſe of Commons found that none of theſe extraordinary ways would throughly Subdue the Houſe of Lords, but that, tho' they had very ſturdy Champions there, the Major part, albeit the Biſhops, and all the Recuſant Lords were driven from thence, ſtill oppoſed them, whereby neither the Bill for the taking away the Biſhops Votes, nor about Preſſing, could paſs, and that they peremptorily ſtill refuſed to joyn in the buſineſs of the Militia; they found a New way, as Unpracticed and as unnatural as any of the former, whereby they would be ſure to have an influence upon the Houſe of Peers. It is an old Cuſtom, and Priviledge of that Houſe, that upon any ſolemn debate, whoſoever is not ſatisfied with the concluſion and judgment of the Houſe, may demand leave to enter his Proteſtation, which muſt be granted. The Original of this was in Jealous times, when men deſired, for avoiding the ill conſequence of any Act there, that their Diſſents might appear; and was very ſeldom practiced, but when they conceived Religion, or the Crown, trenched upon; inſomuch as you ſhall not find, in the Journals of many Parliaments, one Proteſtation enter'd; and when there was any, there was no more in the Records, than, after the Reſolution of the Houſe is enter'd, "that ſuch a Lord deſired that his Proteſtation or "diſſent might be enter'd, and oftentimes when ſeveral have diſſented from the general opinion, not above one or two have enter'd their Proteſtation. But ſince this Parliament, as they alter'd this Cuſtom from caſes of high Concernment to the moſt trivial Debates, the Minor part ordinarily entering their Proteſtation, to the end that their opinions might be taken notice of, and who were oppoſite to them, whereby the Good and Bad Lords were known and publiſhed; ſo they altered the form, and inſtead of ſhort general entries, cauſed the matter of Debate to be ſummed up, and thereupon their Proteſtation, "that They were "not to be anſwerable for any inconveniences or Miſchiefs, that ſhould "befall

befall the Common-wealth by reaſon of this or that Reſolution. So that from an Act for the particular Indemnity of the perſon, that made it, it grew ſometimes to be a reproaching and arraigning the ſenſe of the Houſe by any Factious number that diſagreed. Then becauſe the Houſe of Peers is a Court of Record, they concluded, "that any man upon any "occaſion might peruſe the Journals; and ſo every night the Houſe of Commons could ſee how the Debates had been managed and carried all the day, and take publick notice, and make uſe of it accordingly, which they could not do of thoſe diſcourſes they received from their Confidents; for ſupplying whereof this Unjuſtifiable method was found out. For tho' it is a Court of Record, the higheſt Court, and the Acts and judgments of Parliament are Records, to which the Subject may upon all occaſions reſort, yet they ought not to make uſe of that Liberty in order to queſtion any words ſpoken, or Acts done, and remember'd There; of which if the Lords are not the only Judges, their Priviledges are much leſs than the Commons intruth have, and may Juſtly claim.

IT happened, about this time, that upon ſome Overture in the Lords Houſe, which pleaſed them not, the Violent Party there, in a diſorderly manner, cried out, *Adjourn, Adjourn*, being not willing the matter ſhould Then come into debate; others were not willing that the Houſe ſhould Adjourn. The Duke of *Richmond* troubled at that Tumultuary and indirect proceeding, ſaid, without directing himſelf to the Speaker, "if they would Adjourn, he wiſhed it might be for ſix Months, or words to that effect; upon which ſome of the other party immediately Moved, "that the Houſe might Not riſe, and that the Duke would explain him-"ſelf, and anſwer the making ſuch a Motion, as, being granted, would "be deſtructive to the Common wealth. The Duke ſaid, "he made "no Motion, but uſed that Expreſſion, to ſhew his diſlike of the other "Motion to Adjourn at that time, when there was buſineſs in agitation "of great Concernment; and that, when he ſpoke, all men being upon "their feet, and out of their places, he conceived the Houſe had been Up. Upon this he was required to withdraw; and then they, who had long looked upon him with great envy and animoſity, as the only great perſon, and Officer at Court, who had diſcountenanced their power, and their ſtratagems, and had with notable courage allways oppoſed their extravagances, and Servile complying with the Houſe of Commons, and ſubmitting to the Tumults, and had with ſingular Conſtancy preſerved his duty and fidelity to his Majeſty unviolated, inveighed againſt that Motion, "as of too Serious a nature to be made a Jeſt of, and fit "to be cenſured as moſt pernicious to This Kingdom, and deſtructive "to *Ireland*; the War whereof could not proceed, if the Parliament "ſhould have been Adjourned for ſix Months, as his Lordſhip had pro-"poſed.

ON the other ſide, it was alledged, "that the Motion had never been "made to the Houſe; and therefore they ought no more to queſtion, or "take notice of it, than of every light or frolick diſcourſe or Expreſſion, "that negligently, or Caſually fell from any man; which would take "away all liberty of Converſation. However, that if it had been Se-"rioufly, and formally made, it could be no Crime, it being the ne-"ceſſary liberty and Priviledge of every Member, to make any Motion "he thought in His judgment fit, which the Houſe would approve, or "reject, as it found reaſonable. And that, ſince it was as much in the "Houſes power to Adjourn for ſix Months, as for ſix Days, it was as

"lawful

"lawful to move the one, as the other; of which there could not be the "leaſt inconvenience, becauſe the Houſe would be ſure to reject it, if it "were not found proper. After a very fierce, and eager debate, in which much bitterneſs and Virulency was expreſſed, it was Reſolved by the Major part, "that the Duke had committed no Offence; and ſo he was as regularly abſolved as was poſſible. Hereupon the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, and *Holland*, who thought the Dukes affection and duty to his Maſter a Repoach, and his intereſt prejudicial to Them, with the reſt of that Party enter'd their Proteſtation; "that whereas ſuch a Motion had been made by the Duke of *Richmond*, "and upon being queſtioned for the ſame, he had been acquitted by the "Major part, They were free from the miſchiefs or inconveniences, "which might attend the not puniſhing of an Offence tending ſo much "to the prejudice of King or Kingdom.

THIS Proteſtation, by the advice of that Nights meeting, was, the next day, taken notice of in the Houſe of Commons, and the matter it ſelf of the Motion inlarged upon, by all poſſible and Rhetorical aggravations, concerning the Perſon, and his Intereſts, according to the licence of that Houſe, and that People. It was ſaid, "here was an evil "Counſellor, that had diſcovered himſelf, and no doubt had been the "Author of many of thoſe evil Counſels, which had brought that trou"ble upon us; that he had received his education in *Spain*, and had "been made a Grandee of that Kingdom, and had been ever ſince noto"riouſly of that Faction; that his Siſters were Papiſts, and therefore "his affection was to be queſtioned in Religion; that, from the beginning "of this Parliament, he had been oppoſite to all their proceedings, and "was an enemy to Reformation; that he had vehemently oppoſed the "Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*; was a friend to Biſhops; and now, "to prevent any poſſibility of Reformation, which could not be effected "without the Concurrence of the two Houſes, had deſperately Moved "in the Houſe of Peers, where he had a great Faction, that it would "Adjourn for ſix Months; in which time the Malignant Party, of which "he might well be thought the Head, and had the greateſt influence upon "the King's affections, would prevail ſo far, that all future hopes would "be render'd deſperate, and the Kingdom of *Ireland* be utterly loſt, "and poſſeſſed by the Papiſts: that they were therefore to take this op"portunity, which God had given them, to remove ſo Malignant and "dangerous a perſon from the King, and one ſo ſuſpected, from ſo im"portant a Charge as the Cinque Ports, of which the Duke was Lord "Warden, and to ſend to the Lords to joyn with them in a deſire to the "King to that purpoſe.

ON the other ſide, it was objected, that "whilſt they were ſo Solli"citous for their own Priviledges, and ſenſible of the breach and viola"tion of them, they could not more Juſtify thoſe, who had been the "Adviſers of ſuch breaches, than by offering the like treſpaſs to the "Priviledges of the Peers: that the life of that Council depended on the "liberty of Speech, and where there were ſo different minds, there muſt "be different expreſſions, and if one Houſe might take notice what the "other Houſe ſaid, or did, within Thoſe walls, the Lords would as well "queſtion Their Members, as they did now one of the Lords; which "would take away all freedom of debate: that they could not examine "the Circumſtances, which attended that Motion, if any ſuch was made; "and therefore could not ſo much as, in their private underſtandings,

"make

"make a reaſonable judgment of it, but that they were naturally to pre-
"ſume the circumſtances were ſuch, as took away the Offence of the
"Motion; for that the Major part of that Houſe, where the words were
"ſpoken, and at the time when they were ſpoken, had, upon Solemn
"debate, concluded, that there was no Crime in them; and that they
"were not only the Proper, but the Only Judges in that caſe: and if the
"Commons ſhould intermeddle therewith, it was no otherwiſe, than,
"by the ſtrength of the Major part of the Houſe of Commons, to make
"the Minor part of Lords Superior to the Major part of that Houſe;
"which they would not ſuffer to be offered to Themſelves.

IT was alledged, "that the Duke was a perſon of great Honour and
"integrity, and of ſo unblemiſhed a fame, that in all the diſcovery of
"the Court offences, there was not any reflection upon Him. That his
"education had been, according to the beſt rules of the Greateſt per-
"ſons, for ſome years beyond the Seas; and that, having ſpent more time
"in *France* and *Italy*, he viſited *Spain*; where his great Quality being
"known, and no queſtion as a Compliment to this Kingdom, with which
"it was then in ſtreight Alliance and Confederacy, that King had con-
"ferred the honour of Grandee upon him; which was of no other ad-
"vantage or ſignification to him, than to be Covered in the preſence of
"that King, as the principal Subjects there are. That his affection to
"the Proteſtant Religion was unqueſtionable and very Eminent; and
"tho' his Siſters, who had been bred under their Mother, were Roman
"Catholicks, yet his Brothers, of whoſe education He had taken the ſole
"care, were very good Proteſtants.

"THAT his opinions in Parliament had been very Avowed, and were
"to be preſumed to be according to his Conſcience, in the profeſſion of
"which he was ſo publick, that there was reaſon to believe he uſed no
"Ill arts in private; ſince he had the courage to do that Aloud, which
"he had reaſon to believe would diſpleaſe many. That it would be a
"great prejudice, and blemiſh to their Councils and Diſcoveries, if after
"ſo long diſcourſe of a Malignant Party, and evil Counſellors, of which
"they had never yet named any, they ſhould firſt brand This Lord with
"that imputation upon ſuch a ground and occaſion, as muſt include all
"thoſe Lords who had abſolved him, which was the Major part of the
"Lords. In a word, that it would look as if they had deviſed thoſe New
"words to make men afraid, and keep them in reſerve to apply to all
"thoſe with whom they were Angry.

BUT notwithſtanding all this, and all the reaſon that could be ſpoken
on that part, and that there could be none on the other, after a debate of
very many hours, till after nine of the Clock at Night (the lateſt that ever
was in the Parliament, but that of the Remonſtrance) in which it was
evident, that they meant as far as in them lay, to Confound all thoſe,
whom they could not Convert; it was Reſolved by the Majority of
Voices, not Half of the Houſe being preſent at that unſeaſonable time of
the debate, "that they ſhould accuſe the Duke of *Richmond* to the Lords
"to be one of the Malignant Party, and an evil Counſellor to his Majeſty;
"and to deſire them to joyn in a requeſt to the King, that he might be re-
"moved from any Office or imployment about his perſon; which was ſo-
lemnly recommended to the Lords accordingly, and by them ſo far re-
ceived, that tho' the deſire was rejected, no diſlike or diſapprobation of
the Matter or the Manner was in the leaſt diſcovered, or inſiſted on.

ALL things thus prepared, and ſo many Lords driven and kept from

the Houſe, beſides the Biſhops, and they that ſtayed there, by this laſt inſtance, inſtructed how to carry themſelves, at leaſt how they provoked the Good Lords to Proteſt, they reſolved once more to try whether the Houſe of Peers would be induced to joyn in the buſineſs of the Militia, which they had twice refuſed; and to that purpoſe, their old Friends of the City in the ſame numbers flocked to *Weſtminſter*, but under the New, received, and allowed ſtyle of Petitioners; but as unlike Petitioners to any of thoſe Lords or Commons, whom they underſtood to be Malignant, as the other Tumults had been. From theſe herds there were two notable Petitions delivered to the Houſe of Commons, the one from the Porters, their number, as they ſaid, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand; the other under the title of many thouſands of poor people in, and about the City of *London*. The Porters, with great Eloquence, confeſſed "the unexpreſſible "pains, that Honourable Houſe had taken for the Good of Church and "State; which deſerved to be recorded to their eternal fame, tho' the "Effects of thoſe unwearied endeavours were not produced, by reaſon of "the prevalence of that adverſe, malignant, blood-ſucking, Rebellious "party, by the power of which the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Li-"berty of the Subject was trampled upon, the Rebellion in *Ireland* in-"creaſed, and all ſuccours and relief for that Kingdom obſtructed. They ſaid, "that Trade had been long languiſhing, but was Now dead by the "fears, jealouſies, and diſtractions they lay under, for want of fortification "of the Cinque Ports, which was a great incouragement to the Papiſts to "make Inſurrections, and did much animate a Forreign power to Invade "us: that by the deadneſs of Trade they did want imployment in ſuch a "meaſure, as did make their lives very uncomfortable; therefore their "Requeſt was, that that extream neceſſity of theirs might be taken into "ſerious conſideration, and that the Honourable Houſe of Commons "would fall upon the ſpeedieſt courſe for abating and quelling the pride, "outrage, and inſolency, of the adverſe Party at home; that the land "might be ſecured by fortifying the Cinque Ports, and putting the peo-"ple into a poſture of defence, that all their fears, or as many as could, "might be removed, and that Trade might be again ſet up and opened, "that their wants might be in ſome meaſure ſupplied. They further de-"ſired that Juſtice might be done upon Offenders, according as the Atro-"city of their crimes had deſerved; for if thoſe things were any longer "ſuſpended, they ſhould be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and "to make good that ſaying, that Neceſſity hath no Law. They ſaid, they "had nothing to loſe but their lives, and thoſe they would willingly ex-"poſe to the utmoſt peril, in defence of the Houſe of Commons, accord-"ing to their Proteſtation, &c.

THE other was a Petition in the names of many thouſands of poor people, and brought by a multitude of ſuch, who ſeemed prepared for any exploit. I have thought fit, for the rareneſs of it, and the rare Effect it produced, to inſert that Petition in Terms as it was preſented, Thus.

To the Honourable the Houſe of Commons now aſſembled in Parliament.

"The humble Petition of many thouſands of Poor People in and about "the City of *London*.

"HUMBLY ſheweth, that your Petitioners have lain a long time under "great preſſures, and grievances both in Liberties and Conſciences, "as

"as hath been largely, and ſundry times, ſhewed and declared by ſe-
"veral Petitions exhibited to this Honourable Aſſembly both by the
Citizens, and Apprentices of the City of *London*, and divers Coun-
"ties and parts of this Kingdom, from which we hoped long ere this,
"by your pious care, to have been delivered.

"BUT now we, who are of the meaneſt rank and quality, being touched
"with penury, are very ſenſible of the approaching ſtorms of Ruine,
"which hang over our heads, and threaten to overwhelm us, by rea-
"ſon of the ſad diſtractions occaſioned chiefly and originally, as your
"Petitioners humbly conceive, by the prevalency of the Biſhops, and
"the Popiſh Lords, and others of that Malignant Faction; who make
"abortive all good Motions, which tend to the Peace, and tranquil-
"lity of this Kingdom of *England*, and have hitherto hindered the
"ſending relief to our Brethren in *Ireland*, altho they ly weltering
"in blood; which hath given ſuch head to the Adverſaries, that we
"juſtly fear the like calamities inevitably to befall us Here, when
"they have vented their rage and malice There.

"ALL which, occaſions ſo great a decay and ſtop of Trade, that your
"Petitioners are utterly impoveriſhed, and our miſeries are grown
"inſupportable, we having allready ſpent all that little means, which
"we had formerly, by Gods bleſſing, and our great labour, obtained;
"and many of us have not, nor cannot tell where to get bread to ſuſtain
"our ſelves and families; and others of us are allmoſt arrived at the
"ſame Port of calamity; ſo that unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy be taken
"for the removal of all ſuch obſtructions, which hinder the happy
"progreſs of your great endeavours, your Petitioners ſhall not reſt in
"quietneſs, but ſhall be forced to lay hold on the next remedy, which
"is at hand, to remove the diſturbers of our Peace; Want and neceſ-
"ſity breaking the bounds of Modeſty: and rather than your Peti-
"tioners will ſuffer themſelves, and their families, to periſh through
"Hunger and neceſſity, tho' hitherto patiently groaned under, they
"cannot leave any means uneſſayed for their relief.

"THE Cry therefore of the Poor, and Needy, your Poor Petitioners,
"is, that ſuch perſons, who are the obſtacles of our peace, and hin-
"derers of the happy proceedings of this Parliament, and the injoy-
"ment of the looked for purity of Religion, ſafety of our lives, and
"return of our welfares, may be forthwith publickly declared, to the
"end they may be made manifeſt; the removal of whom we hum-
"bly conceive will be a Remedy to cure our miſeries, and put a period
"to theſe diſtractions: and that thoſe Noble worthies of the Houſe of
"Peers, who concur with your happy Votes, may be earneſtly deſired
"to joyn with this Honourable Houſe, and to Sit and Vote as one
"entire body; which we hope will remove from us our deſtructive
"Fears, and prevent that, which Apprehenſion will make the Wiſeſt
"and Peaceableſt men to put into Execution.

"FOR the Lords ſake hear us, and let our Religion, Lives, and Welfares
"be precious in your ſight, that the loins of the Poor may bleſs you,
"and pray, *&c.*

AFTER this ſcandalous, and extravagant Petition delivered, the Houſe, according to its gracious cuſtom, ordered thanks to be given for their great kindneſs. To the Which when it was delivered by the Speaker, who told them that the Houſe was in conſideration of thoſe things,

whereof they complained, ſome of that rabble, no doubt as they had been taught, replied, "that they never doubted the Houſe of Commons, but they heard all ſtuck in the Lord's Houſe, and they deſired "to know the Names of thoſe Peers, who hindered the agreement between the Good Lords, and the Commons: which they preſſed with unheard of rudeneſs and importunity, and with a ſeeming unwillingneſs withdrew, whilſt the Houſe took the matter into further conſideration.

YET notwithſtanding this Provocation, and that it was urged by many Members, ſome of which had been aſſaulted and ill intreated by that Rabble in their paſſage to the Houſe, "that the countenancing ſuch Licentious perſons and proceedings would be a great blemiſh to their "Counſels, they were again called in; and told, "that the Houſe of "Commons had endeavoured, and would continue thoſe endeavours for "their relief; and they doubted not, when they had delivered their Petition, and what they had ſaid, to the Lords, which they would preſently do, the cauſes of their evils would be found out, and ſome ſpeedy "courſe reſolved upon for their relief; and therefore deſired them with "patience to attend a further Anſwer. And accordingly that Petition was ſolemnly read, and delivered to the Lords at a Conference; and the Conference no ſooner ended, than Mr *Hollis*, one of thoſe Five whom the King had accuſed a Month before of High-Treaſon, was ſent to the Lords in a Meſſage to deſire them, "that they would joyn with the "Houſe of Commons in their deſire to the King about the Militia; to which he added, "that if that deſire of the Houſe of Commons was not "aſſented to, he deſired thoſe Lords who were willing to concur, would "find ſome means to make themſelves known, that it might be known "who were againſt them, and they might make it known to thoſe, that "ſent them.

AFTER which Motion, and Meſſage, the Lords again reſumed the debate; which the Earl of *Northumberland* begun with a profeſſion, "that whoſoever refuſed, in that particular, to joyn with the Houſe of "Commons, were, in His opinion, Enemies to the Common-wealth; when the Major part of that Houſe had twice before refuſed to concur with them in it. Yet when his Lordſhip was queſtioned for that Unparliamentary language, all the other Lords of that Faction joined with him; and declared, "that it was Their opinion likewiſe: the Rabble being at the door to execute whatever they were directed: ſo that many Lords, out of a juſt indignation to ſee their Honours, and their Liberties Sacrificed to the People by Themſelves; others, out of real fear of being murthered, if they ſhould, in that conjuncture of time, inſiſt on their former reſolutions, withdrawing themſelves; the Major part of thoſe, who ſtayed, concluded to joyn with the Houſe of Commons in their deſire concerning the Militia.

The Lords paſs the Bill touching the Militia;

WITHIN two days after this agreement, and ſubmiſſion of the Lords, another Petition was preſented to the Commons, in the name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Surry*, by a multitude of People, who were, or pretended to be, of that County, and Subſcribed by above two thouſand hands. Their Petition was of the ordinary ſtrain, full of devotion to the Houſe of Commons, and offering to execute all their commands; but with it they preſented likewiſe a Petition, which they intended to preſent to the Lords, if They approved it, and was Subſcribed by above two thouſand hands; by which it may appear Where that Petition was drawn, and When, however the hands were procured. The Petition

to

to the Lords took notice "of their happy concurrence with the Houſe "of Commons in ſetling the Militia, and Forts, in ſuch hands as the "Common-wealth might Confide in, and the Kingdom in ſuch a poſture "as might be for its defence, and ſafeguard: yet they complained of the "miſerable condition of *Ireland*, which, they ſaid, by the delay it had "found amongſt their Lordſhips, notwithſtanding the preſſing endea-"vours of the Houſe of Commons, together with many of their Lord-"ſhips, had been expoſed to the inhuman cruelties of their mercyleſs "Enemys. With like grief they apprehended the Diſtractions of this "Nation, the compoſure of which was alltogether hopeleſs, ſo long as "the King's Throne was ſurrounded with evil Counſellors, and ſo long "as the Votes of Popiſh Lords, and Biſhops, were continued in their "Houſe.

"WHEREFORE they did humbly pray, and beſeech their Lordſhips, "that they would go on in a conſtant Union with the Houſe of Com-"mons, in providing for the Kingdoms ſafety; that all evil Counſellors "might be found out, *Ireland* relieved; that the Votes of the Popiſh "Lords, and Biſhops, might be ſpeedily removed; that ſo the Peace of "the Kingdom might be eſtabliſhed, the Priviledges of Parliament vin-"dicated, and the purity of Religion ſetled, and preſerved. And, they "ſaid, they ſhould be in duty obliged to defend, and maintain with their "lives and Eſtates, their Lordſhips, as far as they ſhould be united with "the Honourable Houſe of Commons in all their juſt and pious pro-"ceedings.

WHICH Petition was read in the Houſe of Commons, and approved, and the Petitioners thanked for their kind expreſſions therein; and then it was delivered by them at the Bar of the Houſe of Peers: who, within a day or two, paſſed both the Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes, and that concerning Preſſing, which had lain ſo long deſperate, whilſt the Lords came, and ſate with freedom in the Houſe. And theſe marvellous things done, they again Adjourn both Houſes into *London*, to lay the Scene for future Action.

and the Bills touching the Biſhops Votes, and Preſſing.

Both Houſes adjourn again into London.

UPON the ſecond day of *February*, ſome Members, appointed by both Houſes, attended his Majeſty at *Windſor* with their Petition, "that "he would forthwith put the Tower of *London*, and all other Forts, "and the whole Militia of the Kingdom into the hands of ſuch perſons, "as ſhould be recommended unto his Majeſty by both Houſes of Parlia-"ment; which, they aſſured themſelves, would be a hopeful entrance "into thoſe courſes, which, through God's bleſſing, ſhould be effectual "for the removing all diffidence, and miſapprehenſion between his Ma-"jeſty and his People; and for eſtabliſhing and enlarging the honour, "greatneſs, and power of his Majeſty, and Royal poſterity; and for "the reſtoring and confirming the Peace, and happineſs, of his loyal Sub-"jects in all his Dominions. And to that their moſt neceſſary Petition, "they ſaid, they did, in all humility, expect his ſpeedy and gracious An-"ſwer, the great Diſtractions, and Diſtempers of the Kingdom, not ad-"mitting any delay.

Both Houſes Petition the King touching the Tower, Forts, and Militia, &c. Feb. 2.

AT the ſame time they likewiſe preſented another Petition to him, concerning the accuſed Members; in which they beſought him "to "give directions, that the Parliament might be informed before *Friday* "next (which was within two days) what proof there was againſt them, "that accordingly they might be called to a legal Trial; it being the "undoubted right, and Priviledge of Parliament, that no Member of

"Parliament could be proceeded againſt, without the conſent of Par-
"liament.

HIS Majeſty now found that theſe perſons could not be compounded with, and that their purpoſe was, by degrees, to get ſo much Power into Their hands, that they need not care for what was left in His; and that the Lords were in no degree to be relied upon to maintain their Own Priviledges, much leſs to defend His Rites; and that they had the power generally to impoſe upon the Peoples Underſtanding contrary to their own Senſes, and to perſwade them, "that they were in danger to "be invaded by forreign Enemys, when the King was not only in peace with all Chriſtian Princes, but allmoſt all other Nations ſo imbroyled in War, that they all defired the Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance of *England*; none was in caſe or condition to diſturb it: "and that there was a decay "and deadneſs of Trade, and Want and Poverty growing upon the whole "Kingdom, when no man living had ever remember'd the like Plenty over the whole Land, and Trade was at that heigth, that the like had never been known.

The King reſolves to remove further from London.

HE reſolved therefore to remove himſelf to a greater diſtance from *London*, where the Fears and Jealouſies grew; and conſtantly to deny to paſs any Act, that ſhould be recommended to him from the two Houſes, except what might concern *Ireland*, till he might have a full proſpect of all they intended to demand, and an equal aſſurance how far they intended to gratify him for all his condeſcenſions; which reſolution was very Parliamentary, it having been rarely known, till this preſent Parliament, that the King conſented to any Acts, till the determination of the Seſſion.

THE truth is, when his Majeſty found the extream ill ſucceſs of the accuſation againſt the Members, and that the Tumults, and the Petitioners, were no other than an Army at the diſpoſal of thoſe, in whom he had no reaſon to put his confidence, and that all ſuch, who expreſſed any eminent zeal to his Service, would be taken from him under the ſtyle of Delinquents and Malignants, he reſolved that the Queen, who was very full of fears, ſhould go to *Portſmouth*, Colonel *Goring*, who was Governour thereof, having found means to make good impreſſions again in their Majeſties of his Fidelity; and that Himſelf would go to *Hull*, where his Magazine of Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition was; and that being ſecured in thoſe ſtrong places, whither they, who wiſhed him well, might reſort, and be protected, he would ſit ſtill, till they, who were over active, would come to reaſon.

BUT this, tho' reſolved with ſo much ſecreſy, that it was not communicated to three perſons (as I have been ſince aſſured by thoſe who knew) whether by the Treachery of one of thoſe few, or by the Curioſity of others (which I rather believe) who found means to over-hear all private diſcourſes (as both Bed-Chambers were inhabited, and every corner poſſeſſed, by diligent Spies upon their Maſter, and Miſtriſs) was imparted to thoſe, who procured thoſe Orders before mentioned for *Hull* and *Portſmouth*; by reaſon whereof, and the advice, and promiſe of many Lords, "that they would firmly unite themſelves for the juſt "ſupport of the Regal power, with the extream apprehenſion the Queen had of danger, that Counſel was laid aſide. That, which wrought ſo much upon the Queens fears, beſides the general obſervation how the King was betrayed, and how his Rights, and Power, were every day wreſted from him, was an advertiſement, that ſhe had received, of a

deſign

deſign in the prevalent Party to have accuſed her Majeſty of High-Treaſon; of which, without doubt, there had been ſome diſcourſe in their moſt private Cabals, and, I am perſwaded, was imparted to her upon deſign, and by connivance (for there were ſome incorporated into that Faction, who exactly knew her nature, paſſions, and infirmities) that the diſdain of it might tranſport her to ſomewhat which might give Them advantage. And ſhortly after that diſcovery to her Majeſty, thoſe perſons before mentioned were accuſed of High-Treaſon; yet afterwards, when they had received the full fruites, they found means to complain, "as a great argument of the malignity of thoſe perſons of nearneſs to "both their Majeſties, that an infuſion had been made to the Queen, "that there was a purpoſe of accuſing her of High-Treaſon, and ſolemnly by Meſſage "beſought her to diſcover, Who had done that malitious "Office; when they very well knew Who it was, and for Whoſe ſake the Queen was brought to return Anſwer, "that ſhe had heard ſuch a "diſcourſe, but took no notice of it, as never believing it; whereas if ſhe could have been compelled to have diſcovered, how they knew that the Queen had been informed, all the ſecret would have appeared; the ſame perſon firſt telling her what was in projection againſt her, and then returning Intelligence of any expreſſions, and diſtemper, he might eaſily obſerve upon the apprehenſion which the other begot.

BUT both King and Queen were then upon that diſadvantage, that all their words, and actions, which were the pure reſults of their own reaſons, and judgments upon what they ſaw every day occurred, were called the effects of evil Counſels, that ſo they might take the liberty to reproach them with the more licence; whilſt what they received by the moſt ſecret perjury of Bed-Chamber Spies, or what they forged themſelves, was urged as the reſult of common Fame, or the effects of their Fears and Jealouſies, to the rancour of which the moſt precious balm of the Crown muſt be applied. And therefore it was concluded, "that the Queen ſhould take the opportunity of her Daughter the Prin-"ceſs *Mary*'s Journey into *Holland* (who had been before married to the young Prince of *Orange*, and was now ſolemnly deſired by the States Embaſſadours to come into that Country) "to tranſport her ſelf into "*Holland*, patiently to expect an amendment of the affairs of *England*; "and that the King ſhould retire into the North, and reſide at *York*, "and deny all Particulars, till the Whole alteration ſhould be framed. But the firſt reſolution concerning the Queen was only publiſhed, the other, concerning the King, communicated to very few; both their Majeſties being reduced to ſo great wants, that the Queen was compelled to coyn, or ſell, her Chamber Plate for the ſupply of her moſt neceſſary occaſions, there being no money in the Exchequer, or in the power of the Miniſters of the Revenue; the Officers of the Cuſtoms, out of which the allowance for the weekly ſupport of their Majeſties Houſhold had been made, being injoined by the Houſe of Commons, not to iſſue out any money, without their particular conſent, and approbation.

IT was evident now that the accuſed Members were too mighty for the King or the Law, and that they would admit no other Judges of their guilt, than Themſelves, nor rules of proceeding than the Plurality of their Own voices: and therefore the King reſolved to give over any more thought of that buſineſs. And ſo to that Petition he Anſwered, "that as he once conceived that he had ground enough to accuſe them, "ſo Now he found as good cauſe wholely to wave any proſecution of "them.

"them. The other Petition concerning the Militia gave him more trouble; for tho' he was reſolved in no degree to conſent to it, yet he was willing, till all things could be ready for the Queen's Journey, and ſo for his own remove, rather to Delay it, than Deny it; leſt the ſame Army of Petitioners might come to *Windſor* to perſwade him, which had Converted, or prevailed over the Houſe of Peers. And he was perſwaded by ſome, who thought they knew the temper of both Houſes, that tho' they were now united in the Matter, they might eaſily be divided upon the Circumſtances; and that they would not be of one mind in the election of the Perſons to be Confided in. So that to that Petition his Majeſty returned this Anſwer:

The King's Anſwer to the Petition concerning the Militia.

"THAT he was willing to apply a remedy not only to their Dangers, "but to their Doubts and Fears; and therefore that when he ſhould "know the extent of power, which was intended to be eſtabliſhed in "thoſe perſons, whom they deſired to be Commanders of the Militia "in the ſeveral Counties, and likewiſe to what time it ſhould be limited, "that no power ſhould be executed by his Majeſty alone without the "advice of Parliament, Then he would declare that he would be content "to put in all the Forts, and over the Militia, ſuch perſons as both "Houſes of Parliament ſhould either approve, or recommend to him; "ſo that they before declared the names of the perſons, whom they "would approve or recommend; and ſo that no Perſons ſhould be "named by them, againſt whom his Majeſty ſhould have juſt, and Un-"queſtionable exception.

WHICH Anſwer, tho' it was not a Conſent, gave them notable incouragement, and exceedingly united the vulgar minds to them; who concurred only with them, as they ſaw them like to Prevail in what they went about. And there was no danger of any diſunion in the Nomination of Perſons; becauſe, tho' they ſhould at firſt admit ſuch into the Number, whom they could not ſufficiently truſt, nor plauſibly except againſt, yet when they were once poſſeſſed of the power of Nomination, they might eaſily Weed out thoſe, which were not agreeable to the Soil they were planted in. However this would take up ſome time; and therefore to keep the King's inclination to gratify them (for ſo they would underſtand it) warm, the ſame day they received this Anſwer, they returned a Meſſage of thanks; and deſired his Majeſty, "whilſt they were preparing all other particulars according to his com-

The Houſe of Commons return the King thanks; and deſire Sr John Coniers *may be made Lieutenant of the Tower.*

"mand, that he would confer the cuſtody of the Tower upon Sr *John* "*Coniers*, whom they had lately recommended to his Majeſty as a perſon of great merit. With which being ſurprized, and deſired likewiſe by Sr *John Byron* to free him from the Agony and vexation of that place, which had expoſed his perſon and reputation to the rage and fury of the People, and compelled him to ſubmit to ſuch reproaches, as a generous Spirit could not brook without much regret; for he had upon frivolous ſurmiſes been ſent for as a Delinquent, and been brought upon his knees at the Bar of both Houſes; his Majeſty conſented to that alteration, and made Sr *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the Tower. Which was ſuch an inſtance of his yielding upon Importunity, that from That time they thought themſelves even poſſeſſed of the whole Militia of the Kingdom.

The King conſents to it

WHILST all diligence was uſed in making preparation for the Queens Journey; to divert their Councils from other inquiſition, the King (who had received ſo many ſharp expoſtulations for breach of Priviledges, and other attemps upon their reputations) reſolved upon the publication

of

of a bold ſcandal upon himſelf by one of their principal Members, to expoſtulate with them, and try what ſatisfaction and reparation they were prepared to Give him, who exacted ſo much From him. All opportunities had been taken in Publick, and all licence given to Private and clandeſtine forgeries to lay odious, or envious imputation on the King and Queen, in the buſineſs of *Ireland*; and to impute the progreſs and ſucceſs of that Rebellion to a connivance, if not a countenance, from the Court: the not levying men, and ſending proviſions, imputed to his Majeſty; tho' he had, as is before obſerved, offered to levy ten thouſand Voluntiers for that Service, and had conſented chearfully to every propoſition, that had been made with the leaſt reference to the aſſiſtance of that Kingdom. Indeed he was ſo alarm'd with thoſe perpetual odious ſuggeſtions, which he perceived wrought very pernicious effects in the minds of the People, that he was compelled to conſent to many things contrary to his judgment, and Kingly policy, to prevent greater inconveniences by thoſe ſcandals, which he ſaw were prepared for him. So when ſeveral Propoſitions were recommended to him by the two Houſes concerning thoſe Supplies, which were to be ſent out of *Scotland*, amongſt the reſt, there was one, "that the Scots ſhould "have the Command, and keeping of the Town, and Caſtle of *Carrick-fergus*; and if any Regiments, or Troops, in that Province ſhould "joyn with them, that they ſhould receive Orders from the Com-"mander of the Scotiſh Forces. The King conſented to all the reſt, tho' there were matters unreaſonable enough in favour of that Nation; but "That, he ſaid, "he could not approve of; and wiſhed "the Houſes "to take that Propoſition again into conſideration, as a buſineſs of very "great importance, which he doubted might prove prejudicial to the "Crown of *England*, and the Service intended. And he ſaid, if the "Houſes deſired it, he would be willing to ſpeak with the Scotiſh Com-"miſſioners, to ſee what ſatisfaction he could give them therein. This Anſwer was no ſooner read, but both Houſes Voted, "that whoſoever "gave the King advice, or counſel, to ſend that Anſwer, was an Enemy "to the King, and Kingdom, and a Committee appointed to find out who thoſe evil Counſellors were. So that, the Scotiſh Commiſſioners preſſing him, "that being their Native King, he would not publiſh a "leſs Truſt and confidence in them, than their Neighbour Nation had "done, his Majeſty thought fit to conſent to the whole, as the two Houſes had adviſed.

THEN, in the carrying on the War, they allowed his Majeſty ſo little power, that when he recommended ſome Officers of prime quality, reputation, and experience in the War, to the Lord Lieutenant to be imployed in that Service, the Houſe of Commons by expreſs Order, and after they knew that his Majeſty had recommended them, rejected them, becauſe they were taken notice to have attended upon the King at *White-Hall*, as a Guard to his perſon. And after all this, they took all occaſions to aſperſe him with any omiſſions that were in that great work; as Mr *Pym* had more particularly done, in that Speech before taken notice of, at the Conference with the Lords, upon the delivery of thoſe Seditious Petitions; of which the King could not take notice, leſt he ſhould be again reproached with breach of Priviledge.

BUT when that Speech was printed by Order of the Houſe, the King thought he had an opportunity to require a vindication; and therefore,

The King demands reparation for an expreſſion in a printed Speech of Mr Pym's.

in a letter to the Speaker, he ſent this Meſſage: "That he had taken "notice of a Speech, pretended by the title to have been delivered by "Mr *Pym* in a Conference, and printed by Order of the Houſe of Com- "mons; in which it was affirmed, that Since the ſtop upon the Ports "againſt all Iriſh Papiſts of both Houſes, many of the chief Commanders, "now in the head of the Rebels, have been ſuffered to paſs by his Ma- "jeſty's immediate Warrant: and being certain of having uſed extream "caution in the granting of Paſs-Ports into *Ireland*, he conceived, either "that Paper not to have been ſo delivered, and printed, as is pretended; "or that Houſe to have received ſome miſinformation. And therefore "his Majeſty deſired to know, whether that Speech had been ſo deli- "vered, and printed; and if it had, that the Houſe would review, upon "what information that particular had been grounded, that either it "might be found upon reexamination falſe, and ſo both the Houſe, and "his Majeſty to have been injured by it; or that his Majeſty might "know, by what means, and by whoſe fault, his Authority had been ſo "highly abuſed, as to be made to conduce to the aſſiſtance of that Re- "bellion, which he ſo much deteſted and abhorred; and that he might "ſee himſelf fully vindicated from all reflections of the leaſt ſuſpition of "that kind.

The Houſe of Commons Anſwer.

IT was ſome time before they would vouchſafe any Anſwer to the King upon this Meſſage; but at laſt they returned, "that the Speech, "mentioned in that Meſſage, was printed by their Order, and what was "therein delivered, was agreeable to the ſenſe of the Houſe. That they "had received divers advertiſements concerning the ſeveral perſons, Iriſh "Papiſts, and others, who had obtained his Majeſty's immediate War- "rant for their paſſing into *Ireland*, Since the Order of reſtraint of both "Houſes; ſome of which, as they had been informed, ſince their com- "ing into *Ireland*, had joined with the Rebels, and been Commanders "amongſt them; and ſome others had been ſtayed, and were yet in ſafe "Cuſtody.

THEN they named ſome, to whom Licences had been granted Before the Order of reſtraint, and were ſtill in *England*; and ſaid, "there were "others, whoſe Names they had not yet received, but doubted not, upon "examination, they would be diſcovered.

The King's reply.

TO this the King replyed, and told them, "that as He had expreſſed "a great deſire to give Them all poſſible ſatisfaction to all their juſt re- "queſts, and a readineſs to rectify, or retract, any thing done by him- "ſelf, which might ſeem to intrench upon their Priviledges by any "miſtake of his; ſo, he hoped, They would be ready, upon all occaſions, "to manifeſt an equal tenderneſs and regard of His Honour, and reputa- "tion with his Subjects: and therefore, he expected they ſhould review "his Meſſage concerning Mr *Pym's* Speech, and their Anſwer, with which "he could not reſt ſatisfied. He ſaid, he was moſt aſſured that No perſon, "who had command in the head of the Rebels, had paſſed by his War- "rant, or Privity. And then, he deſired them to conſider, whether ſuch "a General information, and advertiſement, as they implied in their An- "ſwer, without the Name of any Particular perſon, was a ground enough "for ſuch a direct and poſitive Affirmation, as was made in that Speech; "which, in reſpect of the place and perſon, and being now acknowledged "to be according to the ſenſe of the Houſe, was of that Authority, that "his Majeſty might ſuffer in the Affections of many of his good Subjects, "and fall under a poſſible conſtruction, conſidering many ſcandalous

"Pamphlets

"Pamphlet to ſuch a purpoſe, of not being ſenſible enough of that Re-
"bellion, ſo horrid, and odious to all Chriſtians; by which, in that
"diſtraction, ſuch a danger might poſſibly inſue to his Majeſty's perſon,
"and Eſtate, as he was well aſſured they would endeavour to prevent.
"And therefore, he thought it very neceſſary, and expected that they
"ſhould Name thoſe perſons, who had paſſed by his Licence, and were
"then in the head of the Rebels: or if, upon their reexamination, they
"did not find Particular evidence to prove that aſſertion (as he was moſt
"confident they never could) as that Affirmation, which reflected upon
"his Majeſty was very Publick, ſo they would publiſh ſuch a Declara-
"tion, whereby that miſtake might be diſcovered; he being the more
"tender in that particular, which had reference to *Ireland*, and being
"moſt aſſured, that he had been, and was, from his Soul, reſolved to
"diſcharge his duty, for the relief of his poor Proteſtant Subjects, and
"the utter rooting out that Rebellion; ſo that Service had not ſuf-
"fer'd for the want of any thing propoſed to him, and within His power
"to grant.

He ſaid, "in this matter he had diligently examined his own me-
"mory, and the notes of his Secretaries; and then named all the Iriſh
perſons to whom he had given any Licences to go into that King-
dom, ſince the beginning of that Rebellion; and ſaid, "he was well
"aſſured, none of Them were with the Rebels; and tho' ſome of them
"might be Papiſts, yet he had no reaſon to have any ſuſpition of them,
"in reſpect of their alliance with perſons of great Honour and Power
"in that Kingdom, of whoſe fidelity to him he had good aſſurance;
"and the Lords Juſtices Themſelves having declared, that they were ſo
"far from owning a jealouſy of All Papiſts there, that they had put
"Arms into the Hands of divers Noblemen of that Religion, within
"the Pale, which the Parliament had well approved of. And therefore,
"unleſs the firſt Affirmation of the Houſe of Commons could be made
"good by ſome Particulars, he expected a vindication by ſuch a De-
"claration as he had propoſed; which, he ſaid, was, in duty and Juſtice,
"due to him.

BUT this, and any thing elſe could be ſaid, was ſo far from pro-
curing any Reparation, that when they perceived the King ſtill preſſed
for that Juſtice, and apprehended that many would believe it due to
him, and that the prejudice they had raiſed to him for *Ireland* would
be removed thereby, they confidently publiſhed another Declaration
of ſeveral perſons Names, to whom they ſaid the King had granted
Paſſes, and were then Commanders in the Rebels Army, of whoſe
Names his Majeſty had never before heard, to whom no Paſſes had
been granted, neither did he believe that there were ſuch men in Na-
ture: and ſo left the People to believe as they found themſelves in-
clined upon the Kings denial, or Their ſo Particular, and poſitive affir-
mation.

THESE proceedings of the Parliament made a deep impreſſion upon
all Noble and generous perſons, who found that their Pride, and Am-
bition was ſo great, that they reſolved to remove all perſons, who
were like to ſtand in their way by oppoſing any thing they deſired, or
by filling any place, or office, which they deſigned ſhould be executed
by ſome other perſon, in whom they could Confide. The Earl of *New-
Caſtle*, who was Governour to the Prince, knew very well in what
prejudice he ſtood with the Earls of *Eſſex*, and *Holland* (two very

powerful perſons) upon the Account of the Challenge formerly mentioned to be ſent by him to the latter of the two, who would be glad of any opportunity to expoſe him to an affront; and that they would find occaſions enough upon the account of his known affections to the King's Service, from which it was not poſſible to remove or ſtartle him. He knew they liked not that he ſhould have the Government of the Prince, as one, who would infuſe ſuch principles into him, as would not be agreeable to their Deſigns, and would diſpoſe him to no kindneſs to their Perſons, and that they would not reſt, till they ſaw another man in that province; in order to which, they would pick all quarrels they could, and load him with all reproaches, which might blaſt him with the People, with whom he had a very good reputation. Upon thoſe conſiderations, and ſome other imaginations upon the proſpect of Affairs, he very Wiſely reſolved to retire from the Court, where he had expended much of his own Fortune, and only made himſelf obnoxious to the malice, and envy of other pretenders; and deſired the King to approve of this his reaſonable inclination, and to put the Prince under the Tuition of ſome perſon of Honour of unqueſtionable fidelity to him, and above the reach of Popular diſapprobation; and, at the ſame time mentioned the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, who was indeed Superiour to any Temptations. The King could not diſlike the Earls Judgment upon his own intereſt, and concernment; and did foreſee likewiſe that he might probably have occaſion to uſe his Service under another qualification; and therefore was well contented to diſmiſs him from the Prince.

The Earl of New-Caſtle *reſigns his place of Governour to the Prince.*

THE Marqueſs of *Hartford* was a man of great Honour, Intereſt, and Eſtate, and of an univerſal eſteem over the whole Kingdom; and tho' he had received many, and continued diſobligations, from the Court, from the time of this King's coming to the Crown, as well as during the Reign of King *James*, in both which ſeaſons, more than ordinary care had been taken to diſcountenance and leſſen his Intereſt; yet he had carried himſelf with notable ſteadineſs, from the beginning of the Parliament, in the ſupport and defence of the King's power and dignity, notwithſtanding all his Allies, and thoſe, with whom he had the greateſt familiarity and Friendſhip, were of the oppoſite Party; and never concurred with them againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, whom he was known not to love, nor in any other extravagancy.

The Marqueſs of Hartford *ſucceeds him.*

AND then, he was not to be ſhaken in his affection to the Government of the Church; tho' it was enough known that he was in no degree byaſſed to any great inclination to the Perſon of any Church-man. And with all this, that Party carried themſelves towards him with profound reſpect, not preſuming to venture their own credit in endeavouring to leſſen His.

IT is very true, he wanted ſome of thoſe qualities, which might have been wiſhed to be in a perſon to be truſted in the education of a great, and hopeful Prince, and in forming of his mind and manners in ſo tender an age. He was of an age not fit for much activity and fatigue, and loved, and was even wedded ſo much to his eaſe, that he loved his book above all exerciſes; and had even contracted ſuch a lazineſs of mind, that he had no delight in an open and liberal Converſation; and cared not to diſcourſe, and argue on thoſe points, which he underſtood very well, only for the trouble of contending; and could never impoſe upon himſelf the pain, that was neceſſary to be undergone in ſuch a perpetual

perpetual attendance: but then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well Support the dignity of a Governour, and exact that diligence from others, which he could not exercise Himself; and his honour was so unblemished, that none durst murmur against the designation; and therefore his Majesty thought him very worthy of the high Trust, against which there was no other exception, but that he was not ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the charge, so contrary to his natural constitution. But in his pure zeal and affection for the Crown, and the conscience, that in this conjuncture his submission might advance the King's Service, and that the refusing it might prove disadvantagious to his Majesty, he very chearfully undertook the Province, to the general satisfaction and publick joy of the whole Kingdom; and to the no little honour and credit of the Court, that so important and beloved a person would Attach himself to it under such a relation, when so many, who had scarce ever eaten any bread but the King's, Detached themselves from their dependance, that they might without him, and Against him, preserve and improve those Fortunes, which they had procured and gotten Under him, and by his Bounty.

The King pressed to pass the Bill against the Bishops Votes.

Now the Bill for the taking away the Votes of Bishops out of the House of Peers, which was called a Bill for taking away all Temporal Jurisdiction from those in holy Orders, was no sooner passed the House of Peers, than the King was earnestly desired "to give his Royal Assent to it. The King returned, "that it was a matter of great Concernment; and there-"fore, he would take time to advise, and would return an Answer in "convenient time. But this delay pleased not their appetite; they could not attempt their perfect Reformation in Church and State, till those Votes were utterly abolished; therefore they sent the same day again to the King, who was yet at *Windsor*, and gave him reasons to perswade him "Immediately to consent to it; One of which was the "Grievances the Subjects suffer'd by the Bishops exercising of Temporal "Jurisdiction, and their making a Party in the Lords House; a Second, "the great content of all sorts by the happy conjunction of both Houses "in Their absence: and a Third, that the passing of that Bill would be "a comfortable pledge of his Majesty's gracious assent to the future Re-"medies of those evils, which were to be presented to him, this once "being passed.

Reasons sufficient to have converted him, if he had the least inclination or propensity to have concurred with them. For it was, upon the matter, to perswade him to joyn with them in This, because, That being done, he should be able to deny them Nothing.

However those of greatest trust about the King, and who were very faithful to his Service, tho' in this particular exceedingly deceived in their judgments, and not sufficiently acquainted with the Constitution of the Kingdom, perswaded him "that the passing this Bill was the only way "to preserve the Church, there being so united a combination in this par-"ticular, that he would not be able to withstand it. Whereas, by the "passing this Bill, so many persons in both Houses would be fully sa-"tisfied, that they would joyn in no further alteration: but, on the "other hand, if they were crossed in This, they would violently endea-"vour an Extirpation of Bishops, and a demolishing of the whole Fa-"brick of the Church.

"They alledged that he was, upon the matter, deprived of their

"Votes allready, they being not ſuffer'd to come to the Houſe, and the "Major part in priſon under an accuſation of High-Treaſon, of which "there was not like to be any Reformation, till theſe preſent diſtem- "pers were compoſed; and then that by his Power, and the memory "of the Indirect means that had been uſed againſt them, it would be "eaſier to bring them in Again, than to keep them in Now. They "told him, there were two matters of great Importance preſſed upon "him for his Royal Aſſent, but they were not of equal conſequence, "and concernment to his Soveraign Power; the firſt, that Bill touch- "ing the Biſhops Votes; the other, the whole Militia of the King- "dom, the granting of which would abſolutely deveſt him of all Re- "gal Power; that he would not be able to deny Both; but by grant- "ing the former, in which he parted with no matter of Moment, he "would, it may be, not be preſſed in the ſecond; or if he were, that "as he could not have a more Popular quarrel to take up Arms, than "to defend himſelf, and preſerve that power in his hands, which the "Law had veſted in him, and without which he could not be a King; "ſo he could not have a more Unpopular argument for that contention, "than the preſervation of the Biſhops in the Houſe of Peers, which few "men thought Eſſential, and moſt men believed Prejudicial, to the "peace and happineſs of the Kingdom.

THESE arguments, tho' uſed by men whom he moſt truſted, and whom he knew to have oppoſed that Bill in its paſſage, and to be cordially friends to the Church of *England* in Diſcipline and Doctrine, prevailed not ſo much with his Majeſty, as the Perſwaſions of the Queen; who was not only perſwaded to think thoſe reaſons valid (and there are that believe that infuſion to have been made in her by her own Prieſts, by Inſtructions from *France*, and for reaſons of State of that Kingdom) but that her own ſafety very much depended upon the King's conſent to That Bill; and that, if he ſhould refuſe it, her Journey into *Holland* would be croſſed by the Parliament, and poſſibly her Perſon in danger either by the Tumult, which might eaſily be brought to *Windſor* from *Weſtminſter*, or by the inſurrection of the Countries in her paſſage from thence to *Dover*, where ſhe intended to take ſhipping. Whereas by her interceſſion with the King to do it, ſhe would lay a moſt ſeaſonable and Popular obligation upon the whole Nation, and leave a pleaſant odour of her grace and favour to the People, behind her, which would prove much to her advantage in her abſence; and ſhe ſhould have the thanks for that Act, as acquired by Her goodneſs, which otherwiſe would be extorted from the King, when ſhe was gone.

The King paſſes that Bill, and the other of Preſſing Feb. 14.

THESE inſinuations and diſcourſes ſo far ſatisfied the Queen, and She the King, that, contrary to his moſt poſitive reſolution, the King conſented, and ſent a Commiſſion for the enacting both that Bill, and the other about Preſſing; which was done accordingly to the great triumph of the Boutefeus, the King ſending the ſame day that he paſſed thoſe Bills, which was the fourteenth of *February*, a Meſſage to both Houſes; "that he was aſſured his having paſſed thoſe two Bills, be- "ing of ſo great importance, ſo ſuddainly, would ſerve to aſſure his "Parliament, that he deſired nothing more than the ſatisfaction of his "Kingdom. For *Ireland*, he ſaid, as he had concurred in all Propo- "ſitions made for that Service by his Parliament, ſo he was reſolved "to leave nothing undone for their relief, which ſhould poſſibly fall

"within

"within his power, nor would refuſe to venture his own Perſon in that "War, if the Parliament ſhould think it convenient for the reduction "of that miſerable Kingdom.

THE paſſing that Bill for taking away the Biſhops Votes, exceedingly weaken'd the King's Party; not only as it ſwept away ſo conſiderable a number out of the Houſe of Peers, which were conſtantly devoted to him; but as it made impreſſion on others, whoſe minds were in ſuſpence, as when Foundations are ſhaken. Beſides, they that were beſt acquainted with the King's nature, opinions, and reſolutions, had reaſon to believe, that no exigence could have wrought upon him to have conſented to ſo Anti-Monarchical an Act; and therefore, never after retained any confidence, that he would deny what was Importunately asked; and ſo, either abſolutely withdrew themſelves from thoſe conſultations, thereby avoiding the envy, and the danger of oppoſing them, or quietly ſuffer'd themſelves to be carried by the Stream, and to conſent to any thing that was Boldly and Luſtily attempted.

AND then it was ſo far from dividing the other Party, that I do not remember One man, who vehemently inſiſted on, or indeed heartily wiſhed, the paſſing of that Bill, that ever deſerted them, till the Kingdom was in a flame: but on the contrary, very many, who cordially and conſtantly oppoſed that Act, as freinds rather to Monarchy than Religion, after that Bill, never conſidered or reſiſted any attempt, or further alteration, in the Church, looking on the Biſhops as uſeleſs to Soveraignty, and ſo not of importance enough to be defended by the Sword. And I have heard the ſame men, who urged Before, "that "their places in that Houſe had no relation to the Diſcipline of the "Church, and their Spiritual Juriſdiction, and therefore ought to be "Sacrificed to the Preſervation of the other, upon which the Peace, "and unity of Religion ſo much depended, Since argue, "that Since "their power in that Houſe, which was a good Outwork to defend the "King's from invaſion, was taken away, any other form of Govern-"ment would be equally advantagious to his Majeſty; and therefore, "that he ought not to inſiſt on it, with the leaſt inconvenience to his "condition.

BUT that which was above, or equal to all this, was that by his Majeſty's enacting thoſe two Bills, he had, upon the matter, approved the Circumſtances of their paſſage, which had been by direct violence, and allmoſt force of armes; in which caſe, he ought not to have confirmed the moſt Politick, or the moſt Pious conſtitutions: *Male poſita eſt Lex, quæ tumultuarie poſita eſt*, was one of thoſe poſitions of *Ariſtotle*, which hath Never been ſince contradicted; and was an advantage, that, being well managed, and ſtoutly inſiſted upon, would, in ſpight of all their Machinations, which were not Yet firmly and ſolidly formed, have brought them to a temper of being Treated with. But I have ſome cauſe to believe, that even this argument, which was Unanſwerable for the Rejecting that Bill, was applied for the Confirming it; and an opinion that the violence, and force, uſed in procuring it, render'd it abſolutely Invalid and Void, made the Confirmation of it leſs conſidered, as not being of ſtrength to make that Act good, which was in it Self Null. And I doubt this Logick had an influence upon other Acts of no leſs Moment than theſe: but it was an Erroneous and Unskilful ſuggeſtion; for an Act of Parliament, what

what circumſtances ſoever concurred in the contriving and framing it, will be allways of too great reputation to be avoided, or to be declared Void, by the ſole Authority of any Private perſons, or the Single power of the King Himſelf. And tho' the wiſdom, ſobriety, and power, of a future Parliament, if God ſhall ever bleſs the Kingdom with another Regularly conſtituted, may find cauſe to declare this, or that Act of Parliament, Void; yet there will be the ſame temper requiſite to ſuch a Declaration, as would ſerve to Repeal it. And it may be Then, many men, who abhorred the thing when it was done, for the Manner of doing it, will be of the Civilians opinion, *fieri non debuit, factum valet*; and never conſent to the Altering of that, which they would never have conſented to the Eſtabliſhing of; neither will that Single Preſident of the Judges in the caſe of King *Henry* the Seventh, when they declared the Act of Attainder to be Void by the acceſſion of the Crown (tho' if he had intruth been the perſon, upon whom the Crown had lineally and Rightfully deſcended, it was good Law) find, or make, the Judges of another age parallel to Them, till the King hath as ſtrong a Sword in his hand, and the People as much at his devotion and diſpoſal; and then the Making, and Declaring Law, will be of equal Facility, tho', it may be, not of equal Juſtice. How much ſoever the King's Friends were, for the reaſons aforeſaid, dejected upon the paſſing thoſe two Acts, it is certain, they who thought They got whatſoever He loſt, were mightily exalted, and thought themſelves now Superior to any oppoſition: And what returns of duty and acknowledgment they made to the King for that Grace and Favour, is to be remember'd in the next place.

THE ſame day thoſe two Acts were by his Majeſty's Commiſſion paſſed, and as ſoon as a very ſhort Meſſage of thanks for that favour, as much importing the ſafety of both Kingdoms, of *England* and *Ireland*, was conſented to, an Ordinance for the ſetling the Militia was agreed on by both Houſes, and, together with a liſt of the Names of ſuch perſons, as for the preſent they meant to Confide in, was immediately ſent to the King for his approbation; the which, being the moſt Avowed foundation of all the Miſeries that have followed, will be here neceſſary to be inſerted in the very terms and form it was agreed upon, and preſented; and was as followeth.

An Ordinance agreed on by both Houſes for ſetling the Militia.

An Ordinance of Both Houſes of Parliament for the ordering of the Militia of the Kingdom of England, *and Dominion of* Wales.

"WHEREAS there hath been of late a moſt dangerous and deſperate "deſign upon the Houſe of Commons, which we have juſt cauſe to "believe to be the effect of the bloody Counſels of the Papiſts, and "other ill affected perſons, who have allready raiſed a Rebellion in "the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and, by reaſon of many diſcourſes, we "cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to ſtir up the like Re"bellion, and Inſurrection in this Kingdom of *England*, but alſo to "back them with forces from abroad; for the ſafety therefore of "his Majeſty's Perſon, the Parliament, and Kingdom, in this time "of imminent danger, it is ordained by the King, the Lords, and "Commons, now in Parliament aſſembled, That ſhall "have power to aſſemble, and call together all, and ſingular his Ma"jeſty's

"jesty's Subjects within the County of as well within
"liberties, as without, that are meet and fit for the Wars, and them
"to Train, Exercise, and put in readiness, and them, after their
"abilities, and faculties, well and sufficiently, from time to time, to
"cause to be arrayed, and weaponed, and to take the muster of them
"in places most fit for that purpose. And shall have
"power within the said County to nominate, and appoint such per-
"sons of Quality, as to him shall seem meet, to be his Deputy Lieu-
"tenants to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament: and that
"any one, or more of the said Deputies, so assigned and approved
"of, shall in the absence, or by the Command of the said
"have Power and Authority to do and execute within the County
"of all such powers and authorities before in this pre-
"sent Ordinance contained; and shall have power to make Colonels,
"and Captains, and other Officers, and to remove out of their places,
"and to make others from time to time, as he shall think fit for
"that purpose. And his Deputies, Colonels, and Cap-
"tains, and other Officers, shall have further power and authority
"to lead, conduct, and imploy, the persons aforesaid arrayed, and
"weaponed, as well within the County of as within any
"other part of this Realm of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, for
"the suppressing of all Rebellions, Insurrections, and Invasions, that
"may happen, according as they, from time to time, shall receive di-
"rections by his Majesty's Authority, signified unto them by the Lords
"and Commons, assembled in Parliament. And it is further Ordained,
"that such, as shall not obey in any of the Premises, shall answer
"their neglect and contempt to the Lords and Commons, in a Par-
"liamentary way, and not otherwise, nor elsewhere: and that every
"the powers, granted as aforesaid, shall continue, untill it shall be
"otherwise ordered, or declared by both Houses of Parliament, and
"no longer. This to go also to the Dominion of *Wales*.

A second Act of the same day, and the only way they took to return their thanks and acknowledgment to the Queen for her intercession, and mediation in the passing those Bills, was the opening a Letter they intercepted, which was directed to her Majesty. The Lord *Digby*, after their Majesty's going to *Windsor*, when he found in what umbrage he stood with the powerful and prevailing Party, and that they were able to improve his going through a Town in a Coach and six horses to a Warlike appearance, and so to expose him to the fury of the People, at least to the power of the Counties, to be supressed, as they had done by their Order, or Proclamation of the twelfth of *January*, before remember'd, and appointed to be read in all Market Towns throughout *England*; concluded for his own security, and to free the King's Councils from the imputation of his evil influence, to remove himself into some parts beyond the Seas: and so, by the King's leave, and by his licence, was transported into *Holland*, from whence he writ some Letters to his friends at *London*, to give them an account where he was, and for supplying himself with such accommodations as he stood in need of. Amongst these Letters there was one to his Brother in Law Sr *Lewis Dives*, which, by the treachery of that person, to whose care it was intrusted for conveyance, was brought to the House of Commons; and it being averred, "that it came from the Lord *Digby*, whom they

looked upon as a Fugitive, they made no ſcruple of opening it; and finding another in it directed to the Queen, after a very little pauſe they did the like; for which they made no other excuſe (when upon a Meſſage from the King they ſent her the tranſcript, for the Original they ſtill kept) than, "that having opened the other Letters, and finding in "them ſundry expreſſions full of aſperity, and malignity to the Parlia- "ment, they thought it very probable, that the like might be contained "in that to her Majeſty; and that it would have been diſhonourable to "her Majeſty, and dangerous to the Kingdom, if it ſhould not have been "opened: And they beſought the King to perſwade her Majeſty, that "ſhe would not vouchſafe any countenance to, or correſpondence with, "the Lord *Digby*, or any other of the Fugitives or Traytors, whoſe "offences were under the examination and judgment of Parliament.

IN that Letter to the Queen were theſe words, "If the King be- "take himſelf to a ſafe place, where he may avow and protect his ſer- "vants (from rage I mean and violence; for from juſtice I will never "implore it) I ſhall then live in impatience, and in miſery, till I wait "upon you. But if, after all he hath done of late, he ſhall betake him- "ſelf to the eaſieſt and complyanteſt ways of accommodation, I am "confident, that then I ſhall ſerve him more by my abſence, than by "all my induſtry. And in that to Sr *Lewis Dives*, were theſe words: "God knows, I have not a thought to make me bluſh towards my "Country, much leſs criminal; but where Traytors have ſo great a "ſway, the honeſteſt thoughts may prove moſt Treaſonable. Which gave thoſe, that thought themſelves concern'd, ſo great offence, that, within two days after, they accuſed him of High-Treaſon; and finding no words in the Letter would amount to that offence, they accuſed him of levying War againſt the King; which could have relation to no Act of his, but what was before mentioned at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, when, to the terrour of the King's Subjects, he was ſeen there in a Coach with ſix Horſes. Tho' this extravagancy of theirs ſeems to be directed againſt a particular perſon, I could not omit it in this place, being accompanied with thoſe circumſtances. And it may be, poſterity may look upon the ſevere proſecution of a young Noble-man of admirable parts, and eminent hopes, in ſo implacable a manner, as a moſt pertinent inſtance of the Tyranny, and Injuſtice of that time, not poſſible to end, but in ſo much wickedneſs as hath ſince been practiſed.

The Atturney General is impeach'd by the Commons.

A THIRD Act of that day was the carrying up an Impeachment to the Lords againſt the King's Atturney General, "for maliciouſly adviſing "and contriving the Articles upon which the Lord *Kimbolton*, Mr *Hollis*, "Mr *Pym*, Mr *Hambden*, Mr *Strode*, and Sr *Arthur Haſlerigg*, had been "accuſed by his Majeſty of High-Treaſon; it being not thought ſecu- rity and reparation enough, that the King had waved any further pro- ceeding againſt them, except they left ſuch a monument of their power, that, upon what occaſion or provocation ſoever, no man ſhould pre- ſume to obey the King in the like command: ſo that the ſame fourteenth of *February*, that was celebrated for the King's condeſcenſion to that Act for putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, is famous like- wiſe for thoſe three Unparallelled Acts of contempt upon the Soveraign power; the demand of the ſole power over all the Militia of the King- dom; the opening Letters directed to the Sacred perſon of the Queen; and the impeaching the Atturney General, for perſorming, what he took to be the duty of his place, by his Maſter's command. All which

were

were very ill inſtances of that application and compliance his Majeſty had reaſon to expect, and ſome men had promiſed him he ſhould receive.

THO' the King was reſolved in no degree to conſent to the Propoſition for the Militia, yet he thought not the time ſeaſonable for his poſitive Denyal, the Queen retaining ſtill her fears of being ſtopped in her Journey. Therefore, for the preſent, he returned Anſwer, "that "his deareſt Conſort the Queen, and his dear Daughter the Princeſs "*Mary*, being then upon their departure for *Holland*, he could not "have ſo good time to conſider of a particular anſwer for a matter of "ſo great weight, as That was; and therefore, he would reſpite the ſame "till his return: the King intending to accompany the Queen to *Dover*, and as ſoon as ſhe was imbarked to return. They received this Anſwer with their uſual impatience, and the next day ſent Meſſengers to him, with that, which they called an Humble Petition; in which they told him, "that they had, with a great deal of grief, received his Anſwer "to their juſt and neceſſary Petition concerning the Militia of the King- "dom; which, by a gracious Meſſage formerly ſent unto them, he had "been pleaſed to promiſe ſhould be put into ſuch hands, as his Parlia- "liament ſhould approve of, the extent of their power, and the time of "their continuance, being likewiſe declared; the which being now done, "and the perſons Nominated, his Majeſty nevertheleſs reſerved his re- "ſolution to a longer, and a very uncertain time; which, they ſaid, was "as unſatisfactory and deſtructive as an abſolute Denial. Therefore, "they once again beſought him to take their deſire into his Royal "thoughts, and to give them ſuch an Anſwer, as might raiſe in them a "Confidence, that they ſhould not be expoſed to the practices of thoſe, "who thirſt after the ruin of this Kingdom, and the kindling of that "combuſtion in *England*, which they had in ſo great a meaſure effected "in *Ireland*; from whence, as they were informed, they intended to "invade this Kingdom, with the aſſiſtance of the Papiſts here. They "ſaid, nothing could prevent thoſe evils, nor inable them to ſuppreſs the "Rebellion in *Ireland*, and ſecure Themſelves, but the Inſtant granting "of that their Petition; which, they hoped, his Majeſty would not deny "to thoſe, who muſt, in the diſcharge of their duty to his Majeſty and "the Common-wealth, repreſent unto him, what they found ſo abſo- "lutely neceſſary for the preſervation of both; which the Laws of God "and man injoined them to ſee put in execution, as ſeveral Counties by "their daily Petitions deſired Them to do, and in ſome places begun all- "ready to Do it of Themſelves. Notwithſtanding all that importunity, "the King made no other Anſwer than formerly he had done, "that he "would give a full Anſwer at his return from *Dover*.

The King's Anſwer concerning the Militia.

Their Reply.

IN the mean time, the Houſe of Commons, to whom every day Petitions are directed by the ſeveral Counties of *England*, profeſſing all Allegiance to them, govern Abſolutely, the Lords concurring, or rather ſubmitting to whatſoever is propoſed; inſomuch as when they had bailed the twelve Biſhops, who were in the Tower for the Treaſon of their Proteſtation, which they did the next day after the Bill was paſſed for taking away their Votes, the Houſe of Commons in great indignation expoſtulated with them, and cauſed them immediately again to be recommitted to the Tower. So they gave their private intimations to their Correſpondents in the Counties, that they ſhould make ſmall entries upon the Militia; which was done in many places, the people chooſing their Officers, and Liſting themſelves, and ſo Training and Exerciſing

The Lords bail the 12 Biſhops in the Tower, and the Commons recommit them.

Divers Counties enter upon exercising the power of the Militia.

under the names of Voluntiers; whereby they had opportunity to unite themſelves, to know their Confederates, obſerve thoſe who were of other opinions, and to provide Armes and Ammunition againſt they ſhould have occaſion. The Tower of *London* was at their Devotion, and *Hull* was their own; the Mayor of that place having been lately ſent for and reprehended, for having ſaid, "that they ought not to have Soldiers "billetted upon them by the Petition of Right, and for refuſing to ſubmit that Town, which was His charge, to the Government of Mr *Hotham*; and after a tedious and chargeable attendance, without being brought to a publick hearing, he was perſwaded to ſubmit; and ſo was diſcharged.

Money raiſed under pretence of relieving Ireland.

THEN they fell to raiſing of money under pretence of the relief of *Ireland*, and, for that purpoſe, prepared "an Act for the payment of "four hundred thouſand pounds to ſuch perſons as were Nominated by "themſelves, and to be disburſed and iſſued in ſuch manner, and to ſuch "uſes, as the two Houſes ſhould direct, which the King confirmed ac- "cordingly; whereby they had a ſtock of credit to raiſe monies, when- ſoever they found themſelves put to it: And this could not be pre- vented; for the King having committed the carrying on the War of *Ireland* to them, and they being ingaged both for the payment of the arrears to the Officers of the Northern Army disbanded the Summer be- fore, and of the three hundred thouſand pounds to the Scots, his Ma- jeſty was neceſſitated to paſs the Act with ſuch General clauſes, that it might be in their power to divert the money to other uſes, than thoſe, to which it was given; as it afterwards fell out.

The Queen ſhipped for Holland, *the King returns to* Greenwich, *where the Prince meets him.*

THE Queen being ſhipped for *Holland*, his Majeſty returned to *Green- wich*, whither he had ſent to the Marqueſs of *Hartford* to bring the Prince of *Wales* from *Hampton-Court* to meet him; of which as ſoon as the Houſes were advertiſed, they ſent a Meſſage to the King, who was upon his way from *Dover*, to deſire him, "that the Prince might not "be removed from *Hampton-Court*, for that they conceived his removal "at That time might be a cauſe to promote Jealouſies and Fears in the "hearts of his good Subjects, which they thought neceſſary to avoid; and, at the ſame time, ſent an expreſs Order to the Marqueſs of *Hart- ford*, "to require him not to ſuffer the Prince to go to *Greenwich*; but his Lordſhip, chooſing rather to obey the King's commands than Theirs, carried his Highneſs to his Father; of which the Houſes no ſooner were informed, than they ſent ſome Members of both Houſes to *Greenwich* "to bring the Prince from thence to *London*. But when they came thi- ther, they found the King, whom they did not expect there; and ſo made no attempt to perform that Command. The reaſon of this extravagancy (beſides their natural humour to affront the King, and this ſeeming care of the Prince was a Popular thing) was pretended to be an information they had received from a Member of the Houſe.

THERE was one *Griffith*, a young Welſh-man, of no parts or repu- tation, but for eminent Licence; this youth had long, with great bold- neſs, followed the Court, and pretended to preferment there; and ſo in the Houſe had allways oppoſed, as far as not conſenting, all the undu- tiful Acts towards the King, and, upon this ſtock of merit, had preſſed more confidently for a reward; and, when the Queen was ready to take ſhipping at *Dover* for *Holland*, he barefaced importuned her to mediate to the King, "that he might be forthwith admitted of the Prince's Bed- "Chamber; the which her Majeſty refuſing, he told his Companions, "that ſince he could not render himſelf conſiderable by doing the King "Service,

"Service, he would be conſiderable by doing him Diſſervice: and ſo made great haſt to *London*, and openly in the Houſe told them (the ſame day that the Prince was to go to *Greenwich*) "that if they were not "exactly careful, they would ſpeedily loſe the Prince; for, to His know-"ledge, there was a deſign and reſolution immediately to carry him into "*France*. From which ſenſeleſs and groundleſs information, he was taken into their favour; and, his Malice ſupplying the defect of other parts, was thenceforth taken into truſt, and uſed as their *Bravo* to juſtify all their exceſſes in Taverns and Ordinaries. And I ſaw Mr *Hambden*, ſhortly after this diſcovery, take him in his arms, telling him, "his Soul "rejoiced to ſee, that God had put it into his heart to take the right way.

To their Meſſage the King ſent them word, "that to Their Fears and "Jealouſies he knew not what Anſwer to give, not being able to imagine "from what grounds they proceeded; but if any information had been "given to them to cauſe thoſe apprehenſions, he much deſired the ſame "might be examined to the bottom; and then he hoped, that their Fears "and Jealouſies would be Hereafter continued only with reference to his "Majeſty's rights and Honour.

The King's further Anſwer concerning the Militia.

THE Queen being gone, and the Prince come to his Father at *Greenwich*, the King ſent an Anſwer to the two Houſes concerning the Militia; "that having, with his beſt care and underſtanding, peruſed and "conſidered that, which had been ſent him from both Houſes, for the "ordering the Militia to be made an Ordinance of Parliament by the "giving his Royal aſſent, as he could by no means do it for many rea-"ſons, ſo he did not conceive himſelf obliged to it by any Promiſe made "to them in his Anſwer to their former Petition. He ſaid, he found "great cauſe to except againſt the Preface, or Introduction to that Or-"der; which confeſſed a moſt dangerous and deſperate deſign upon the "Houſe of Commons of late, ſuppoſed to be an effect of the bloody Coun-"ſels of Papiſts, and other ill affected perſons, by which many might "underſtand (looking upon other printed Papers to that purpoſe) his "own coming in Perſon to the Houſe of Commons on the fourth of *Ja-"nuary*, which begot ſo unhappy a miſunderſtanding between him and "his People. And for That, tho' he believed it, upon the information "ſince given him, to be a breach of their Priviledges, and had offer'd, "and was ready, to repair the ſame for the future, by any Act ſhould be "deſired from his Majeſty; yet he muſt declare, and require to be be-"lieved, that he had no other deſign upon that Houſe, or any Member "of it, than to require, as he did, the perſons of thoſe five Gentlemen "he had before accuſed of High-Treaſon, and to declare that he meant "to proceed againſt them Legally, and Speedily; upon which he be-"lieved that Houſe would have delivered them up.

"He called the Allmighty God to witneſs, that he was ſo far from "any intention, or thought of force or violence, all tho' that Houſe had "not delivered them according to his demand, or in any caſe whatſo-"ever, that he gave thoſe his Servants, and others, who then waited on "his Majeſty, expreſs charge and command, that they ſhould give no "offence unto any man; nay if they received any provocation or injury, "that they ſhould bear it without return; and he neither ſaw, nor knew, "that any perſon of his train had any other weapons, but his Penſioners "and Guard, thoſe with which they Uſually attend his perſon to Parlia-"ment; and the other Gentlemen, Swords. And therefore he doubted "not, but the Parliament would be regardful of his Honour therein, that

"he ſhould not undergo any imputation by the raſh and indiſcreet ex-
"preſſions of any young men then in his train, or by any deſperate words
"utter'd by others, who might mingle with them without His conſent
"or approbation.

"FOR the perſons Nominated to be the Lieutenants of the ſeveral
"Counties of *England* and *Wales*, he ſaid he was contented to allow
"that recommendation; only concerning the City of *London*, and ſuch
"other Corporations as by ancient Charters had granted to them the
"power of the Militia, he did not conceive that it could ſtand with Juſtice
"or Policy to alter their Government in that particular. And he was
"willing forthwith to grant to every one of them, that of *London* and
"other Corporations excepted, ſuch Commiſſions, as he had granted this
"Parliament to ſome Lords Lieutenants by their advice. But if that
"power were not thought enough, but that more ſhould be thought fit
"to be granted to thoſe perſons named, than, by the Law, is in the Crown
"it ſelf, he ſaid, he thought it reaſonable that the ſame ſhould be by
"ſome Law firſt veſted in Him, with power to transfer it to thoſe per-
"ſons; which he would willingly do: and whatever that power ſhould
"be, to avoid all future doubts and queſtions, he deſired it might be di-
"geſted into an Act of Parliament, rather than an Ordinance; ſo that
"all his Subjects might thereby particularly know, both what they were
"to do, and what they were to ſuffer for their neglect; that ſo there
"might be the leaſt latitude for them to ſuffer under any Arbitrary
"power whatſoever.

"To the time deſired for the Continuance of the powers to be granted,
"he ſaid, he could not conſent to diveſt himſelf of the Juſt Power, which
"God, and the Laws of the Kingdom, had placed in him for the defence
"of his People, and to put it into the hands of others for any Indefinite
"time. And ſince the ground of their requeſt to him was to ſecure their
"preſent Fears and Jealouſies, that they might with ſafety apply them-
"ſelves to his Meſſage of the 20th of *January*, he hoped that his Grace to
"them ſince that time, in yielding to ſo many of their deſires, and in
"agreeing to the perſons now recommended to him, and the power before
"expreſſed, to be placed in them, would wholely diſpel thoſe Fears and
"Jealouſies; and he aſſured them, that as he had applied this Unuſual
"remedy to their Doubts; ſo, if there ſhould be cauſe, he would con-
"tinue the ſame to ſuch time, as ſhould be agreeable to the ſame care he
"now expreſſed towards them.

"HE ſaid, he was ſo far from receding from any thing he had pro-
"miſed, or intended to grant in his former Anſwer, that he had hereby
"conſented to all that had been then asked of him by that Petition, con-
"cerning the Militia of the Kingdom, except that of *London* and the
"other Corporations; which was, to put the ſame into the hands of ſuch
"perſons, as ſhould be recommended to him by both Houſes of Parlia-
"ment. And he doubted not but they, upon well weighing the particu-
"lars of that his Anſwer, would find the ſame more ſatisfactory to their
"ends, and the Peace and Welfare of all his good Subjects, than the way
"propoſed by that intended Ordinance; to which, for thoſe reaſons, he
"could not conſent.

"AND whereas he obſerved by their late Petition, that in ſome places,
"ſome perſons begun allready to intermeddle of Themſelves with the
"Militia, he ſaid, he expected his Parliament ſhould examine the parti-
"culars thereof, it being a matter of high concernment, and very great
"conſequence.

"conſequence. And he required, that if it ſhould appear to them, that "any perſon whatſoever had preſumed to command the Militia without "lawful Authority, they might be proceeded againſt according to Law.

Votes of both Houſes upon it.

IT ſeems this was not the Anſwer they promiſed themſelves; for, at the publiſhing it, they were marvellouſly tranſported, and immediately Voted, both Houſes concurring in it, "that thoſe, who adviſed his Ma-"jeſty to give that Anſwer, were Enemies to the State, and miſchievous "projectors againſt the defence of the Kingdom: That that denial was of "that dangerous conſequence, that if his Majeſty ſhould perſiſt in it, it "would hazard the peace and ſafety of all his Kingdoms, unleſs ſome "ſpeedy remedy were applied by the wiſdom, and authority of both "Houſes of Parliament: And that ſuch parts of the Kingdom, as had all-"ready put themſelves into a Poſture of defence againſt the common "danger, had done nothing but what was juſtifiable, and was approved "by both Houſes. And having cauſed theſe, and ſuch other Reſolutions to be immediately publiſhed in print, that their friends abroad might know what they had to do, they ſent a Committee of both Houſes to the King at *Theobalds* with another Petition; in which they told him, "that "their juſt apprehenſions of ſorrow and fear, in reſpect of the publick "dangers and miſeries like to fall upon his Majeſty and the Kingdom, "were much increaſed upon the receipt of his unexpected denial of their "moſt Humble and Neceſſary Petition concerning the Militia of the "Kingdom; and that they were eſpecially grieved, that wicked and miſ-"chievous Counſellors ſhould ſtill have that power with him, as in that "time, of approaching and imminent Ruin, he ſhould rather incline to "that, which was apt to further the accompliſhment of the deſires of the "moſt malignant Enemies of Gods true Religion, and of the Peace and "Safety of himſelf, and his Kingdom, than to the dutiful and faithful "Counſel of his Parliament. Wherefore, they ſaid, they were inforced in "all Humility to proteſt, that, if his Majeſty ſhould perſiſt in that denial, "the dangers and diſtempers of the Kingdom were ſuch, as would endure "no longer delay: but unleſs he ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to aſſure "them by thoſe Meſſengers, that he would ſpeedily apply his Royal aſſent "to the ſatisfaction of their former deſires, they ſhould be inforced, for "the ſafety of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, to diſpoſe of the Militia "by the Authority of both Houſes, in ſuch a manner as had been pro-"pounded to him; and they reſolved to do it accordingly.

A Petition of both Houſes to the King at Theobalds.

"THEY likewiſe moſt Humbly beſought his Majeſty to believe, that "the dangerous and deſperate deſign upon the Houſe of Commons, men-"tioned in their Preamble, was not inſerted with any intention to caſt "the leaſt aſperſion upon his Majeſty; but therein they reflected upon "that Malignant Party, of whoſe bloody and malicious practices they "had ſo often experience, and from which they could never be ſecure, "unleſs his Majeſty would be pleaſed to put from him thoſe wicked and "unfaithful Counſellors, who interpoſed their own corrupt and malicious "deſigns betwixt his Majeſty's goodneſs and wiſdom, and the proſperity "and contentment of himſelf, and of his People: And that for the "diſpatch of the great affairs of the Kingdom, the ſafety of his Perſon, "the protection and comfort of his Subjects, he would be pleaſed to con-"tinue his abode near to *London*, and the Parliament; and not to with-"draw himſelf to any the remoter parts, which if he ſhould do, muſt "needs be a cauſe of great danger and diſtraction.

"THAT he would likewiſe be graciouſly pleaſed to continue the

"Prince's

"Prince's Highneſs in thoſe parts at St *James's*, or any other of his "Houſes near *London*; whereby the deſigns, which the Enemies of the "Religion, and Peace of the Kingdom might have upon his Perſon, "and the Jealouſies and Fears of his People might be prevented.

"AND they beſought him to be informed by them, that, by the Laws "of the Kingdom, the power of raiſing, ordering, and diſpoſing of the Mi- "litia within any City, Town, or other place, could not be granted to "any Corporation by Charter, or otherwiſe, without the Authority and "Conſent of Parliament: And that thoſe parts of the Kingdom, which "had put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt the Common danger, "had therein done nothing but according to the Declaration and Di- "rection of both Houſes, and what was juſtifiable by the Laws of the "Kingdom. All which their moſt humble counſel and deſires they pray- "ed him to accept, as the effect of that duty and Allegiance, which they "owed unto him, and which would not ſuffer them to admit of any "thoughts, intentions, or endeavours, but ſuch as were neceſſary and ad- "vantageous for his greatneſs, and honour, and the ſafety and proſperity "of the Kingdom, according to that Truſt and Power which the Laws "had repoſed in them.

The King's preſent Anſwer.

ASSOON as the Petition was read, the King told them, that preſented it, "that he was ſo much amazed at their Meſſage, that he knew not what "to Anſwer. He ſaid, they ſpoke of Jealouſies, and Fears, but he deſired "them to lay their hands to their hearts, and ask themſelves, whether He "might not likewiſe be diſturbed with Fears and Jealouſies? and if ſo, "he aſſured them, that Meſſage had nothing leſſened them.

"FOR the Militia, he ſaid, he had thought ſo much of it before he "ſent his Anſwer, and was ſo well aſſured that the Anſwer was agree- "able to what, in juſtice or reaſon, They could ask, or He in honour "grant, that he ſhould not alter it in any point.

"FOR his reſidence near them, he ſaid, he wiſhed it might be ſo ſafe "and honourable, that he had no cauſe to abſent himſelf from *White-Hall*: he bid them ask themſelves, whether he had not? For his Son, "he ſaid, he ſhould take that care of him, which ſhould juſtify him to "God, as a Father; and to his Dominions, as a King. To conclude, he "aſſured them upon his honour, that he had no thought but of Peace, "and Juſtice to his People; which he would by all fair means ſeek to "preſerve and maintain, relying upon the goodneſs and providence of "God for the preſervation of himſelf, and his Rights.

THIS, being ſuddainly, and with more than uſual quickneſs ſpoken by the King, much appaled them; but they were too far ingaged to retire; and therefore, aſſoon as it was reported to the Houſes, they reſolved, upon debate, "that the Kingdom ſhould be forthwith put into a poſture of de- "fence, by authority of both Houſes, in ſuch a way as had been formerly "agreed upon by both Houſes; and that a Declaration ſhould be ſpeedily "ſent unto the King, containing the cauſes of their juſt Fears and Jealou- "ſies, and to make it evident that any, that were entertained againſt "Them, were groundleſs; Ordering at the ſame time, "that all the Lords "Lieutenants of any Counties in *England*, who had been formerly ſo con- "ſtituted by the King by his Commiſſions under the great Seal of *England*, "ſhould immediately bring in thoſe Commiſſions to be cancelled as ille- "gal: Allbeit ſome ſuch Commiſſions had been granted, upon their own deſire, ſince the beginning of the Parliament, as particularly to the Earl of *Eſſex* to be Lord Lieutenant of *York-ſhire*, and to the Earl of *Salisbury* for *Dorſet ſhire*.

The Reſolution of both Houſes upon it.

THEN

THEN both Houſes ſent to the Earl of *Northumberland*, being High Admiral of *England*, "that they had received advertiſement of extra- "ordinary preparations made, by the neighbouring Princes, both by Land "and Sea; by which an apprehenſion was raiſed in both Houſes, that "the publick Honour, Peace, and Safety of his Majeſty, and his Kingdom, "could not be ſecured, unleſs a timely courſe was taken for the putting "the Kingdom into a condition of defence at Sea, as well as at Land: "and they did therefore Order him forthwith to give effectual direction "that all the Ships belonging to his Majeſty's Navy, and fit for Service, "and not allready abroad, or deſigned for the Summers Fleet, ſhould be "rigged, and put in ſuch a readineſs, as that they might be ſoon fitted "for the Sea: and that his Lordſhip would alſo make known to the "Maſters, and Owners of other Ships, in any of the Harbours of the "Kingdom, as might be of uſe for the Publick defence, that it would "be an acceptable ſervice to the King and Parliament, if They would "likewiſe cauſe their Ship to be rigged, and ſo far put into a readineſs, "as they might, at a ſhort warning, likewiſe be ſet to Sea upon any emer- "gent occaſion; which would be a means of great ſecurity to his Ma- "jeſty and his Dominions. To which the Earl returned an Anſwer full of ſubmiſſion and obedience.

They ſend to the Earl of Northumberland *to provide a Fleet.*

I HAVE been aſſured from perſons of very good Credit, and converſant with thoſe Councils, that they had in deliberation and debate to ſend, and take the Prince from his Father at *Theobalds* by force; but that deſign was quickly laid aſide, when they heard that the King was removed from thence to *New-Market*, and was like to make a further progreſs. So they uſed all poſſible expedition in preparing their Declaration, which they directed to his Majeſty, and in which they told him, "that alltho' that Anſwer, he had given to their Petition at *Theobalds*, "did give juſt cauſe of ſorrow to them; yet it was not without ſome "mixture of Confidence and Hope, conſidering thoſe expreſſions pro- "ceeded from the miſapprehenſions of their Actions and Intentions; "which, having no ground of truth or reality, might, by his juſtice and "wiſdom, be removed, when he ſhould be fully informed, that thoſe "Fears and Jealouſies of theirs, which his Majeſty thought to be cauſe- "leſs, and without any juſt ground, did neceſſarily and clearly ariſe from "thoſe dangers and diſtempers, into which the miſchievous and evil "Councils about him had brought the Kingdom. And that thoſe Other "Fears and Jealouſies, by which his Favour, his Royal Preſence, and "Confidence, had been withdrawn from his Parliament, had no foun- "dation, or ſubſiſtence in any action, intention, or miſcarriage of Theirs; "but were merely grounded upon the falſhood and malice of thoſe who, "for the ſupporting and fomenting their own wicked deſigns againſt the "Religion, and Peace of the Kingdom, did ſeek to deprive his Majeſty "of the ſtrength, and the affection of his People; and Them of his "Grace and Protection; and thereby, to ſubject both his Perſon, and "the whole Kingdom, to ruin and deſtruction.

Their Declaration to his Majeſty.

"THAT to ſatisfy his Majeſty's judgment and conſcience in both "thoſe points, they deſired to make a free, and clear Declaration of the "cauſes of their Fears and Jealouſies, in ſome particulars.

I. "THAT the deſign of altering Religion, in this and his other "Kingdoms, had been potently carried on, by thoſe in greateſt Au- "thority about him, for divers years together: and that the Queen's "Agent at *Rome*, and the Popes Agent, or Nuntio, Here, were not

"only evidences of that design, but had been great Actors in it.

2. "THAT the War with *Scotland* was procured to make way for that "intent, and chiefly fomented by the Papists, and others Popishly affect-"ed, whereof they had many evidences, especially their free and gene-"ral contribution to it.

3. "THAT the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed, and contrived, here "in *England*; and that the English Papists, should have risen about the "same time, they had several testimonies and advertisements from *Ire-"land*; and that it was a common Speech amongst the Rebels (with "which, they said, other evidences did concur, as the information of a "Minister who came out of *Ireland*; the Letter of one *Tristram Whet-"comb* in *Ireland* to his Brother in *England*, and many others) that they "would recover unto his Majesty his Royal Prerogative, wrested from "him by the Puritan faction in the Houses of Parliament in *England*; "and would maintain Episcopal jurisdiction, and the lawfulness thereof; "which, they said, were the two quarrels, upon which his late Army "in the North should have been incensed against them.

4. "THE cause they had to doubt that the late design, styled the "Queen's pious intention, was for the alteration of Religion in this King-"dom, for success whereof the Popes Nuntio (the Count *Rozetti*) in-"joined fasting and praying to be observed every week by the English "Papists; which, they said, appeared to them by one of the original "Letters directed by him to a Priest in *Lancashire*.

5. "THE boldness of the Irish Rebels in affirming they do nothing "but by Authority from the King; that they call themselves the Queen's "Army; that the prey and booty they take from the English, they mark "with the Queen's mark; that their purpose was to come into *England*, "when their business was done in *Ireland*; and sundry other things of "that kind, which, they said, were proved by one *Oconelly*, and others; "but especially in the forementioned Letter from *Tristram Whetcomb*, "wherein there was this passage, that many other Speeches they utter, "concerning Religion, and our Court of *England*, which he dares not "commit to paper.

6. "THE many attempts to provoke his late Army, and the Army "of the Scots, and to raise a Faction in the City of *London*, and other "parts of the Kingdom. That those who had been Actors in these "businesses, had their dependence, their countenance, and incourage-"ment, from the Court; witness the Treason, whereof Mr *Jermyn*, and "others, stood accused; who they said, was transported beyond Seas "by Warrant under his Majesty's own hand, after he had given assurance "to his Parliament, that he had laid a strict command upon his Ser-"vants, that none of them should depart from Court. And that dan-"gerous Petition delivered to Captain *Leg* by his Majesty's own hand, "accompanied with a direction Signed with C. R.

7. "THE false and scandalous accusation against the Lord *Kimbolton*, "and the five Members of the House of Commons, tender'd to the Par-"liament by his own Command, and endeavoured to be justified in the "City by his own presence and perswasion, and to be put in execution "upon their persons by his demand of them in the House of Commons, "in so terrible and violent a manner, as far exceeded all former breaches "of Priviledges of Parliament acted by his Majesty, or any of his Pre-"decessors: and they said, whatever his own intentions were, divers "bloody and desperate persons, that attended him, discovered their af-

"fections,

"fections, and reſolutions, to have maſſacre'd and deſtroyed the Mem-
"bers of that Houſe, if the abſence of thoſe perſons accuſed had not, by
"God's providence, ſtopp'd the giving that *word*, which they expected
"for the ſetting them upon that barbarous and bloody Act: The lifting
"of Officers, and Soldiers, for a Guard at *White-Hall*, and ſuch other
"particulars.

8. "THAT, after a Vote had paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, declar-
"ing that the Lord *Digby* had appeared in a Warlike manner at *Kingſton*
"upon *Thames*, to the terrour and affright of his Majeſty's good Subjects,
"and diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdom, he ſhould ne-
"verthelefs be in that credit with his Majeſty, as to be ſent away by
"his Majeſty's own Warrant to Sr *J. Pennington* to land him beyond
"Seas; from whence he vented his own Trayterous conceptions, that
"his Majeſty ſhould declare himſelf, and retire to a place of ſtrength;
"as if he could not be ſafe amongſt his People. Which falſe and malicious
"counſel, and advice, they ſaid, they had great cauſe to doubt, made too
"deep an impreſſion upon his Majeſty, conſidering the courſe he was
"pleaſed to take of abſenting himſelf from his Parliament, and carrying
"the Prince with him; which ſeemed to expreſs a purpoſe in his Ma-
"jeſty to keep himſelf in a readineſs for the acting of it.

9. "THE many advertiſements they had from *Rome*, *Paris*, *Venice*,
"and other parts, that they ſtill expected, that his Majeſty had ſome
"great deſign in hand, for the altering of Religion, and the breaking
"the neck of his Parliament. That the Popes Nuntio had ſollicited the
"Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, to lend his Majeſty four thouſand men
"apiece, to help to maintain his Royalty againſt the Parliament. And,
"they ſaid, as that Forreign Force was the moſt pernicious, and ma-
"lignant deſign of all the reſt; ſo they hoped it was, and ſhould allways
"be, fartheſt from his Majeſty's thoughts; becauſe no man would be-
"lieve he would give up his People, and Kingdom, to be ſpoil'd by
"ſtrangers, if he did not likewiſe intend to change both his own profeſ-
"ſion in Religion, and the Publick profeſſion of the Kingdom, that ſo
"he might be ſtill more aſſured of thoſe Forreign States of the Popiſh
"Religion for their future ſupport, and defence.

"THESE, they ſaid, were ſome of the grounds of their Fears and
"Jealouſies, which had made them ſo earneſtly implore his Royal Au-
"thority, and Protection, for their defence and ſecurity, in all the ways
"of Humility and Submiſſion; which being denied by his Majeſty, ſe-
"duced by evil Counſel, they did, with ſorrow for the great and un-
"avoidable miſery and danger, which was thereby like to fall upon his
"own perſon, and his Kingdoms, apply themſelves to the uſe of that
"power for the ſecurity and defence of both, which, by the fundamental
"Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, reſided in them; yet ſtill
"reſolving to keep themſelves within the bounds of faithfulneſs, and alle-
"giance to his Sacred Perſon, and Crown.

"TO the Fears and Jealouſies expreſſed by his Majeſty, when he ſaid,
"that for his reſidence near the Parliament, he wiſhed it might be ſo
"ſafe and honourable, that he had no cauſe to abſent himſelf from
"*White-Hall*: That, they ſaid, they took as the greateſt breach of Pri-
"viledge, that could be offer'd; as the heavieſt miſery to Himſelf, and
"imputation upon Them, that could be imagined, and the moſt miſ-
"chievous effect of evil Counſels; it rooted up the ſtrongeſt Foundation
"of the ſafety and honour, the Crown afforded; it ſeemed as much as

"might be, they ſaid, to caſt upon the Parliament ſuch a Charge, as was "inconſiſtent with the nature of that great Council, being the Body, of "which his Majeſty was the Head; it ſtruck at the very Being both of "the King and Parliament, depriving his Majeſty, in his own apprehen-"ſion, of Their fidelity, and Them of His Protection; which are the "natural bonds and ſupports of Government, and Subjection.

"THEY ſaid, they had, according to his Majeſty's deſire, laid their "hands upon their hearts; they had asked themſelves in the ſtricteſt exa-"mination of their Conſciences; they had ſearched their affections, their "thoughts, conſidered their actions; and they found none, that could "give his Majeſty any juſt occaſion to abſent himſelf from *White-Hall*, "and his Parliament; but that he might, with more honour and ſafety, "continue There, than in any other place. They ſaid, his Majeſty laid "a General tax upon them: if he would be graciouſly pleaſed to let them "know the Particulars, they ſhould give a clear, and ſatisfactory An-"ſwer. But, they ſaid, they could have no hope of ever giving his Ma-"jeſty ſatisfaction, when thoſe Particulars, which he had been made "believe were true, yet, being produced, and made known to them, ap-"peared to be falſe; and his Majeſty notwithſtanding would neither "puniſh, nor produce the Authors, but go on to contract New fears and "jealouſies, upon General and Uncertain grounds; affording them no "means, or poſſibility of Particular Anſwer to the clearing of themſelves, "of which they gave him theſe Inſtances. 1. The Speeches pretended "to be ſpoken at *Kenſington* concerning the Queen, which had been de-"nied and diſavowed; yet his Majeſty had not named the Authors. "2. The Charge and Accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five "Members, who refuſed no Tryal or Examination, which might ſtand "with the Priviledges of Parliament; yet no Authors, no Witneſſes, "were produced, againſt whom they might have reparation for the great "injury, and infamy caſt upon them.

"THEY beſought his Majeſty to conſider in what State he was, how "eaſy and fair a way he had to happineſs, honour, greatneſs, and plenty, "and ſecurity, if he would joyn with his Parliament, and his faithful "Subjects, in the defence of the Religion, and the publick good of the "Kingdom. That, they ſaid, was all they expected from him, and for "that, they would return to him their lives, fortunes, and utmoſt en-"deavours to ſupport his Majeſty, his juſt ſoveraignty, and power over "them. But, they ſaid, it was not Words, that could ſecure them in "thoſe their Humble deſires; they could not but too well and ſorrow-"fully remember, what gracious Meſſages they had from him the laſt "Summer; when, with His privity, the bringing up of the Army was "in agitation: They could not but with the like affections recall to their "minds, how, not two days before he gave direction for the aforemen-"tioned Accuſation, and his own Coming to the Commons Houſe, that "Houſe received from him a Gracious Meſſage, that he would allways "have care of Their Priviledges, as of his own Prerogative; and of the "ſafety of Their Perſons, as of his own Children.

"THEY ſaid, that which they expected, and which would give them "aſſurance that he had no thought but of Peace, and Juſtice to his Peo-"ple, muſt be ſome Real effect of his goodneſs to them, in granting "thoſe things, which the preſent neceſſity of the Kingdom did inforce "them to deſire. And in the firſt place, that he would be graciouſly "pleaſed to put from him thoſe wicked, and miſchievous Counſellors,

"which

"which had cauſed all thoſe dangers, and diſtractions; and to continue "his own reſidence, and the Prince's, near *London*, and the Parliament; "which, they hoped, would be a happy beginning of contentment, and "Confidence between him and his people; and be followed with many "ſucceeding bleſſings of Honour and Greatneſs to his Majeſty, and of "ſecurity and proſperity to Them.

IN the debate of this Declaration, the like whereof had never before been heard of in Parliament, in which they took his Majeſty's doubt of his ſafety at *White-Hall* ſo heavily, that, they ſaid, "it ſeemed to caſt "ſuch a charge upon the Parliament, as was inconſiſtent with the na- "ture of that great Council (ſo apprehenſive they were of the leaſt ſuſpition of want of freedom) the Prevalent Party carried themſelves with that pride, and impetuoſity, that they would endure no oppoſition or diſpute; inſomuch as Sr *Ralph Hopton* (who indeed was very grievous to them for not complying with them) for objecting againſt ſome ſharp expreſſions in the Declaration (before it paſſed the Houſe, and when the Queſtion was, whether it ſhould paſs) as being too diſtant from that reverence, which ought to be uſed to the King; and for ſaying, upon a Clauſe, in which they mentioned their General Intelligence from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and other places, of ſome deſign the King had upon Religion, and the Parliament, from whence they ſeemed to conclude that the King would change his Religion, "That they ſeemed to "ground an opinion of the King's Apoſtacy upon a leſs evidence, than "would ſerve to hang a fellow for ſtealing a Horſe, was committed to the Tower of *London*, "for laying an imputation upon that Committee, "which had drawn up the Declaration. Notwithſtanding which, after they had impriſoned him, they thought fit to make That expreſſion leſs groſs, and poſitive; tho' as it is ſet down above (in which words it paſſed, and was delivered to the King) it was thought by ſtanders by to be very unagreeable to the Gravity of a wiſe Court, and to the Duty of Subjects.

BUT in this particular, in oppreſſing all thoſe, who were of different opinions from them, their carriage was ſo notorious and terrible, that Spies were ſet upon, and inquiries made upon all private, light, caſual diſcourſes, which fell from thoſe who were not Gracious to them: As Mr *Trelawny*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and a Merchant of great reputation, was expelled the Houſe, and committed to Priſon, for having ſaid, in a Private diſcourſe in the City, to a Friend, "that the Houſe could not appoint a Guard for themſelves with- "out the King's conſent, under pain of High-Treaſon: Which was proved by a fellow, who pretended to overhear him; when the perſon himſelf, with whom the conference was held, declared, "that he ſaid, "it Might be imputed to them for High Treaſon: and it was confeſſed on all parts, that the words were ſpoken long before the diſcovery, and ſome days before the Houſe had Reſolved, "that they would have a "Guard. And afterwards, upon the old ſtock of their diſlike, when the War begun to break out, they again impriſoned this honeſt Gentleman; ſeized upon all his Eſtate, which was very good; and ſuffer'd him to dye in Priſon for want of ordinary relief, and refreſhment.

AND in this very time, we ſpeak of, and in the very buſineſs of the Militia, when every day very great multitudes of Petitions from moſt of the Counties of *England*, and from the City of *London*, were preſented to both Houſes, to deſire they might be put into a poſture

of defence; and that they would cauſe the Ordinance for the Militia to be ſpeedily executed, which was alledged to be an inſtance of the people's deſire throughout the Kingdom, and the chief ground of their proceeding; the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens of *London* both in reputation, and Eſtate, finding that the Militia of that City, with which by their Charter, and Conſtant Practice, the Lord Mayor had been allways intruſted, was now with a moſt extravagant power to be committed to a number of Factious perſons of the City, part of whom conſiſted of men of no fortune, or reputation, reſolved to Petition both Houſes "not to alter the original conſtitution, and right of their City: and, to that purpoſe, a Petition was ſigned by ſome hundreds, and very probably would in few days have been ſubſcribed by all, or moſt of the ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*. The Houſe had notice of this Petition, which they called another Conſpiracy and Plot againſt the Parliament, and immediately imployed a Member of their own to procure a ſight of it; who, under a truſt of redelivering it, got it into his hands, and brought it to the Houſe of Commons; upon which, ſome principal Citizens, who had ſubſcribed it, were examined, and committed to Priſon; and a direction given, that a Charge and Impeachment ſhould be prepared againſt the Recorder of *London*, who, they heard, had been of Council in the drawing up, and preparing that Petition, and they knew, was oppoſite to their Tumultuary proceedings. So when the chief Gentlemen of *Oxford-ſhire* heard, that a Petition had been delivered to the Houſe of Commons in their Name, and the name of that County, againſt the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church, and for the exerciſe of the Militia, they aſſembled together to draw up a Petition diſavowing the former, and to deſire, "that "the ſetled Laws might be obſerved; of which the Lord *Say* having notice, he procured the chief Gentlemen to be ſent for as Delinquents, and ſo ſuppreſſed that Addreſs: And this was the meaſure of their Juſtice in many other particulars of the ſame nature, receiving and cheriſhing all mutinous, and ſeditious Petitions, and diſcountenancing ſuch as beſought the continuance, and vindication, of the ſo long celebrated and happy Government in Church, and State; the prime leaders of that Faction not bluſhing, in publick debates in the Houſe, to aver "that no man ought to Petition for the Government eſtabliſhed by Law, "becauſe he had allready his Wiſh; but they that deſired an Alteration, "could not otherwiſe have their deſires known; and therefore were to "be countenanced.

They likewiſe preſent the King with Reaſons for his continuance near the Parliament.

THE Committee, which preſented the Declaration to the King at *New-Market*, preſented likewiſe additional reaſons, as they called them, for his Majeſty's return, and continuance near the Parliament; as a matter, in their apprehenſion, of ſo great neceſſity, and importance towards the preſervation of his Perſon, and his Kingdom: and they ſaid,

"THEY could not think they diſcharged their duties in the ſingle "expreſſion of their deſire, unleſs they added ſome further reaſons to "back it with. 1. His Majeſty's abſence would cauſe men to believe, "that it was out of deſign to diſcourage the undertakers, and hinder "the other proviſions for raiſing money for defence of *Ireland*. 2. It "would very much hearten the Rebels There, and diſaffected perſons "in This Kingdom, as being an evidence, and effect of the Jealouſy "and Diviſion between his Majeſty, and his people, 3. That it would "much

"much weaken, and withdraw the Affection of the Subject from his "Majeſty; without which, a Prince is deprived of his chiefeſt ſtrength, "and luſtre, and left naked to the greateſt dangers and miſeries, that "can be imagined. 4. That it would invite, and incourage the Ene-"mies of our Religion and the State in forreign parts, to the attempt-"ing, and acting of their evil deſigns, and intentions towards us. "5. That it did cauſe a great interruption in the proceedings of Par-"liament. Thoſe conſiderations, they ſaid, threaten'd ſo great dangers "to his Perſon, and to all his Dominions, that, as his Great Council, "they held it neceſſary to repreſent to him this their faithful Advice, "that ſo, whatſoever ſhould follow, They might be excuſed before God, "and Man.

WHILST that Declaration was reading, his Majeſty expreſſed ſome paſſion upon particular expreſſions; and once, when that paſſage was read, that takes notice "of the tranſportation of Mr *Jermyn* by his Ma-"jeſty's own Warrant, after he had given his word, that he had com-"manded that none of his Servants ſhould depart from Court, inter-rupted the Earl of *Holland*, who read it, and ſaid, "that's Falſe; and when he was told, "it related not to the Date, but the Execution of "the Warrant, his Majeſty ſaid, "It might have been better expreſſed "then: It is a high thing to tax a King with breach of Promiſe. But after both the Declarations, and Reaſons were read, the King, after a ſhort pauſe, ſaid to them: *His Majeſty's Anſwer to both.*

"I AM confident that you expect not I ſhould give you a ſpeedy "Anſwer to this ſtrange, and unexpected Declaration; and I am ſorry, "in the diſtraction of this Kingdom, you ſhould think This way of Ad-"dreſs to be more convenient, than That propounded, by my Meſſage "of the twentieth of *January* laſt, to both Houſes. As concerning the "grounds of your Fears and Jealouſies, I will take time to Anſwer "them particularly; and doubt not but I ſhall do it to the ſatisfaction "of all the world. God in His good time will, I hope, diſcover the "ſecrets and bottoms of all Plots, and Treaſons; and Then I ſhall ſtand "right in the eys of all my People. In the mean time I muſt tell "you, that I rather expected a vindication for the imputation laid upon "me in Mr *Pym*'s Speech, than that any more General rumors, and "diſcourſes, ſhould get credit with you. For My Fears and Doubts, "I did not think they ſhould have been thought ſo trivial and ground-"leſs, whilſt ſo many ſeditious Pamphlets, and Sermons, are looked "upon, and ſo great Tumults remember'd, unpuniſhed, and uninquired "into. I ſtill confeſs my Fears, and call God to witneſs, that they are "greater for the true Proteſtant profeſſion, my People and Laws, than "for my own rights, or ſafety; tho' I muſt tell you, I conceive none "of theſe are free from danger. What would you have? Have I vio-"lated your Laws? Have I denied to paſs any one Bill for the eaſe, "and ſecurity of my Subjects? I do not ask you what You have done "for Me. Are my People tranſported with Fears and Apprehenſions? "I have offer'd as free, and general a Pardon as your ſelves can de-"viſe. There is a Judgment from Heaven upon this Nation, if theſe "diſtractions continue. God ſo deal with Me, and Mine, as all my "thoughts, and intentions, are upright for the maintainance of the true "Proteſtant profeſſion, and for the obſervation and preſervation of the "Laws of the Land; and I hope God will bleſs, and aſſiſt thoſe Laws "for my preſervation.

THIS

THIS being ſuddainly, and with ſome vehemence, ſpoken by his Majeſty, and he having taken further time to Anſwer the Declaration, and the Reaſons, the Committee beſought him, "ſince they were to "carry back with them no other Anſwer, that his Majeſty would vouch- "ſafe to give them what he had ſpoken, in writing; which, the next morning, he did: And then the Earl of *Holland* again deſired him, "that he would reſide nearer his Parliament; whereunto the King briefly Anſwered, "I would you had given me cauſe; but I am ſure "this Declaration is not the way to it. Then being asked by the Earl of *Pembroke*, whether the Militia might not be granted, as was deſired by the Parliament, for a time? He Anſwered, "By God not for an hour. "You have asked that of me in this, was never asked of a King, and "with which I will not truſt my Wife, and Children. He told them, "he could not have believed the Parliament would have ſent him "ſuch a Declaration, if he had not ſeen it brought by ſuch perſons: "and ſaid he was Sorry for the Parliament, but Glad he had it; for "by that he doubted not to ſatisfy his People. He ſaid they ſpoke of "ill Councils; but he was confident They had worſe Information, than "He had Councils. He told them, the buſineſs of *Ireland* would ne- "ver be done in the way they were in, four hundred would never do "that work; it muſt be put into the hands of One: and, he ſaid, if "He were truſted with it, he would pawn his Head to end that "work.

ASSOON as the Committee returned and reported, what Anſwer they had received, and in what diſpoſition and temper they found, and left the King; it was Order'd, that their Declaration, which they had ſent to him, ſhould be ſpeedily printed, and carefully diſperſed throughout the Kingdom, that the People might ſee upon what terms they ſtood; and all other poſſible courſes were taken to poyſon the hearts, and affections of the Subjects, and to ſuppreſs all thoſe, who, in any degree, ſeemed to diſlike their high proceedings. Above all, care was taken to place ſuch Preachers, and Lecturers, in the moſt populous Towns and Pariſhes, as were well known to Abhor the preſent Government, and temperature of Church and State; many of whom were recommended, and poſitively injoined, and impoſed upon Pariſhes, by the Houſe of Commons; and others, by ſuch Factious Members, whoſe reputation was moſt current: and all Canonical Clergy-men, and Orthodox Divines, were, with equal induſtry, diſcountenanced, impriſoned, or forced to a long attendance upon Committees, or the Houſe (which was worſe than Impriſonment) under the notion and imputation of Scandalous Miniſters. Which charge and reproach reached all men, whoſe Inclinations they liked not, or whoſe Opinions they ſuſpected. And that they might be ſure to be as ſtrong and abſolute at Sea, as at Land, they appointed the Lord Admiral to ſend the Names of all thoſe Captains of Ships, who were to attend the Fleet for that Summer Service, to them, to the end they might have ſuch men, in whom they might Confide; which his Lordſhip moſt punctually obſerved. By which they helped to free him of thoſe Officers whom he could not plauſibly have diſcharged; and ſtruck out the names of thoſe, whoſe Affections, or Relations they thought themſelves not ſecure in.

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes in his way to York.

THE King thought it now time, according to his former reſolution, which he had not communicated to many, to remove to *York*, which was a place of good reception, and conveniency, for thoſe, who were willing

willing to attend him; and to the end that there might be publick notice of it, he ſent from *Huntington*, when he was upon his Journey, a Meſſage to both Houſes: "That, being then in his remove to his "City of *York*, where he intended to make his reſidence for ſome time, "he thought fit to ſend that Meſſage to them, and very earneſtly to de- "ſire them, that they would uſe all poſſible induſtry in expediting the "buſineſs of *Ireland*; in which they ſhould find ſo chearful a con- "currence from his Majeſty, that no inconvenience ſhould happen to "that Service by his abſence, he having all that paſſion for the re- "ducing that Kingdom, which he had expreſſed in his former Meſſages, "and being, by Words, unable to manifeſt more affection to it, than he "had endeavoured to do by thoſe Meſſages: having likewiſe done all "ſuch Acts, as he had been moved unto by his Parliament. Therefore, "if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor Proteſtant Subjects there "ſhould grow upon them (tho' he ſhould be deeply concerned in, and "ſenſible of their ſufferings) he ſaid, he ſhould waſh his hands before "the world from the leaſt imputation of ſlackneſs in that moſt neceſſary, "and pious work.

"AND, that he might leave no way unattempted, which might be- "get a good underſtanding between him and his Parliament, he ſaid, "he thought it neceſſary to declare, that, as He had been ſo tender "of the Priviledges of Parliament, that he had been ready and for- "ward to retract any Act of his own, which he had been informed "had trenched upon Their Priviledges; ſo he expected an equal tender- "neſs in Them of His known Prerogatives, which, are the unqueſtion- "able Priviledges of the Kingdom; amongſt which he was aſſured, "it was a Fundamental one, that his Subjects could not be obliged to "obey any Act, Order, or Injunction, to which He had not given his "Conſent.

"AND therefore, he thought it neceſſary to publiſh, that he expected, "and thereby required, obedience from all his loving Subjects to the "Laws eſtabliſhed; and that they preſumed not upon any pretence of "Order, or Ordinance, to which his Majeſty was no Party, concerning "the Militia, or any other thing, to do, or execute what was not war- "rantable by thoſe Laws; he being reſolved to keep the Laws Him- "ſelf, and to require obedience to them from all his Subjects.

"HE once more recommended unto them the ſubſtance of his Meſſage "of the twentieth of *January* laſt; that they would compoſe, and di- "geſt with all ſpeed, ſuch Acts as they ſhould think fit for the preſent, "and future eſtabliſhment of their Priviledges, the free and quiet in- "joying their Eſtates and fortunes, the liberties of their perſons, the "ſecurity of the true Religion Then profeſſed in the Church of *England*, "the maintaining his Regal and Juſt Authority, and ſetling his Re- "venue; he being moſt deſirous to take all fitting and juſt ways, which "might beget a happy underſtanding between him and his Parliament, "in which he conceived his greateſt Power, and Riches did conſiſt.

I HAVE not known both Houſes in more choler and rage, than upon the receiving this Meſſage, which came early to them on *Wedneſday* the ſixteenth of *March*. Now the day before had been ſpent in pre- paring all things ready for the execution of the Ordinance of the Mi- litia; They had Voted, and Reſolved, "that it was not any way againſt "the Oath of Allegiance, that all the Commiſſions to Leiutenants un- "der the great Seal were Illegal, and Void; and that whoſoever ſhould

Both Houſes Votes concerning the Militia.

"execute any power over the Militia by colour of any Commiſſion of "Lieutenancy, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſhould "be accounted a diſturber of the Peace of the Kingdom. Then they agreed upon this Propoſition, "that the Kingdom Had been of late, and "Still was, in ſo evident and imminent danger, both from Enemies "abroad, and a Popiſh and diſcontented Party at home, that there was "an urgent, and inevitable neceſſity of putting his Majeſty's Subjects "into a poſture of defence, for the ſafeguard both of the King, and his "People; and that the Lords and Commons, apprehending that danger, "and being ſenſible of their own duty to provide a ſuitable prevention, "had, in ſeveral Petitions, addreſſed themſelves to his Majeſty's for the "ordering, and diſpoſing the Militia of the Kingdom in ſuch a way, as "was agreed upon, by the wiſdom of both Houſes, to be moſt proper "for the preſent exigence of the Kingdom: Yet they could not obtain "it; but his Majeſty did ſeveral times refuſe to give his Royal aſſent "thereunto. Upon this Propoſition, they Reſolved, "that in that caſe "of extreme danger, and of his Majeſty's refuſal, the Ordinance agreed "on by both Houſes for the Militia did oblige the people, and ought "to be obeyed, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and that "ſuch perſons as ſhould be Nominated Deputy Lieutenants, and ap- "proved of by both Houſes, ſhould receive the commands of both "Houſes, to take upon them to execute their Offices. All which Reſolutions were order'd, the ſame night, to be printed and publiſhed. So that, when the King's Meſſage from *Huntington* was read the next morning, and ſeemed to be againſt their Votes of the day before, they concluded, "that it could not be ſent from the King, but that it had "been inſerted in blanks left in the Town for ſuch purpoſes; and immediately made a Committee, "to find out by whom that Meſſage was "framed. But when they remember'd, that they had Voted as much a week before, and had examined the Gentlemen who brought it, and had received it from the King's own hand, they proceeded no further in that inquiſition; but ſatisfied themſelves with a new Vote, "that "thoſe Perſons, who adviſed his Majeſty to abſent himſelf from the "Parliament, and thoſe that adviſed him to that Meſſage, were Ene- "mies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and juſtly to be ſuſpected to be "favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. And for the matter it ſelf they reſolved to inſiſt upon their former Votes; and withall declared, "that "when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which is the ſupreme "Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, ſhould declare what the Law "of the Land is, to have that not only queſtioned, and controverted, "but Contradicted, and a Command that it ſhould Not be obeyed, was "a high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.

AND this likewiſe they cauſed to be ſpeedily printed; leſt the King ſhould be able to perſwade the Subjects, that an Order of theirs, without His conſent, was no Law to compel their obedience. And from this laſt Reſolution, by which the Law of the Land, and conſequently the liberty of the Subject, was reſolved into a Vote of the two Houſes, which paſſed without any diſpute or heſitation, all Sober men diſcerned the fatal period of both, and ſaw a Foundation laid for all the Anarchy and Confuſion, that hath followed.

Their Order concerning Hull.

IT was now known, that the King was gone to *York*, which made them apprehend their Principality of *Hull* might be in danger; and therefore they immediately Reſolve, "that no Forces whatſoever ſhall "be

"be admitted in that Town, without the Immediate consent of both "Houses: which Order was sent thither by an expres. And having prepared the People to be ready for the Militia, by publishing "that, "in case of Extreme danger, they were to obey that Ordinance; they were, in the next place, to find the danger to be Extreme; and, to that purpose, they produced Letters without any name, pretended to be written from *Amsterdam*, signifying, "that they had intelligence there, "that there was an Army ready in *Denmark* to be transported into "*England*, and was to be landed at *Hull*; which they said, had been "confirmed to them, by a person of reputation, from *New-Market*, "who confirmed the Intelligence of *Denmark*: and added, that there "were likewise forces ready in *France* to be landed at *Hull*.

OF this, how gross and ridiculous soever it appeared to wise men, they made a double use (besides the general impression in the People) the one to colour and countenance their Orders to their Governour there; the other, to make the King's residence in those parts suspected and grievous, as if he came thither only to bring in forreign forces upon them. With these Alarms of forreign forces, they mingled other Intelligence of the Papists in *England*, "that they had a purpose of making "an Insurrection; and therefore they proceeded in preparing a Bill to secure the persons of those of the best quality, and greatest interest, and injoyning the Oath of Supremacy to be taken with great rigour; and, amongst other stratagems they had to humble the Papists, I remember, upon an information that they used their Protestant Tenants worse in the raising their Rents, than they did those of their own Religion, there was an Order, "that they should not raise the Rents of their Tenants, "above the rates that the Protestant Landlords adjoyning received from "Their Tenants: by virtue of which, in some places, they undertook to determine what Rents their Tenants should pay to them. But, in this zeal against the Papists, they could not endure that the King should have any share; and therefore, when they found, that his Majesty had published a Proclamation in his Journey towards *York*, "commanding "all the Judges, and Justices of Peace, and other Officers, to put in "due execution all the Laws, and Statutes of the Kingdom, against "Popish Recusants, without favour or connivance, they presently sent for the Sheriffs of *London* to the House of Commons, and examined them, "why seven Priests, who were in *Newgate*, and had been long "Condemned, were not Executed? the reason whereof they well knew; and when the Sheriffs said, "that they had received a Reprieve for them "under the Kings hand, they published that with great care in their prints, to take off the credit of the new Proclamation; and appointed their Messengers, whom they were then sending to the King with a new Declaration, to move his Majesty, "that he would take off his Re-"prieve, and suffer those seven condemn'd Priests to be Executed, ac-"cording to the Judgments they had received.

THEY proceeded now to provide all necessary means for the raising great sums of money, by the diligent collection of what was granted by former Acts, and by a new Bill for the raising of four hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of the great debts of the Kingdom (by which they meant the remainder of the three hundred thousand pounds, they had bountifully given to their Brethren of *Scotland*) and the support of the War of *Ireland*: All which monies were to be received, and disposed as the two Houses should direct; of which tho'

the King ſaw the danger, that might, and Did after enſue thereupon, yet he thought that probable inconvenience and miſchief to be leſs, than that, which the ſcandal of denying any thing, upon which the recovery of *Ireland* ſeem'd to depend, would inevitably bring upon him; and ſo ratified whatſoever they brought to him of that Kind.

They make Propoſitions for Adventurers in Ireland.

AMONGST other Expedients for raiſing of money for the War of *Ireland*, about this time, they made certain Propoſitions to incourage men to be Adventurers in that Traffick, Thus: They concluded "that, "in ſo general a Rebellion, very much land muſt Eſcheat to the Crown "by the forfeiture of Treaſon, and that, out of ſuch forfeitures, ſatiſ- "faction might be given to thoſe, who ſhould diſburſe money towards "the ſuppreſſion of the Rebels; ſo many Acres of Land to be allowed "for ſo much money, according to the value of the Lands in the ſe- "veral Provinces, which was ſpecified in the Propoſitions; which, having paſſed both Houſes, were preſented to the King, who (it being about the beginning of *February*, when the breach of their Priviledges rung in all mens ears) Anſwered, "that as he had offer'd, and was ſtill ready "to venture, his own Perſon for the recovery of that Kingdom, if his "Parliament ſhould adviſe him thereunto; ſo he would not deny to "contribute any other aſſiſtance he could to that Service, by parting "with any profit or advantage of his own there; and therefore, relying

The King conſents to them.

"upon the wiſdom of his Parliament, he did conſent to every Propo- "ſition, now made to him, without taking time to conſider, and exa- "mine, whether that courſe might not retard the reducing that King- "dom, by exaſperating the Rebels, and rendering them deſperate of be- "ing received into Grace, if they ſhould return to their obedience. And, "he ſaid, he would be ready to give his Royal aſſent to ſuch Bills, as "ſhould be tender'd to him by his Parliament for the confirmation of "thoſe Propoſitions.

WHICH Anſwer, together with their Propoſitions, they cauſed forth- with to be Printed; made their Committees, in all places, to ſollicite Subſcriptions, and to receive the monies, the Principal and moſt Active perſons Subſcribing firſt, for the example of others; and delayed the framing, and preſenting the Bill to the King, till they had received great ſums of money, and procured very many perſons of all conditions to Subſcribe, many coming in out of pure covetouſneſs to raiſe great fortunes; five hundred Acres of Land being aſſigned for one hundred pound in ſome Counties, and not much under that proportion in others: ſome out of pure fear, and to win credit with the Powerful Party, which made this new project a meaſure of mens affections, and a tryal how far they might be truſted, and relied on.

THEN they ſent thoſe Propoſitions digeſted into a Bill to the King, with ſuch Clauſes of power to Them, and diminution of his own, that, upon the matter, he put the making a Peace with the Rebels there out of his power, tho' upon the moſt advantagious terms; which he was likewiſe neceſſitated to paſs.

The King paſſes a Bill to that purpoſe.

BUT notwithſtanding all theſe preparations on This ſide the Sea, the relief, and proviſion was very ſlowly ſupplied to the Other ſide; where the Rebels ſtill increaſed in ſtrength, and, by the fame of theſe Propoſitions, inlarged their power, very many perſons of Honour, and fortune, who till then had ſate ſtill, and either were, or ſeemed to be averſe to the Rebellion, joining with them, as being deſperate, and conceiving the utter ſuppreſſing their Religion, and the very extirpation

of

of their Nation, to be decreed againſt them. And, without doubt, the great Reformers here were willing enough to drive them to any extremity, both out of revenge and contempt, as a people eaſy to be rooted out, and that the War might be kept up ſtill; ſince they feared an Union in That Kingdom might much prejudice their deſigns in This, both as it might ſupply the King with power, and take away much of Theirs; whereas Now they had opportunity, with reference to *Ireland*, to raiſe both men and money, which they might be able to imploy upon more preſſing occaſions, as they will be found afterwards to have done. Neither was it out of their expectation and view, that, by the King's conſenting to that ſevere Decree, he might very probably diſcourage his Catholick Subjects, in his other Dominions, from any extraordinary Acts of duty, and affection: at leaſt, that it would render him leſs conſidered by moſt Catholick Princes. And they knew well what uſe to make of any diminution of his intereſt, or reputation. Theſe matters thus ſetled, for the eaſe of the two Houſes, who were now like to have much to do, they appointed the whole buſineſs of *Ireland* to be managed by Commiſſion under the great Seal of *England*, by four Lords and eight Commoners, whom they recommended to the King, and who were allways to receive Inſtructions from Themſelves. And in this ſtate, and diſpoſition, were the affairs of *Ireland*, when the King went to York, where let us now reſort to him.

THE END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.



THE HISTORY OF THE *REBELLION* AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION

AND

CIVIL WARS

IN

ENGLAND.

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

THE FIFTH BOOK.



THE

Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK V.

Iſa. III. 12.

As for my People, Children are their Oppreſſours, and Women rule over them: O my People, they which lead thee, cauſe thee to err, and deſtroy the way of thy paths.

ASSOON as the King came to *Tork*, which was about the end of the year 1641, and found his reception there to be equal to his expectation, the Gentry, and men of Ability of that great and populous County (ſome very few excepted) expreſſing great alacrity for his Majeſty's being with them, and no leſs ſenſe of the inſolent proceedings of the Parliament; thereupon, he reſolved to treat with the two Houſes in an other manner than he had done, and to let them clearly know, "that as he would deny them "nothing that was fit for Them to Ask, ſo he would yield to nothing "that was unreaſonable for Him to Grant; and that he would have no-"thing extorted from him, that he was not very well inclined to con-"ſent to. So, within few days after his coming thither, he ſent them a Declaration (which he cauſed to be printed, and, in the Frontiſpiece, recommended to the conſideration of all his loving Subjects) in Anſwer to that preſented to him at *New-Market* ſome days before: He told them,

"THAT, though that Declaration, preſented to him at *New-Market* "from both Houſes of Parliament, was of ſo ſtrange a Nature, in reſpect "of what he expected (after ſo many Acts of grace and favour to his "People) and ſome expreſſions in it ſo different from the uſual Language "to Princes, that he might well take a very long time to conſider it; "yet the clearneſs and uprightneſs of his conſcience to God, and love "to his Subjects, had ſupplied him with a ſpeedy Anſwer; and his un-"alterable affection to his People prevailed with him to ſuppreſs that "paſſion, which might well enough become him upon ſuch invitation.

His Majeſty's Declaration from York, Mar. 9. 1641.

"He ſaid, he had reconſidered his Anſwer of the firſt of that Month "at *Theobalds*, which was urged to have given juſt cauſe of ſorrow to "his Subjects; but, he ſaid, whoever looked over that Meſſage (which "was in effect to tell him, that if he would not joyn with them in an "Act, which he conceived might prove prejudicial and dangerous to "him, and the whole Kingdom, they would make a Law without him, "and impoſe it upon his People) would not think that ſuddain Anſwer "could be excepted to. He ſaid, he had little incouragement to replies "of that Nature, when he was told of how little Value his words were "like to be with them, though they came accompanied with all the "Actions of Love, and Juſtice (where there was room for Actions to "accompany them) yet he could not but diſavow the having any ſuch "evil Counſel, or Counſellors about him, to his knowledge, as were "mentioned by them; and, if any ſuch ſhould be diſcovered, he would "leave them to the cenſure, and judgment of his Parliament. In the "mean time he could wiſh, that his own immediate Actions, which he "did avow, and his own honour might not be ſo roughly cenſured and "wounded, under that common ſtyle of evil Counſellors. For his faith- "full and zealous affection to the true Proteſtant profeſſion, and his re- "ſolution to concur with his Parliament in any poſſible courſe for the "propagation of It, and the ſuppreſſion of Popery, He ſaid he could "ſay no more than he had allready expreſſed in his Declaration to all his "loving Subjects, publiſhed in *January* laſt, by the advice of his Privy "Council; in which he endeavour'd to make as lively a confeſſion of "himſelf in that point, as he was able, being moſt aſſured, that the "conſtant practice of his life had been anſwerable thereunto: And there- "fore, he did rather expect a Teſtimony, and acknowledgment of ſuch "his Zeal and Piety, than thoſe expreſſions he met with in that Decla- "ration of any deſign of altering Religion in this Kingdom. And he "ſaid, he did, out of the innocency of his Soul, wiſh, that the judg- "ments of Heaven might be manifeſted upon thoſe, who have, or had "any ſuch deſigns.

"As for the *Scots* Troubles, he told them, he had thought, that "thoſe unhappy differences had been wrapp'd up in perpetual ſilence by "the Act of Oblivion; which, being ſolemnly paſſed in the Parliaments "of both Kingdoms, ſtop'd his own Mouth from any other reply, than "to ſhew his great diſlike for reviving the Memory thereof. He ſaid, "if the Rebellion in *Ireland*, ſo odious to all Chriſtians, ſeem'd to have "been framed, and maintained in *England*, or to have any Countenance "from hence, he conjured both his Houſes of Parliament, and all his "loving Subjects whatſoever, to uſe all poſſible means to diſcover, and "find ſuch out, that he might joyn in the moſt exemplary Vengeance "upon them, that could be imagined. But, he told them, he muſt "think himſelf highly, and cauſleſsly injured in his reputation, if any "Declaration, Acton, or Expreſſion, of the Iriſh Rebels; any Letters "from the Count *Rozetti* to the Papiſts, for Faſting and Praying; or "from *Triſtram Whetcomb*, of ſtrange Speeches uttered in *Ireland*, "ſhould beget any Jealouſy, or Miſapprehenſion in his Subjects of his "Juſtice, Piety, and Affection: it being evident to all underſtandings, "that thoſe miſchievous and wicked Rebels, are not ſo capable of great "advantage, as by having their falſe diſcourſes ſo far believed, as to "raiſe Fears and Jealouſies to the diſtraction of this Kingdom; the only "way to their ſecurity. He ſaid, he could not expreſs a deeper ſenſe

"of

"of the ſufferings of his poor Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom, than "he had done in his often Meſſages to both Houſes; by which he had "offer'd, and was ſtill ready to venture his Royal Perſon for their redemption, well knowing that as he was, in his own Intereſts, more "concerned in them; ſo he was to make a ſtrict Account to Allmighty "God for any neglect of His Duty, or their Preſervation.

"FOR the manifold Attempts to provoke his late Army, and the "Army of the Scots, and to raiſe a Faction in the City of *London*, and "other parts of the Kingdom, if it were ſaid as relating to Him, he could "not without great Indignation, ſuffer himſelf to be reproached to have "intended the leaſt force, or threatning to his Parliament; as the be-"ing Privy to the bringing up the Army would imply. Whereas, he "called God to Witneſs, he never had any ſuch thought, nor knew of "any ſuch reſolution concerning his late Army. For the Petition ſhewed "to him by Captain *Leg*, he ſaid, he well remember'd the ſame, and "the occaſion of that conference. Captain *Leg* being lately come out "of the North, and repairing to him at *White-Hall*, his Majeſty asked "him of the ſtate of his Army; and, after ſome relation of it, he told "his Majeſty, that the Commanders and Officers of the Army, had a "mind to Petition the Parliament, as others of his People had done, and "ſhewed him the Copy of a Petition; which he read, and finding it to "be very humble, deſiring the Parliament might receive no interruption "in the Reformation of Church, and State, to the Model of Queen *Eli-*"*zabeth*'s days, his Majeſty told him, that he ſaw no harm in it; where-"upon Captain *Leg* replied, that he believed all the Officers of the Ar-"my would like it, only, he thought, Sr *Jacob Aſhly* would be unwilling "to ſign it, out of fear that it might diſpleaſe Him. His Majeſty then "read the Petition over again; and obſerving nothing in Matter or "Form he conceived could poſſibly give juſt cauſe of Offence, he deli-"vered it to him again, bidding him give it to Sr *Jacob Aſhly*, for whoſe "ſatisfaction he writ C. R. upon it, to teſtify his Approbation; and he "wiſhed that the Petition might be ſeen and publiſhed, and then he be-"lieved it would appear no dangerous one, nor a juſt ground for the leaſt "Jealouſy, or Miſapprehenſion.

"FOR Mr *Jermyn*, he ſaid, it was well known that he was gone from "*White-Hall*, before he received the deſire of both Houſes for the re-"ſtraint of his Servants; neither returned he thither, or paſſed over by "any Warrant granted by him after that time. For the breach of Pri-"viledge in the Accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Mem-"bers of the Houſe of Commons, he told them, he thought, he had "given ſo ample ſatisfaction in his ſeveral Meſſages to that purpoſe, "that it ſhould have been no more preſſed againſt him; being confident, "if the breach of Priviledge had been greater than ever had been before "offer'd, his acknowledgment and retractation had been greater than "ever King had given: beſides the not examining how many of His "Priviledges had been invaded in defence, and vindication of the other. "And therefore, he hoped his true, and earneſt proteſtation in his An-"ſwer to their Order concerning the Militia, would ſo far have ſatisfied "them of his Intentions then, that they would no more have enter-"tained any Imagination of any other deſign, than he there expreſſed. "But why the liſting ſo many Officers, and entertaining them at *White-*"*Hall*, ſhould be miſconſtrued, he ſaid, he much marvelled, when it "was notoriouſly known the Tumults at *Weſtminſter* were ſo great,

"and their demeanour ſo ſcandalous and ſeditious, that he had good cauſe "to ſuppoſe his own Perſon, and thoſe of his Wife and Children, to be "in apparent danger; and therefore, he had great reaſon to appoint a "Guard about him, and to accept the dutiful tender of the ſervices of "any of his loving Subjects, which was all he did to the Gentlemen of "the Inns of Court.

"FOR the Lord *Digby*, he aſſured them in the Word of a King, that "he had his Warrant to paſs the Seas, and had left his Court, Before "ever he heard of the Vote of the Houſe of Commons, or had any cauſe "to imagin that his abſence would have been excepted againſt. What "their Advertiſements were from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and other parts, "or what the Pope's Nuntio ſollicits the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to "do; or from what Perſons ſuch informations come to them, or how "the credit and reputation of ſuch perſons had been ſifted and examined, "he ſaid, he knew not; but was confident no ſober honeſt man in his "Kingdoms could believe, that he was ſo deſperate, or ſo ſenſeleſs, to "entertain ſuch deſigns, as would not only bury this his Kingdom in "ſuddain diſtraction and ruin, but his own Name and Poſterity in per-"petual Scorn, and Infamy. And therefore, he ſaid, he could have "wiſhed in matters of ſo high and tender a Nature, wherewith the "minds of his good Subjects muſt needs be ſtartled, all the expreſſions "had been ſo plain and eaſy, that nothing might ſtick with them that "reflected upon his Majeſty; ſince they thought fit to publiſh it at all.

"AND having now dealt thus plainly and freely with them, by way "of Anſwer to the particular grounds of their Fears, he ſaid, he hoped, "upon a due conſideration and weighing of both together, they would "not find the grounds to be of that moment to beget, or longer to con-"tinue, a miſunderſtanding between them; or force them to apply "themſelves to the uſe of any other power, than what the Law had "given them: the which he allways intended ſhould be the meaſure of "his own Power, and expected it ſhould be the rule of his Subjects Obe-"dience.

"CONCERNING his own Fears and Jealouſies, as he had no Inten-"tion of accuſing them, ſo he ſaid, he was ſure no words ſpoken by him "on the Suddain at *Theobalds* would bear that Interpretation. He had "ſaid, for his reſidence near them, he wiſhed it might be ſo ſafe and "honourable, that he had no cauſe to abſent himſelf from *White Hall*; "and how That could be a breach of Priviledge of Parliament he could "not underſtand. He ſaid, he had explained his meaning in his Anſwer "at *New-Market*, at the preſentation of that Declaration, concerning "the printed ſeditious Pamphlets, and Sermons, and the great Tumults "at *Weſtminſter*: And he ſaid, he muſt appeal to them, and all the "world, whether he might not juſtly ſuppoſe himſelf in danger of either. "And if he were now at *White-Hall*, he asked them, what ſecurity he "had, that the like ſhould not be Again? eſpecially if any Delinquents "of that Nature had been apprehended by the Miniſters of Juſtice, and "had been reſcued by the people, and ſo as yet had eſcaped Unpuniſhed. "He told them, if they had not yet been informed of the ſeditious "words uſed in, and the circumſtances of thoſe Tumults, and would "appoint ſome way for the examination of them, he would require "ſome of his learned Counſel to attend with ſuch Evidence as might "ſatisfy them; and till that were done, or ſome other courſe ſhould "be taken for his ſecurity, he ſaid, they could not with reaſon won-

"der,

"der, that he intended not to be, where he moſt deſired to be.
"HE asked them, whether there could Yet want evidence of his
"hearty and importunate deſire to joyn with his Parliament, and all
"his faithful Subjects, in defence of the Religion, and publick good of
"the Kingdom? Whether he had given them no other earneſt but Words,
"to ſecure them of thoſe deſires? He told them the very Remonſtrance
"of the Houſe of Commons (publiſhed in *November* laſt) of the State
"of the Kingdom allowed him a more Real Teſtimony of his good Af-
"fections, than Words; that Remonſtrance valued his Acts of Grace and
"Juſtice at ſo high a rate, that it declared the Kingdom to be Then a
"Gainer, tho' it had charged it ſelf by Bills of Subſidies and Poll-money,
"with the levy of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the contracting
"a debt of two hundred and twenty thouſand pounds more to his Sub-
"jects of *Scotland*. He asked them, whether the Bills for the Triennial
"Parliament, for relinquiſhing his Title of impoſing upon Merchandize,
"and power of preſſing of Soldiers, for the taking away the Star-Cham-
"ber, and High-Commiſſion Courts, for the regulating the Counſel Ta-
"ble, were but Words? whether the Bills for the Forreſts, the Stannery
"Courts, the Clarke of the Market, and the taking away the Votes of
"Biſhops out of the Lord's Houſe, were but Words? Laſtly, what greater
"earneſt of his truſt, and relyance on his Parliament could he give, than
"the paſſing the Bill for the continuance of this Preſent Parliament?
"The Length of which, he ſaid, he hoped, would never alter the Na-
"ture of Parliaments, and the Conſtitution of this Kingdom; or invite
"his Subjects So much to abuſe his Confidence, as to eſteem any thing
"fit for this Parliament to do, which were not fit, if it were in his power
"to Diſſolve it to Morrow. And after all theſe, and many other Acts
"of Grace on his part, that he might be ſure of a perfect reconciliation
"between him and all his Subjects, he had offer'd, and was ſtill ready to
"grant, a free, and general pardon, as ample as themſelves ſhould think
"fit. Now if thoſe were not real expreſſions of the Affections of his
"Soul for the Publick Good of this Kingdom, he ſaid, he muſt confeſs
"that he wanted skill to manifeſt them.

"To conclude, alltho' he thought his Anſwer allready full to that
"point concerning his return to *London*, he told them, that he was
"willing to declare, that he looked upon it as a matter of ſo great weight,
"as with reference to the affairs of this Kingdom, and to his own incli-
"nations and deſires, that if all he could Say, or Do, could raiſe a mu-
"tual Confidence (the only way, with Gods bleſſing, to make them all
"happy) and, by their incouragement, the Laws of the Land, and the
"Government of the City of *London*, might recover ſome life for his
"ſecurity; he would overtake their deſires, and be aſſoon with them,
"as they could wiſh. And in the mean time, he would be ſure that nei-
"ther the buſineſs of *Ireland*, nor any other advantage for This Kingdom
"ſhould ſuffer through His Default, or by his Abſence; he being ſo far
"from repenting the Acts of his Juſtice and Grace, which he had all-
"ready performed to his people, that, he ſaid, he ſhould, with the ſame
"alacrity, be ſtill ready to add ſuch New ones, as might beſt advance
"the Peace, Honour, and Proſperity of this Nation.

THEY who now read this Declaration, and remember only the inſo-
lent, and undutiful Expreſſions in that Declaration, to which this was
an Anſwer, and the more inſolent and ſeditious Actions which preceded,
accompanied, and attended it, may think, that the ſtyle was not an-

ſwerable to the Provocation, nor Princely enough for ſuch a Conteſt; and may believe, that if his Majeſty had then expreſſed himſelf with more Indignation for what he had ſuffer'd, and more Reſolution, "that "he would No More endure thoſe ſufferings, they who were not Yet grown to the hardineſs of Avowing the contempt of the King (and moſt of them having deſigns to be great With, and By Him, whom they provoked) would ſooner have been checked, and recovered their Loyalty and Obedience. But they again who conſider and remember that Juncture of time, the incredible diſadvantage his Majeſty ſuffer'd by the miſunderſtanding of his going to the Houſe of Commons, and by the Popular miſtake of Priviledge of Parliament, and conſequently of the breach of thoſe Priviledges: And, on the contrary, the great height and reputation the Factious Party had arrived to, the ſtratagems they uſed, and the infuſions they made into the people, "of the Kings diſinclination "to the Laws of the Land; and eſpecially, "that he had conſented to "all thoſe excellent Laws made this Parliament (of which the people "were poſſeſſed) very unwillingly, and meant to avoid them: That "the Queen had an irreconcilable Hatred to the Religion profeſſed, and "to the whole Nation, and that her Power was unqueſtionable: That "there was a deſign to ſend the Prince beyond the Seas, and to marry "him to ſome Papiſt: Above all (which the principal of them, with wonderful confidence, in all places avowed to be true) "that the Re-"bellion in *Ireland* was fomented, and countenanced at leaſt, by the "Queen, that good terms might be got for the Catholicks in *England*: I ſay, whoever remembers all this, and, that though it might be preſumed, that the exorbitancy of the Parliament might be very offenſive to ſome ſober and diſcerning men, yet his Majeſty had no reaſon to preſume of their eminent and vehement Zeal on his behalf, ſince he ſaw all thoſe (ſome few only excepted) from whom he might challenge the duty, and faith of ſervants *uſque ad aras*, and for whoſe ſake he had undergone many difficulties, either totally aliened from his ſervice, and ingaged Againſt him, or, like men in a Trance, unapplicable to it: He will, I ſay, conclude that it concerned his Majeſty, by all gentleneſs and condeſcenſion, to undeceive, and recover men to their ſobriety and underſtanding, before he could hope to make them apprehenſive of their own duty, or the reverence that was due to him; and therefore, that he was to deſcend to all poſſible Arts, and Means to that purpoſe, it being very evident, that men would no ſooner diſcern his Princely Juſtice and Clemency, than they muſt be ſenſible of the Indignities which were offer'd to him; and incenſed againſt thoſe, who were the Authors of them.

AND the truth is (which I ſpeak knowingly) at that time, the King's Reſolution was to Shelter himſelf wholely under the Law; to grant any thing, that by the Law he was obliged to grant; and to deny, what by the Law was in his own power, and which he found inconvenient to conſent to; and to oppoſe and puniſh any extravagant attempt by the force and power of the Law, preſuming that the King and the Law together would have been ſtrong enough for any encounter that could happen; and that the Law was ſo ſenſible a thing, that the People would eaſily perceive who endeavoured to Preſerve, and who to Suppreſs it, and diſpoſe themſelves accordingly.

THE day before this Anſwer of his Majeſty came to the Members then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, though they knew they ſhould ſpeedily

receive it, leſt ſomewhat in it might Anſwer, and ſo prevent ſome other ſcandals they had a mind to lay to his Majeſty's charge, they ſent a Petition to him, in the Name of the Lords and Commons, upon occaſion of the ſhort curſory Speech he made to their Committee (which is before mentioned) at the delivery of their Declaration at *New-Market*, in which they told him,

The Petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to his Majeſty at York, March 26. 1642.

"THAT the Lords and Commons in Parliament could not conceive, "that that Declaration, which he received from them at *New-Market*, "was ſuch as did deſerve that cenſure his Majeſty was pleaſed to lay "upon them in that Speech, which his Majeſty made to their Com- "mittee; their addreſs therein, being accompanied with plainneſs, hu- "mility, and faithfulneſs, they thought more proper for the removing "the diſtraction of the Kingdom, than if they had then proceeded ac- "cording to his Meſſage of the twentieth of *January*; by which he was "pleaſed to deſire, that they would declare, what they intended to do "for his Majeſty, and what they expected to be done for Themſelves; "in both which, they ſaid, they had been very much hinder'd by his "Majeſty's denial to ſecure them, and the whole Kingdom, by diſpoſing "the Militia as they had divers times moſt Humbly Petitioned. And "yet, they ſaid, they had not been altogether negligent of either, having "lately made good proceedings in preparing a Book of Rates, to be paſſed "in a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, and likewiſe the moſt material "heads of thoſe humble deſires, which they intended to make to his "Majeſty for the good and contentment of his Majeſty and his People; "but none of thoſe could be perfected before the Kingdom be put in "ſafety, by ſetling the Militia: And until his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed "to concur with his Parliament in thoſe neceſſary things, they held it "impoſſible for his Majeſty to give the world, or his People, ſuch ſatiſ- "faction concerning the Fears and Jealouſies, which they had expreſſed, "as they hoped his Majeſty had allready received touching that ex- "ception, which he was pleaſed to take to Mr *Pym*'s Speech. As for his "Majeſty's Fears and Doubts, the ground whereof was from ſeditious "Pamphlets and Sermons, they ſaid, they ſhould be as careful to endea- "vour the removal of them, aſſoon as they ſhould underſtand what Pam- "phlets and Sermons were by his Majeſty intended, as they had been to "prevent all dangerous Tumults. And if any extraordinary Concourſe "of people out of the City to *Weſtminſter* had the face and ſhew of Tu- "mult and Danger, in his Majeſty's apprehenſion, it would appear to be "cauſed by his Majeſty's denial of ſuch a Guard to his Parliament, as "they might have cauſe to Confide in; and by taking into *White-Hall* "ſuch a Guard for Himſelf, as gave juſt cauſe of Jealouſy to the Parlia- "ment, and of Terrour and Offence to his People. They told him, they "ſought nothing but his Majeſty's Honour, and the Peace and Proſpe- "rity of his Kingdoms; and that they were heartily ſorry, they had "ſuch plentiful matter for an Anſwer to that Queſtion, whether his Ma- "jeſty had violated their Laws? They beſought his Majeſty to remem- "ber, that the Government of this Kingdom, as it was, in a great part, "managed by his Miniſters before the beginning of this Parliament, "conſiſted of many continued and multiplied Acts of violation of Laws; "the wounds whereof were ſcarcely heal'd, when the Extremity of all "thoſe violations was far exceeded by the late Strange, and unheard "of breach of their Laws in the Accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, "and the five Members of the Commons Houſe, and in the proceed-

"ings

"ings thereupon; for which they had yet received no full ſatisfaction.

"To his Majeſty's next Queſtion, whether he had denied any Bill for "the eaſe and ſecurity of his Subjects? They wiſhed they could ſtop in "the midſt of their Anſwer; that with much thankfulneſs they acknow- "ledged, that his Majeſty had paſſed many good Bills full of contentment "and advantage to his People: but Truth and Neceſſiity inforced them "to add this, that even in, or about the time of paſſing thoſe Bills, ſome "deſign or other had been on foot, which, if it had taken effect, would "not only have deprived them of the fruit of thoſe Bills, but have re- "duced them to a worſe condition of confuſion, than that wherein the "Parliament found them.

"AND if his Majeſty had asked them the third Queſtion intimated "in that Speech, what They had done for Him? they told him, their "Anſwer would have been much more eaſy; That they had paid two "Armies with which the Kingdom was burthen'd the laſt year, and had "undergone the Charge of the War in *Ireland* at this time, when, through "many other exceſſive Charges and preſſures, his Subjects had been ex- "hauſted, and the ſtock of the Kingdom very much diminiſhed; which "great miſchiefs, and the charges thereupon enſuing, had been occa- "ſioned by the evil Counſels ſo powerful with his Majeſty, which had "and would coſt this Kingdom more than two Millions; all which, in "juſtice, ought to have been born by his Majeſty.

"As for that free and general pardon his Majeſty had been pleaſed to "offer, they ſaid, it could be no ſecurity to their Fears and Jealouſies, "for which his Majeſty ſeem'd to propound it; becauſe they aroſe not "from any Guilt of their own Actions, but from the evil deſigns, and "attempts of others.

"To that their Humble Anſwer to that Speech, they deſired to add "an Information, which they had lately received from the Deputy Go- "vernour of the Merchant Adventurers at *Rotterdam* in *Holland*, that "an unknown perſon, appertaining to the Lord *Digby*, did lately ſollicit "one *James Henly* a Marriner, to go to *Elſenore*, and to take charge of "a Ship in the Fleet of the King of *Denmark*, there prepared; which "he ſhould conduct to *Hull*. In which Fleet likewiſe, he ſaid, a great "Army was to be tranſported; and alltho' they were not apt to give "credit to Informations of that Nature, yet they could not alltogether "think it fit to be neglected; but that it might juſtly add ſomewhat to "the weight of their Fears and Jealouſies, conſidering with what cir- "cumſtances it was accompanied; with the Lord *Digby*'s preceding ex- "preſſions in his Letter to her Majeſty, and Sr *Lewis Dives*; and his "Majeſty's ſucceeding courſe of withdrawing himſelf North-ward from "his Parliament, in a manner very ſuitable and correſpondent to that "evil Counſel; which they doubted, would make much deeper im- "preſſion in the generality of his People: and therefore, they moſt hum- "bly adviſed, and beſought his Majeſty, for the procuring and ſetling "the confidence of his Parliament and all his Subjects, and for the other "important reaſons concerning the recovery of *Ireland*, and ſecuring "This Kingdom, which had been formerly preſented to him, he would "be graciouſly pleaſed, with all convenient ſpeed, to return to thoſe "Ports, and to cloſe with the Counſel and deſire of his Parliament; "where he ſhould find their dutiful affections and endeavours ready to "attend his Majeſty with ſuch entertainment, as ſhould not only give "him juſt cauſe of ſecurity in their faithfulneſs, but other manifold

"evidences

"evidences of their earneſt intentions, and endeavours to advance his "Majeſty's Service, Honour, and Contentment; and to eſtabliſh it upon "the ſure Foundation of the Peace, and Proſperity of all his King-"doms.

THIS, which They called a Petition, being preſented to the King, his Majeſty immediately returned, by the ſame Meſſengers, his Anſwer in theſe words:

The King's Anſwer.

"IF you would have had the patience to have expected our Anſwer "to your laſt Declaration (which, conſidering the nature of it, hath "not been long in coming) We believe, you would have ſaved your "ſelves the labour of ſaying much of this Meſſage. And We could wiſh, "that our Priviledges on all parts were ſo ſtated, that this way of Cor-"reſpondency might be preſerved with that freedom, which hath been "uſed of old. For We muſt tell you, that if you may ask Any thing "of us by Meſſage or Petition, and in what Language (how Unuſual "ſoever) you think fit, and we muſt neither Deny the thing you ask, "nor give a reaſon why we cannot Grant it, without being taxed of "breaking your Priviledges, or being Counſelled by thoſe, who are Ene-"mies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and favourers of the Iriſh Rebel-"lion (for we have ſeen your printed Votes upon our Meſſage from "*Huntington*) you will reduce all our Anſwers hereafter into a very "little room; in plain Engliſh, it is to take away the freedom of our "Vote; which, were We but a Subject, were high Injuſtice, but being "your King, we leave all the world to judge What it is.

"IS this the way to compoſe all miſunderſtandings? We thought, "we ſhewed you one, by our Meſſage of the twentieth of *January*, if "you have a better or readier, We ſhall willingly hearken to it, for "hitherto you have ſhewed us None. But why the refuſal to conſent "to your Order, which You call a Denial of the Militia, ſhould be any "interruption to it, we cannot underſtand. For the Militia, which we "allways thought neceſſary to be ſetled, we never denied the Thing "(as we told you in our Anſwer of the 28 of *January*) to the Petition "of the Houſe of Commons, for we accepted the Perſons, except for "Corporations; we only denied the Way. You ask it by way of Ordi-"nance, and with ſuch a Preface, as we can neither with juſtice to our "Honour, or Innocency conſent to. You exclude Us from any power "in the diſpoſition or execution of it together with you, and for a time "utterly Unlimited. We tell you, we would have the Thing done; "allow the Perſons, with that exception; deſire a Bill, the only Good "Old way of impoſing on our ſubjects: We are extremely unſatisfied "what an Ordinance is, but well ſatisfied, that without Our Conſent it "is Nothing, nor Binding: and it is evident by the long time ſpent in "this Argument, the neceſſity and danger was not ſo imminent, but a "Bill might have been prepared; which if it ſhall Yet be done, with "that due regard to Us, and care of our People, in the limitation of the "power and other circumſtances, we ſhall recede from nothing we for-"merly expreſſed in that Anſwer to your Order; otherwiſe, we muſt "declare to all the world, that we are not ſatisfied with, or ſhall ever "allow our Subjects to be bound by, your printed Votes of the fifteenth "or ſixteenth of this Month; or that under pretence of Declaring what "the Law of the Land is, you ſhall, without Us, make a New Law, "which is plainly the caſe of the Militia: and what is this but to intro-"duce an Arbitrary way of Government?

"CONCERNING *Pym*'s Speech, you will have found, by what the "Lord *Compton* and Mr *Baynton* brought from Us in Anſwer to that "Meſſage they brought to Us, that, as yet, we reſt nothing ſatisfied in "that particular.

"As for the ſeditious Pamphlets and Sermons, We are both ſorry "and aſhamed (in ſo great variety, and in which our Rights, Honour, "and Authority, are ſo inſolently ſlighted and vilified, and in which "the dignity and freedom of Parliaments is ſo much invaded, and vio- "lated) it ſhould be asked of Us to name any. The mentioning of "the Proteſtation proteſted, the Apprentices Proteſtation, *To your Tents "O Iſrael*, or any other, would be too great an excuſe for the reſt: If "you think them not worth your enquiry, We have done. But We "think it moſt ſtrange to be told, that our denial of a Guard (which We "yet never denied, but granted in an other manner, and under a Com- "mand at that time moſt accuſtomed in the Kingdom) or the denial of "any thing elſe (which is in our power legally to deny) which in our "underſtanding, of which God hath ſurely given us ſome uſe, is not fit "to be granted, ſhould be any excuſe for ſo dangerous a Concourſe of "People; which, not only in Our apprehenſion, but, We believe, in the "interpretation of the Law it ſelf, hath been allways held moſt Tumul- "tuous, and Seditious. And We muſt wonder, what, and whence come "the Inſtructions and Informations, that thoſe People have, who can "ſo eaſily think themſelves obliged by the Proteſtation to Aſſemble in "ſuch a manner for the defence of Priviledges, which cannot be ſo clear- "ly known to any of them, and ſo negligently paſs over the conſidera- "tion, and defence of our Rights, ſo beneficial and neceſſary for them- "ſelves, and ſcarce unknown to any of them; which by their Oaths of "Allegiance and Supremacy, and even by the ſame Proteſtation, they "are at leaſt Equally obliged to defend. And what interruptions ſuch "kind of Aſſemblies may be to the freedom of future Parliaments (if "not ſeaſonably diſcountenanced and ſuppreſſed) We muſt adviſe you "to conſider; as likewiſe, whether both our Rights and Powers may "not by ſuch means be uſurped, by hands not truſted by the Conſtitu- "tion of this Kingdom. For our Guard, We refer you to Our Anſwer "to your Declaration.

"BY that Queſtion of violating your Laws, by which We endeavour'd "to expreſs our care, and reſolution to obſerve them, We did not expect, "you would have been invited to have looked back ſo many years, for "which you have had ſo ample reparation, neither looked we to have "been reproached with the Actions of our Miniſters Then againſt the "Laws, whilſt we expreſs ſo great Zeal for the Preſent Defence of them; "it being our reſolution, upon obſervation of the miſchief which then "grew by Arbitrary Power (tho' made plauſible to us by the ſuggeſtions "of Neceſſity and imminent Danger, and take you heed, You fall not "into the ſame error, upon the ſame ſuggeſtions) hereafter to keep the "Rule Our ſelf, and to Our Power require the ſame from all others. "But above all, We muſt be more ſenſible of what you caſt upon us for "requital of thoſe good Bills, you cannot deny. We have denied any "ſuch deſign; and as God Allmighty muſt judge in that point between "us, who knows our upright intentions at the paſſing thoſe Laws, ſo "in the mean time we defy the Devil to prove, that there was any de- "ſign (with Our Knowledge, or Privity) in or about the time of paſſing "thoſe Bills, that, had it taken effect, could have deprived Our Subjects

"of

"of the fruit of them. And therefore we demand full reparation in this "point, that we may be cleared in the ſight of all the world, and chiefly "in the Eyes of our loving Subjects, from ſo notorious and falſe an im-"putation, as this is.

"WE are far from denying what you have done; for We acknow-"ledge the charge Our People hath ſuſtained in keeping the two Armies, "and in relieving *Ireland*; of which we are ſo ſenſible, that in regard "of thoſe great burthens Our People hath undergone, We have, and do "patiently ſuffer thoſe extreme Perſonal Wants, as our Predeceſſors have "been ſeldom put to, rather than We would preſs upon them; which "we hope in time, will be conſidered on your parts.

"IN our offer of a general pardon, our intent was to compoſe and ſe-"cure the general condition of our Subjects, conceiving that, in theſe "times of great diſtractions, the good Laws of the Land have not been "enough obſerved; but it is a ſtrange world, when Princes proffered "Favours are counted Reproaches; yet if you like not this Our offer, "We have done.

CONCERNING any diſcourſes of Forreign Forces, though We have "given you a full Anſwer in Ours to your laſt Declaration, yet We muſt "tell you, we have neither ſo ill an opinion of Our own merit, or the "Affections of our good Subjects, as to think Our ſelf in need of any For-"reign Forces to preſerve us from oppreſſion; and we ſhall not need "for any other purpoſe: but are confident, through Gods providence, "not to want the good wiſhes and Aſſiſtance of the whole Kingdom, be-"ing reſolved to build upon that ſure Foundation, the Law of the Land; "and we take it very ill, that General diſcourſes between an Unknown "Perſon and a Marriner, or inferences upon Letters, ſhould be able to "prevail in matters ſo Improbable in themſelves, and Scandalous to Us; "for which we cannot but likewiſe ask reparation, not only for the vin-"dication of our own Honour, but alſo thereby to ſettle the minds of "our Subjects, whoſe fears and jealouſies would ſoon vaniſh, were they "not fed and maintained by ſuch falſe and malicious Rumours as theſe.

"FOR Our return to Our Parliament, We have given you a full An-"ſwer in Ours to your Declaration; and you ought to look on Us as not "Gone, but Driven (we ſay not By you, yet) From you. And if it be "not ſo eaſy for you to make Our reſidence in *London* ſo ſafe, as We "could deſire, We are and will be contented, that Our Parliament be "Adjourn'd to ſuch a place, where we may be fitly and ſafely with you. "For tho' We are not pleaſed to be at this diſtance, yet you are not to "expect Our preſence, until you ſhall both ſecure us concerning Our "juſt Apprehenſions of tumultuary Inſolences, and likewiſe give Us ſa-"tisfaction for thoſe inſupportable and inſolent Scandals, that are raiſed "upon Us.

"To Conclude, as We have or ſhall not refuſe any agreeable way to "Juſtice or Honour, which ſhall be offer'd to Us for the begetting a right "underſtanding between us; ſo We are reſolved that no ſtreights or ne-"ceſſities, to which We May be driven, ſhall ever compel us to do that, "which the reaſon and underſtanding that God hath given us, and Our "Honour, and Intereſt, with which God hath truſted us for the good of "Our Poſterity and Kingdoms, ſhall render unpleaſant and grievous to "Us. And we aſſure you, how meanly ſoever You are pleaſed to value "the diſcharge of Our publick Duty, We are ſo conſcious to Our ſelf of "having done Our part ſince this Parliament, that in whatſoever con-

"dition We now ſtand, We are confident of the continued protection "from Allmighty God, and the conſtant Gratitude, Obedience, and Af- "fection from Our People. And We ſhall truſt God with all.

THESE quick Anſwers from the King gave them very much trouble, and made it evident to them, that he would be no more Swagger'd into conceſſions, that he thought unreaſonable, or perſwaded to them upon General promiſes, or an Implicit confidence in their Future modeſty; but that he demanded reparation for the breach of his Priviledges, and ſo fought with them with their own Weapons, troubled them much more; apprehending that, in a ſhort time, the People might be perſwaded to believe, that the King was in the right, and had not been well dealt with: and tho' ſome few, who thought themſelves too far ingaged to retire, were glad of the ſharpneſs of theſe Paper-Skirmiſhes, which they believed made the wound ſtill wider, and more incurable; yet the Major part, which had been induced to joyn with them out of Confidence that the King would yield, and that their boldneſs and importunity in Asking, would prevail with his Majeſty to Conſent, wiſhed themſelves fairly unintangled; and I have heard many of the fierceſt Concurrers, and who have ever ſince kept them company, at that time profeſs, "that "if any expedient might be found to reconcile the preſent difference "about the Militia, they would no more Adventure upon Demands of "the like Nature: and the Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf was ſtartled, and confeſſed to his Friends, "that he deſired a more moderate proceeding "ſhould be in Parliament; and that the King, who had Given ſo much, "ſhould Receive ſome ſatisfaction. But thoſe of the Court, who thought their faults to their Maſter moſt unpardonable, could not endure that the youngeſt Courtier, ſhould be the eldeſt Convert; and therefore, by repeating what the King and Queen had ſaid of him Heretofore, and by freſh Intelligence, which they procured from *York*, of what the King Then thought of him, they perſwaded him, "that his condition was too "deſperate to recede: and all men were perſwaded, that this ſteddy deportment of the King proceeded from ſome new evil Counſellors, who would be aſſoon Deſtroyed, as Diſcovered; and that Then they would ſo carry themſelves, that the King ſhould owe his Greatneſs, and his Glory (for they ſtill ſaid, "he ſhould excel all his Predeceſſors in both) to Their formed Counſels and Activity, and not to the whiſpers of thoſe, who thought to do his buſineſs without them. And I am perſwaded that even then, and I was at that time no ſtranger to the perſons of moſt that governed, and a diligent obſerver of their carriage, they had rather a deſign of making themſelves powerful with the King, and great at Court, than of leſſening the power of the One, or reforming the diſcipline of the Other: but, no doubt, there were ſome Few in the number that looked further; yet by pretending That, kept up the Mettal of writing, and inclined them for their Honour to new Declarations.

THE King found himſelf at ſome eaſe, and moſt Perſons of Quality of that great County, and of the Counties adjacent, reſorted to him, and many perſons of condition from *London*, and thoſe parts, who had not the courage to attend upon him at *White-Hall*; ſo that the Court appeared with ſome luſtre. And now he begun to think of executing ſome of thoſe reſolutions, which he had made with the Queen before her departure; One of which was, and to be firſt done, the removing the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland* from their Offices in the Court, the One

of

of Chamberlain, the Other of Groom of the Stole, which hath the reputation and benefit of being firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. Indeed no man could ſpeak in the juſtification of either of them, yet no man thought them Equally culpable. The Earl of *Holland* was a Perſon meerly of the Kings, and his Fathers creation; raiſed from the condition of a private Gentleman, a younger Brother of an extraction that lay under a great blemiſh, and without any fortune, to a great height by their meer favour, and bounty. And they had not only adorn'd him with Titles, Honours, and Offices, but inabled him to ſupport thoſe in the higheſt Luſtre, and with the largeſt Expence: and this King had drawn many inconveniences, and great diſadvantages, upon himſelf and his ſervice, by his preferring him to ſome Truſts, which Others did not only Think themſelves, but Really were worthier of; but eſpecially by indulging him ſo far in the rigorous execution of his Office of Chief Juſtice in Eyre, in which he brought more prejudice upon the Court, and more diſcontent upon the King, from the moſt conſiderable part of the Nobility and Gentry in *England*, than proceeded from any one Action, that had its riſe from the King's will and pleaſure, tho' it was not without ſome Warrant from Law; but having not been practiſed for ſome hundreds of years, was looked upon as a terrible Innovation and Exaction upon Perſons, who knew not that they were in any fault; nor was any imputed to them, but the Original Sin of their Forefathers, even for which they were obliged to pay great penalties and ranſoms. That Such a Servant ſhould ſuffer his Zeal to leſſen and decay towards Such a Maſter, and that he ſhould keep a Title to lodge in his Bed-Chamber, from whoſe Court he had, upon the matter, withdrawn himſelf, and adhered to, and aſſiſted thoſe, who affronted and contemned his Majeſty ſo notoriouſly, would admit of no manner of Interpoſition and Excuſe.

LESS was to be objected againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, who as he had been, all his life, without obligations from the Court, and believed he had undergone oppreſſion there, ſo he was, in all reſpects, the ſame man he had allways profeſſed himſelf to be, when the King put him into that Office; and in receiving of which, many men believed, that He rather gratify'd the King, than that his Majeſty had obliged Him in conferring it; and it had been, no doubt, the chief reaſon of putting the Staff in his hand, becauſe in that Conjuncture no other man, who would in any degree have appeared worthy of it, had the courage to receive it. However having taken the Charge upon him, he ought, no doubt, to have taken all his Maſters concernments more to heart, than he had done; and he can never be excuſed for ſtaying in *White-Hall*, when the King was with that Outrage driven from thence, and for chooſing to behold the triumph of the Members return to *Weſtminſter*, rather than to attend his Majeſty's Perſon in ſo great perplexity to *Hampton-Court*; which had been his duty to have done, and for failing wherein no other excuſe can be made, but that, after he had taken ſo full a reſolution to have waited upon his Majeſty thither, that he had dreſſed himſelf in his travelling habit, he was diverted from it by the Earl of *Holland*, who ought to have accompanied him in the ſervice, and by his averment, "that if he went, he ſhould be aſſaſſinated; which it was not poſſible ſhould have ever been ſo much as thought of.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the Perſons truſted by his Majeſty and remaining at *London*, had no ſooner notice of it (which his Majeſty

ſent to them, that he might be adviſed the beſt way of doing it) but they did all they could to diſſwade the purſuing it. They did not think it a good conjuncture to make thoſe two perſons deſperate; and they knew that they were not of the temper and inclinations of thoſe, who had too much credit with them, nor did deſire to drive things to the utmoſt extremities, which could never better their conditions; and that they did both rather deſire to find any Expedients, by which they might make a ſafe and an honourable Retreat, than to Advance in the way they were engaged in. But the Argument they chiefly inſiſted on to the King, was, "that being deprived of their Offices, they would be able "to do more miſchief, and ready to imbark themſelves with the moſt "deſperate perſons, in the moſt deſperate Attempts; which fell out accordingly. And there is great reaſon to believe, that if that reſolution the King had taken, had not been too obſtinately purſued at that time, many of the miſchiefs, which afterwards fell out, would have been prevented; and, without doubt, if the Staff had remained ſtill in the hands of the Earl of *Eſſex*, by which he was charged with the defence and ſecurity of the King's Perſon, he would never have been prevailed with to have taken upon him the Command of that Army, which was afterwards raiſed againſt the King, and with which ſo many battles were fought. And there can be as little doubt in any man, who knew well the nature and temper of that time, that it had been very difficult, if not utterly impoſſible, for the two Houſes of Parliament to have raiſed an Army Then, if the Earl of *Eſſex* had not conſented to be General of that Army.

BUT the King was inexorable in the point; he was obliged by promiſe to the Queen at parting, which he would not break; and her Majeſty had contracted ſo great an indignation againſt the Earl of *Holland*, whoſe ingratitude indeed towards Her was very odious, that ſhe had ſaid, "She would never live in the Court, if He kept his place. And ſo the King ſent an Order to *Littleton* the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, "that "he ſhould require the Staff and Key from the one, and the other, and "receive them into his cuſtody. The Keeper trembled at the Office, and had not courage to undertake it. He went preſently to the Lord *Falkland*, and deſired him to aſſiſt him in making his excuſe to the King. He made many profeſſions of his Duty to the King, "who, he hoped, "would not command him in an affair ſo unſuitable to the Office he held "under him: that no Keeper had been imployed in ſuch a ſervice; that "if he ſhould execute the Order he had received, it would in the firſt "place be Voted a breach of Privi'edge in him, being a Peer; and the "Houſe would commit him to Priſon, by which the King would receive "the greateſt affront, tho' He ſhould be ruin'd; whereas the thing it "ſelf might be done by a more proper Officer, without any inconvenience.

HOW weak ſoever the Reaſons were, the Paſſion was ſtrong, and the Lord *Falkland* could not refuſe to convey his Letter to the King, which contained his Anſwer in his own words, with all the imaginable profeſſions of Duty and Zeal for his Service. How ill ſoever his Majeſty was ſatisfied, he ſaw the buſineſs would not be done That way; and therefore he writ immediately a Letter, all in his own hand, to the Lord *Falkland*; in which with ſome gracious expreſſions of excuſe for putting that work upon Him, he commanded him "to require the ſurrender of the Enſigns of their Offices from thoſe two Earls. The Lord

Falkland

Falkland was a little troubled in receiving the command; They were perſons from whom he had allways received great civilities, and with whom he had much credit; and this harſh office might have been more naturally, and as Effectually performed by a Gentleman Uſher, as the ſame Staff had been demanded before from the Earl of *Pembroke*, within leſs than a year. However, he would make no excuſe, being a very punctual and exact Perſon in the performances of his Duty; and ſo went to both of them: and met them coming to the Houſe, and imparted his Meſſage to them: They deſired him very civilly, "that he would give "them leave to confer a little together, and they would, within half an "hour, ſend for him into the Houſe of Commons; whither he went, and they within leſs time, ſent to him to meet them in Sr *Thomas Cotton*'s Garden (a place adjacent, where the Members of both Houſes uſed frequently to walk) and there with very few words, they delivered the Staff and the Key into his hands, who immediately carried them to his Lodging; and They went up to the Houſe of Peers: and preſently both Houſes took notice of it, and with Paſſion, and bitter Expreſſions againſt the evil Counſellors, who had given his Majeſty that Counſel, they concurred in a Vote, "that whoſoever preſumed to accept of either of thoſe "Offices, ſhould be reputed an Enemy to his Country; and then they proceeded with more impetuoſity in the buſineſs of the Militia, and all other matters which moſt trenched upon the King's Authority.

WHILST they were ſo eager in purſuit of the Militia, and pretended the neceſſity ſo eminent, that they could not defer the diſpoſition thereof till it might be Formally, and Regularly ſettled by Bill, they had their Eye upon an other Militia, the Royal Navy; without recovering of which to their own power (tho' they were ſatisfy'd by the pulſe of the People, that they would joyn with them, and be generally obedient to their commands) they had no mind to venture upon the execution of their Land Ordinance. And therefore, in the beginning of the Spring, when the Fleet for that year was provided, after they had excepted againſt ſuch Perſons to be Captains of Ships, as they thought not devoted to them (as is before mentioned) they ſent a formal Meſſage to the Lords, "that the Earl of *Northumberland* Lord Admiral, might be "moved to conſtitute the Earl of *Warwick* his Admiral of the Fleet for "that years ſervice, being a Perſon of ſuch Honour and experience, as "they might ſafely Confide in him; and that the Earl of *Warwick* might "be deſired to undertake that ſervice. The Lords thought fit that the King's approbation might be firſt deſired, before it was recommended to the Earl of *Northumberland*; but the Commons thought that ſuperfluous, ſince the Officers of the Fleet were abſolutely in the Earls diſpoſal; and therefore refuſed to ſend to the King, but of Themſelves ſent to both the one Earl, and the other; and the Earl of *Warwick*, being well pleaſed with the Truſt, very frankly, without waiting the King's conſent, declared "that he was ready to undertake the imployment. But this being ſo publickly agitated, the King could not but take notice of it; and finding that the buſineſs ſhould not be propoſed to him, thought it neceſſary, to ſignify his pleaſure in it, that ſo at leaſt the Lord Admiral might not pretend innocence, if ought ſhould be done to his diſſervice; and therefore, he appointed Mr Secretary *Nicholas* to write to the Earl of *Northumberland*, "that his Majeſty expected that Sr *John Pen*-"*nington* ſhould Command that Fleet, as he had done two or three years "before. This Letter being communicated to both Houſes, and the

Lord

Lord Admiral being thereby upon the diſadvantage of a Single conteſt with the King, the Houſe of Commons, rather out of kindneſs and reſpect to the Earl, than of Duty to the King, Condeſcended to joyn with the Lords in a Meſſage to his Majeſty; which they ſent not by Members of their own, but directed the Lord Keeper "to incloſe it in a Letter to "the Secretary attending the King, and to ſend the ſame to *York*; which he did accordingly. The Meſſage was:

A Meſſage from both Houſes to the King, Mar. 28. 1642.

"THAT the Lords and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſem- "bled, having found it neceſſary to provide, and ſet to Sea, a ſtrong and "powerful Navy for the defence of this Kingdom againſt Forreign force, "and for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's other Dominions, the Charge "whereof was to be born by the Common-wealth: and taking notice of "the indiſpoſition of the Lord Admiral, which diſabled him, at that "time, for commanding the Fleet in his own Perſon, did thereupon re- "commend unto his Lordſhip the Earl of *Warwick*, a Perſon of ſuch "Quality and Abilities, as in whom they might beſt Confide, to ſupply "his Lordſhips room for this imployment; and underſtanding that his "Majeſty hath Since ſignify'd his pleaſure concerning that Command "for *John Pennington*, they ſaid, they did hold it their Duty to repre- "ſent to his Majeſty the great danger, and miſchief the Common-wealth "was like to ſuſtain by ſuch interruption; and therefore did humbly "beſeech his Majeſty, that the Noble Perſon, recommended by both "Houſes of Parliament for this ſervice, might be no longer detained "from it, out of any particular reſpect to any other Perſon whatſoever.

THE ſame day that this Meſſage came to his Majeſty, he diſpatched an Anſwer to the Lord Keeper; in which he told him, "That he won- "der'd both at the Form, and Matter of that incloſed paper he had ſent "to him, in the Name of both Houſes of Parliament: It being neither "by the way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the Matter, "he believed, it was the firſt time, that the Houſes of Parliament had "taken upon them the Nomination, or Recommendation of the chief "Sea-Commander; but it added to the wonder, that Sr *John Penning- "ton* being allready appointed by him for that ſervice, upon the recom- "mendation of his Admiral, and no fault ſo much as alledged againſt "him, another ſhould be recommended to him. Therefore he ſaid, "his reſolution upon that point was, that he would not alter him, whom "he had allready appointed to Command that years Fleet; whoſe every "ways ſufficiency was ſo univerſally known, the which he was confi- "dent his Admiral, if there ſhould be occaſion, would make moſt evi- "dent; againſt whoſe teſtimony he ſuppoſed his Parliament would not "except. And tho' there were yet None appointed, or the ſaid Sr *John*, "through ſome accident, not able to perform the ſervice; yet, he ſaid, "the men of that profeſſion were ſo well known to him, beſides many "other reaſons, that (his Admiral excepted, becauſe of his place) re- "commendations of that kind would not be acceptable to him.

The King's Anſwer.

THIS Anſwer was no other than they expected, tho' they ſeem'd troubled at it, and pretended that they had many things of Miſdemea- nour to object againſt Sr *John Pennington*, at leaſt ſuch matters as would render him incapable of that Truſt; the greateſt of which was, that he had convey'd the Lord *Digby* over Sea; tho' they well knew (as is be- fore mentioned) that he had the King's Warrant and Command for that purpoſe; and therefore moved the Lords that he might be ſent for to be examined upon many particulars: and in the mean time, whilſt they

they cauſed him to attend their leiſure to be examined, they proceeded in haſtning the Earl of *Warwick* to make himſelf ready for the Service, who made no ſcruple of undertaking it; and the Earl of *Northumberland* receiving the Order, and Deſire of both Houſes "to grant his Com-"miſſion to him to be Admiral of that Fleet, thought himſelf ſufficiently excuſed towards the King, and did it accordingly. The two Houſes in the mean time, without any further thought of procuring the King's Conſent, preparing reaſons to ſatisfy his Majeſty for the Neceſſity, or Conveniency of their proceeding.

MANY men, eſpecially they, who at a diſtance obſerved and diſcern'd the difficulties the King was like to encounter, wonder'd that upon ſo apparent a breach of Truſt, and act of Undutifulneſs, his Majeſty did not at that time revoke the Lord Admiral's Commiſſion, which was but during pleaſure; and ſo put that ſure Guard of the Kingdom, his Navy, under ſuch a Command as he might depend upon. But the truth is, it was not Then Counſellable; for (beſides that it was eaſier to Reſolve, "that it was fit to remove the Earl of *Northumberland*, than to find a man competent for the place) that way it might have been poſſible to have prevented the going out of any Fleet to Sea, which would have confirmed the frantick Jealouſies of bringing in Forreign Forces; but not have reduced it to his own obedience.

THEY had, by degrees, ſo order'd the collection of Tonnage and Poundage, by paſſing Bills for ſix weeks and two months at a time, and putting thoſe, who ſhould receive or pay thoſe Duties otherwiſe than they were granted by thoſe Bills into a Præmunire; and ſo terrify'd the old Cuſtomers, that the King had no other means of ſetting out his Fleet, than by the monies ariſing by the Cuſtoms, which they abſolutely diſpoſed of; and at this time had contracted with the Victualler, made the Ships ready, and hired many Merchants Ships to joyn in that Fleet for the Guard of the Seas. And whilſt this matter of the Admiral was in ſuſpence, they ſuffered the former Bill of Tonnage and Poundage to expire, and did not, till the very night before, paſs a new Bill; which could not have the Royal Aſſent till many days after, the King being then at *York*. Yet the Houſe of Commons, to ſalve all danger of the Præmunire, on the 24th of *March*, being the very day that the former Bill expired, ſent an Order to all the Collectors of the Cuſtoms, many of which could not receive it in ten days after;

"THAT the new Bill being paſſed by both Houſes for the continuance "of thoſe payments untill the third day of *May* (which could not yet "receive the Royal Aſſent, in regard of the remoteneſs of his Majeſty's "Perſon from the Parliament) which monies to be collected by that "Bill were to be imployed in the neceſſary guarding of the Seas, and de-"fence of the Common-wealth: It was therefore order'd by the Com-"mons in Parliament, that the ſeveral Officers belonging to the Cuſtom "Houſe, both in the Port in *London*, and the out-Ports, ſhould not "permit any Merchant or other to Lade, or Unlade any Goods, or "Merchandizes, before ſuch Perſons do make due entries thereof in the "Cuſtom Houſe. And it was declared alſo by the ſaid Commons, that "ſuch Officers, upon the reſpective entry made by any Merchant as "aforeſaid, ſhould intimate to ſuch Merchant, that it was the advice "of the Commons, for the better eaſe of the ſaid Merchants, and in re-"gard the reſpective Duties would relate, and become due as from that "day; that the ſaid Merchants upon entry of their Goods, as uſually

"they did, when a Law was in force to that purpoſe, would depoſite "ſo much money as the ſeveral Cuſtoms would amount unto, in the "hands of ſuch Officers, to be by them accounted to his Majeſty, as the "reſpective Cuſtoms due by the ſaid Bill, when the ſaid Bill ſhould have "the Royal Aſſent; or otherwiſe, his Majeſty refuſing the paſſing thereof, "the ſaid monies to be reſtored, upon demand, unto the ſeveral Mer-"chants reſpectively.

BY which Order, which was a more abſolute Diſpenſation for a Præmunire, than ever any *Non-obſtante* granted by the Crown, the Cuſtoms were as frankly, and fully paid, as if an Act of Parliament had been paſſed to that purpoſe; and aſſoon as the Commiſſion could be ſent, and returned from *York*, the Act was paſſed. But no doubt they had a further deſign in ſuffering the Bill totally to expire, before they prepared a new One, than at that time was apprehended; and intended, under ſuch a Popular neceſſity, which ſeem'd to be occaſioned by the King's abſence, to bring their own Orders in ſuch a reputation, that in another neceſſity which They ſhould Declare, they might by the Precedent of this, which was the only Indemnity all thoſe Merchants who paid, and the Officers, who received Cuſtoms, had for the preſervation of their Eſtates, be currently and abſolutely obeyed and ſubmitted to.

BY this it appears the King could not at That time, with conveniency or ſafety to his Affairs, diſplace the Earl of *Northumberland*; and he believed, if his occaſions ſhould Hereafter require it, that the Time would be much more ſeaſonable, when the Fleet was at Sea; and the Thing it ſelf more practicable: which was a true concluſion. However, he expreſſed ſo much diſlike againſt the Earl of *Warwick*'s commanding that Fleet, that he was not willing that any Officers, whom he valued, ſhould take imployment under him; which he had ſhortly after cauſe to repent. For, by this means, the Vice-Admiralty, which was deſigned to Captain *Cartwright*, the Controller of the Navy, who hath ſince ſufficiently teſtify'd how advantageouſly to his Majeſty he would have managed that Charge, upon His refuſal (which was occaſioned by intimation from his Majeſty, as ſhall be hereafter mentioned) was conferred upon *Batten*, an obſcure fellow; and, tho' a good Sea-man, unknown to the Navy, till he was, two or three years before, for money, made Surveyor, who executed it ever ſince with great animoſity againſt the King's Service, of which more hereafter.

BEING, by this means, ſecure at Sea, they proceeded with more Vigour at Land; and, tho' they thought it not Yet ſeaſonable to execute their Ordinance for the Militia with any Form and Pomp, they directed, Underhand, their Agents and Emiſſaries, "that the People, of "Themſelves, ſhould chooſe Captains and Officers, and Train under the "name of Voluntiers; which begun to be practiced in many places of the Kingdom, but only in thoſe Corporations, and by thoſe Inferiour people, who were notorious for Faction, and Schiſm in Religion. The King's Declarations, which were now carefully publiſhed, gave them ſome trouble, and made great impreſſion, in Sober men, who were moved with the Reaſon, and in Rich men, who were ſtartled at the Commands in them. But that Clauſe in the King's Anſwer to their Declaration, preſented to him at *New-Market*, in which he told them, "that if they had not been informed of the ſeditious words uſed in, "and the circumſtances of the Tumults, and would appoint ſome way "for the examination of them, that he would require ſome of his learned

"Counſel

"Counſel to attend with ſuch evidence as might ſatisfy them, troubled them much more. For if there were ſtill ſo much courage left in the King's Counſel, that they durſt appear to inform againſt any of thoſe proceedings, which They favoured, they ſhould find men grow more affraid of the Law than of Them; which would deſtroy all their deſigns. Therefore they reſolved to proceed with all expedition, and ſeverely againſt the Atturney General for his Treſpaſs and Preſumption upon their Priviledges, in the Accuſation of the five Members, and the Lord *Kimbolton*: of the circumſtances of which Proceeding, and Judgment thereupon, being as extraordinary, and as diſtant from the Rules of Juſtice, at leaſt of Practice, as any thing that then happen'd, it will not be amiſs to ſet down two or three particulars.

SHORTLY after they had Impeached him (which is mentioned before) and the King had found it neceſſary to give over any proſecution againſt the Others, his Majeſty being deſirous now he had freed Them, that they ſhould free His Atturney, writ a Letter from *Royſton*, when he was in his way to *York*, to the Lord Keeper; in which he told him, "that the Articles, which had been preferred againſt the Members, "were, by Himſelf, delivered to his Atturney General engroſſed in paper; "and that he had then commanded him to accuſe thoſe Perſons, upon "thoſe Articles of High-Treaſon, and other Miſdemeanours; and, in His "Name, to deſire a Committee of Lords might be appointed to take the "examination of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhould be produced, as formerly had "been done in caſes of like nature, according to the Juſtice of the Houſe. "And his Majeſty did further declare, that his ſaid Atturney did not "adviſe or contrive the ſaid Articles, nor had any thing to do with, or "in adviſing, any breach of Priviledge that followed after. And for "what he did in obedience to His Commands, he conceived he was bound "by Oath, and the duty of his Place, and by the Truſt repoſed in him "by his Majeſty, ſo to do: and that if he had refuſed to obey his Ma-"jeſty therein, his Majeſty would have queſtioned him for breach of "Oath, Duty, and Truſt; but now having declared that he found cauſe "wholely to deſiſt from proceeding againſt the Perſons accuſed, he had "commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce, nor "diſcover any Proof concerning the ſame.

THOUGH this Teſtimony of his Majeſty's clearly abſolved him from the Guilt, with which he was charged, yet it rather haſten'd the Trial, and ſharpen'd the edge, that was before keen enough againſt him; and the day of Trial being come, when the Members of the Commons, who were appointed for the Proſecution, found that Counſel was ready (which had been aſſigned by the Lords) for the defence of the Atturney General, they profeſſed, "that they would admit no Counſel; that it was be-"low the dignity of the Houſe of Commons to plead againſt fee'd Coun-"ſel; that whoever preſumed to be of Counſel with a Perſon accuſed "by the Commons of *England* ſhould be taught better to know his duty, "and ſhould have cauſe to repent it. The Lords ſeem'd much moved with this reproach, that their Acts of Judicature ſhould be queſtioned, and the Counſel, which had been juſtly, and regularly aſſign'd by them, ſhould be threaten'd for ſubmitting to Their Order. But that which troubled them moſt, was, that the Counſel, which was aſſign'd by them, upon this reprehenſion, and threat of the Commons, poſitively refuſed to meddle further in the buſineſs, or to make any Defence for the Atturney. Hereupon, they put off the Trial, and commit to the Tower of

London Sr *Thomas Bedingfield*, and Sr *Thomas Gardner*, for their contempt in refuſing to be of Counſel with the Atturney upon Their Aſſignment: ſtanders by looking upon the juſtice of Parliament with leſs reverence, to ſee the Subject, between the contradictory, and oppoſite Commands of both Houſes (the diſpleaſure of either being inſupportable) puniſhed and impriſoned for doing, by One, what he was ſtreightly inhibited from doing by the Other.

HOWEVER, this difference gave only reſpite for ſome days to the Atturney, who was quickly again called before his Judges. To what was paſſionately and unreaſonably objected againſt him, "of breach of Priviledge and Scandal, he confidently alledg'd "the Duty of his place; "that his Maſter's Command was Warrant for what he had done; and "that he had been juſtly puniſhable if he had refuſed to do it, when Commanded; that there had never been a Pretence of Priviledge in Caſe "of Treaſon, the contrary whereof was not only underſtood by the Law, "but had been by Themſelves confeſſed, in a Petition delivered by them "in the beginning of this King's Reign, upon the impriſonment of the "Earl of *Arundel*; in which it was acknowledged, that the Priviledges "of Parliament extended not to Treaſon, Felony, or refuſal to find Sure-"ties for the Peace; that he had no reaſon to ſuſpect the executing the "Duty of his place would have been imputed to him for any Treſpaſs, "ſince the very ſame thing he had now done, and of which he ſtood accuſed, was done, in the firſt year of this King's Reign, by Sr *Robert* "*Heath*, the then Atturney General; who exhibited Articles of High-"Treaſon before their Lordſhips, againſt the Earl of *Briſtol*, which was "not then underſtood to be any breach of Priviledge; and therefore, "having ſo late a Precedent, moſt of their Lordſhips being then Judges, "he hoped he ſhould be held excuſable for not being able to diſcern that "to be a crime, which they had yet never declared to be ſo. The undeniable reaſons of his Defence (againſt which nothing was replied, "but the inconvenience and miſchief, which would attend a Parliament, "if the Members might be accuſed of High-Treaſon without Their conſent) prevailed ſo far with the Major part of the Houſe of Peers, tho' the Proſecution was carried on with all imaginable ſharpneſs, and vehemence by the Houſe of Commons, and entertained by thoſe Peers, who were of that Party, as a matter of vaſt concernment to all their hopes, that the Queſtions being put, whether he ſhould be deprived of his place of Atturney? whether he ſhould be Fined to the King? whether he ſhould pay Damages to the perſons accuſed? and whether he ſhould be committed to the Tower? which were the ſeveral parts of the Sentence, which many of the Lords had preſſed he ſhould undergo, the Negative prevailed in every one of the Particulars; ſo that the Atturney was underſtood by all men, who underſtood the Rules and Practice of Parliament, to be abſolutely abſolved from that Charge and Impeachment, by the Judgment of the Houſe of Peers.

THE Houſe of Commons expreſſed all poſſible reſentment, and declared "that they would not reſt ſatisfy'd with the Judgment; and ſome Lords, even of thoſe who had acquitted him, were very deſirous to find out an Expedient, whereby the Houſe of Commons might be compounded with; and it was believed, that the Atturney himſelf was much ſhaken with the torrent of Malice and Prejudice, which the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd now to threaten him with; conceiving, "that He and "his Office now triumphed over the whole Body, and not over ſix

"Members

"Members only: and therefore, after ſome days, the Houſe of Peers conſidering, "that his diſcharge was but Negative, that he ſhould not "be puniſhed in this and that degree; and that he had no Abſolution "from the crimes, with which he was charged, proceeded to a new Judgment (contrary to all courſe and practice of Parliament, or of any Judicial Court) and complying with all their other Votes, Reſolved, by way of Judgment upon him, "that he ſhould be diſabled from ever be-"ing a Parliament Man; incapable of any place of Judicature, or other "preferment, than of Atturney General; which they could not deprive him of, by reaſon of the former Vote: and "that he ſhould be com-"mitted to the Priſon of the Fleet. Which Sentence was with all Formality pronounced againſt him, and he committed to the Fleet accordingly: with which Sentence the Commons were no more ſatisfy'd than with the Former; ſome of them looking that their Favorite, the Sollicitor, ſhould have the place of Atturney; Others, that the accuſed Members ſhould receive ample Damages by way of reparation; without which they could not think themſelves ſecure from the like Attempts.

HAVING, by this extraordinary and exemplary proceeding, fortify'd their Priviledges againſt ſuch Attempts, and ſecured their Perſons from being accuſed, or proceeded againſt by Law, they uſed no leſs ſeverity, againſt all thoſe who preſumed to queſtion the juſtice, or prudence of their Actions, eſpecially againſt thoſe, who, following the Method that had done ſo much hurt, drew the people to Petition for that which they had no mind to grant; and in this proſecution they were not leſs ſevere, and vehement, than againſt the higheſt Treaſon could be imagined.

UPON the Petition mentioned before, that was framed in *London* againſt their ſetling the Militia, they committed one *George Binion*, a Citizen of great reputation for Wealth and Wiſdom, and who was indeed a very ſober man. After he had lain ſome time in Priſon, the Lords, according to Law, bailed him; but the Commons cauſed him the next day to be recommitted, and preferr'd an Impeachment againſt him, for no other crime but "adviſing and contriving that Petition. The Gentleman defended himſelf, "that it was allways held, and ſo publickly "declared this Parliament, to be Lawful, in a modeſt way, to Petition "for the removal, or prevention of any grievance: that obſerving very "many Petitions to be delivered, and received, for the ſetling the Mi-"litia, in an other way than was then agreeable to the Law, or had "been practiced, and conceiving that the ſame would prove very preju-"dicial to the City of *London*, of which he was a Member, he had "joyn'd with many other Citizens, of known ability and integrity, in "a Petition againſt ſo great an inconvenience; which, he preſumed, was "lawful for him to do. How reaſonable ſoever this Defence was, the Houſe of Peers adjudged him "to be Disfranchiſed, and incapable of "any Office in the City; to be committed to the Common Goal of "*Colcheſter* (for his reputation was ſo great in *London*, that they would not truſt him in a City Priſon) and Fined him three thouſand pounds.

ABOUT the ſame time, at the General Aſſizes in *Kent*, the Juſtices of Peace, and principal Gentlemen of that County, prepared a Petition to be preſented to the two Houſes, with a deſire, "that the Militia "might not be otherwiſe exerciſed in that County, than the known "Law permitted: and that the Book of Common Prayer, eſtabliſhed by "Law, might be obſerved. This Petition was communicated by many

to their friends, and Copies thereof ſent abroad, before the Subſcription was ready; whereupon the Houſe of Peers took notice of it, as tending to ſome Commotion in *Kent*; and, in the Debate, the Earl of *Briſtol* taking notice, "that he had Seen a Copy of it, and had had ſome con-"ference about it with Judge *Mallet*, who was then Judge of Aſſize in *Kent*, and newly return'd out of his Circuit, both the Earl and Judge, for having but Seen the Petition, were preſently committed to the Tower; and a Declaration publiſhed, "that none ſhould preſume to de-"liver that, or the like Petition to either Houſe. Notwithſtanding which, ſome Gentlemen of *Kent*, with a great number of the Subſtan-10 tial Inhabitants of that County, came to the City; which upon the Alarum, was put in Arms; ſtrong Guards placed at *London-Bridge*, where the Petitioners were diſarmed, and only ſome few ſuffered to paſs with their Petition to *Weſtminſter*; the reſt forced to return to their Country. And, upon the delivery thereof to the Houſe of Commons (tho' the ſame was very modeſt, and in a more dutiful Dialect than moſt Petitions delivered to them) the bringers of the Petition were ſharply reprehended; two or three of them committed to ſeveral Priſons; the Principal Gentlemen of the Country, who had ſubſcribed and adviſed it, ſent for as Delinquents; Charges, and Articles of Impeach-20 ment, drawn up againſt them; and a Declaration publiſhed, "that who-"ſoever ſhould henceforth adviſe, or contrive the like Petitions ſhould "be proceeded againſt, as Enemies to the Common-wealth. So unlike, and different were their tempers, and reception of thoſe modeſt Addreſſes, which were for duty and obedience to the Laws eſtabliſhed; and thoſe which preſſed, and brought on Alteration and Innovation. But that injuſtice gave great life, and incouragement to their own Proſelytes; and taught Others to know that their being Innocent would not be long Eaſy or Safe: and this kind of Juſtice extended it ſelf in the ſame mea-30 ſure to their own Members, who oppoſed their Irregular determinations; who, beſides the agony and vexation of having the moſt plain reaſon, and confeſſed Law, rejected, and overruled with contempt and noiſe, were liable to all the Perſonal reproaches and diſcountenance, that the Pride and Petulancy of the other Party, could lay upon them; and were ſometimes impriſoned and diſgraced, for Freely ſpeaking their Opinions, and Conſcience in Debate.

ALL ſorts of men being thus terrify'd, the Commons remember'd, that a great Magazine of the King's Ammunition lay ſtill at *Hull*; and tho' that Town was in the cuſtody of a Confident of their own, yet they were not willing to venture ſo great a treaſure ſo near the King, who 40 continued at *York*, with a great reſort of Perſons of Honour and Quality from all parts; and therefore they reſolved, under pretence of ſupplying *Ireland*, to remove it ſpeedily from thence; and moved the Lords, "to joyn with them in an Order to that purpoſe. The Lords, who proceeded with leſs Fury, and more Formality, deſired "that it might be "done with the King's conſent. After a long Debate, the one thinking they merited much by that Civility, the other contented to gratify thoſe in the Ceremony, who, they knew, would in the end concur with them, a Petition was agreed upon to be ſent to his Majeſty; in which, that he might the ſooner yield to them in this matter, they reſolved to 50 remember him of that, which, they thought, would reflect on him with the People, and to "move him to take off the Reprieve from the ſix "Prieſts, which is before mentioned. And ſo they ſent their Petition

to

to him, telling him, "that they found the Stores of Arms, and Ammunition in the Tower of *London* much diminiſhed; and that the neceſſity for ſupply of his Kingdom of *Ireland* (for which they had been iſſued from thence) daily increaſed; and that the occaſion, for which the Magazine was placed at *Hull*, was now taken away; and conſidering it would be kept at *London* with leſs charge, and more ſafety, and tranſported thence with much more convenience for the ſervice of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; they therefore humbly prayed, that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to give leave, that the ſaid Armes, Cannon, and Ammunition, now in the Magazine of *Hull*, might be removed to the Tower of *London*, according as ſhould be directed by both his Houſes of Parliament: And whereas ſix Prieſts, then in *Newgate*, were condemn'd to dye, and by his Majeſty had been reprieved, they humbly prayed his Majeſty to be pleaſed, that the ſaid Reprieves might be taken off, and the Prieſts executed according to Law. To which Petition his Majeſty immediately returned Anſwer in theſe words:

A Petition from the two Houſes to remove the Magazine from Hull.

"WE rather expected, and have done long, that You ſhould have given Us an Account, why a Garriſon hath been placed in Our Town of *Hull*, without our Conſent, and Soldiers billeted there againſt Law, and expreſs words of the Petition of Right, than to be moved, for the avoiding of a needleſs charge you have put upon your ſelves, to give Our Conſent for the removal of Our Magazine and Munition, Our own proper Goods, upon ſuch General reaſons as indeed give no ſatisfaction to Our Judgment: And ſince you have made the buſineſs of *Hull* your Argument, We would gladly be informed, why our own inclination, on the general rumour of the deſigns of Papiſts in the Northern Parts, was not thought ſufficient ground for us to put a Perſon of Honour, Fortune, and unblemiſhed Reputation, into a Town and Fort of Our own, where Our own Magazine lay: and yet the ſame rumour be Warrant enough for You to commit the ſame Town and Fort, without Our Conſent, to the hands of Sr *John Hotham*, with a power unagreeable to the Law of the Land, or the Liberty of the Subject.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

"AND yet of this, in point of Right, or Priviledge, for ſure We are not without Priviledge too, We have not all this while complained: and being confident that the place, whatſoever diſcourſe there is of Publick or Private inſtructions to the contrary, ſhall be ſpeedily given up, if We ſhall require it, We ſhall be contented to diſpoſe our Munition there, as We have done in other places, for the publick eaſe and benefit, as, upon particular advice, We ſhall find convenient; tho' we cannot think it fit, or conſent, that the whole Magazine be removed together. But when you ſhall agree upon ſuch proportions, as ſhall be held neceſſary for any particular ſervice, We ſhall ſign ſuch Warrants as ſhall be agreeable to Wiſdom and Reaſon; and if any of them be deſigned for *Ulſter*, or *Lemſter*, you know well the conveyance will be more eaſy, and convenient from the place they are Now in. Yet we muſt tell you, that if the fears are ſo great from the Papiſts at home, or of Forreign Force, as is pretended, it ſeems ſtrange that you make not proviſion of Armes, and Munition for defence of this Kingdom, rather than ſeek to carry any more from hence, without ſome courſe taken for ſupply; eſpecially, if you remember your engagement to Our *Scots* Subjects, for that proportion of Armes,

"which

"which is conteined in your Treaty. We ſpeak not this, as not thinking "the ſending of Armes to *Ireland* very neceſſary, but only for the Way "of the proviſion. For You know what great quantities We have Aſ- "ſigned out of Our ſeveral Stores, which, in due time, We hope, You "will ſee repleniſhed. For the Charge of looking to the Magazine at "*Hull*, as it was undertaken Voluntarily by You at firſt, and, to ſay "no more, Unneceſſarily; ſo You may free Our good People of that "Charge, and leave it to Us to look to, who are the proper Owner of it. And this, We hope, will give you full ſatisfaction in this point, and "that Ye do not, as you have done in the buſineſs of the Militia, ſend "this Meſſage out of Complement and Ceremony, reſolving to be your "Own Carvers at laſt. For We muſt tell you, if any attempt ſhall be "made or given in this matter, without Our Conſent or Approbation, "We ſhall eſteem it as an Act of Violence againſt Us; and declare it to "all the world, as the greateſt Violation of Our Right, and breach of "Our Priviledge.

"CONCERNING the ſix Prieſts condemn'd, it is true, they were re- "prieved by Our Warrant, We being informed that they were, by ſome "reſtraint, diſabled to take the benefit of Our former Proclamation; "ſince that, We have iſſued out another, for the due execution of the "Laws againſt Papiſts; and have moſt ſolemnly promiſed, in the word "of a King, never to pardon any Prieſt, without Your conſent, which "ſhould be found guilty by Law; deſiring to baniſh theſe, having here- "with ſent Warrant to that purpoſe, if, upon ſecond thoughts, You do "not diſapprove thereof. But if You think the Execution of theſe per- "ſons ſo very neceſſary to the great, and pious work of Reformation, "We refer it wholely to You; declaring hereby, that upon ſuch Your "Reſolution ſignify'd to the Miniſters of Juſtice, Our Warrant for their "Reprieve is determined, and the Law to have the courſe. And now "let Us ask you (for we are willing to husband time, and to diſpatch as "much as may be under One Meſſage; God knows the diſtractions of "this Kingdom want a Preſent remedy) will there Never be a time to "Offer to, as well as to Ask of Us? We will propoſe no more particu- "lars to you, having no luck to pleaſe, or to be underſtood by you; take "your own time for what concerns Our particular: but be ſure you have "an early, ſpeedy care of the Publick; that is, of the only Rule that "preſerves the Publick, the Law of the Land; preſerve the dignity and "reverence due to That. It was well ſaid in a Speech, made by a pri- "vate perſon; it was Mr *Pym*'s Speech againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, but "publiſhed by Order of the Houſe of Commons this Parliament: the "Law is that, which puts a difference betwixt Good and Evil, betwixt "Juſt and Unjuſt. If you take away the Law, all things will fall into a "confuſion, every man will become a Law unto himſelf; which, in the "depraved condition of Human Nature, muſt needs produce many great "enormities. Luſt will become a Law, and envy will become a Law; "Covetouſneſs and Ambition will become Laws; and what dictates, "what deciſions, ſuch Laws will produce, may eaſily be diſcerned. So "ſaid that Gentleman, and much more, very well, in defence of the "Law, and againſt Arbitrary Power. It is worth looking over, and "conſidering: and if the moſt zealous defence of the true Proteſtant "profeſſion, and the moſt reſolved protection of the Law, be the moſt "neceſſary duty of a Prince, We cannot believe this miſerable diſtance, "and miſunderſtanding, can be long continued between us; We having

"often,

"often, and earneſtly declared them to be the chiefeſt deſires of Our Soul, "and the End and Rule of all Our Actions. For *Ireland*, We have ſuffi- "ciently, and we hope ſatisfactorily, expreſſed to all Our good Subjects "Our hearty ſenſe of that ſad buſineſs, in Our ſeveral Meſſages on that "Argument, but eſpecially in Our laſt of the eighth of this Month, con- "cerning Our Reſolution for that Service; for the Speedy, Honourable, "and Full performance whereof, We conjure You to yield all poſſible "aſſiſtance, and Preſent advice.

THIS Anſwer was received with the uſual circumſtances of trouble and diſcontent, the taxing of evil Counſellors, and Malignant perſons about the King; and that Clauſe about the condemn'd Prieſts exceedingly diſpleaſed them; for by the King's reference of the matter entirely to Them, he had removed the ſcandal from Himſelf, and laid it at Their doors; and tho' they were well content, and deſirous, that they ſhould have been Executed by the King's Warrant for taking off his own Reprieve (whereby they ſhould have made him retract an Act of his Own Mercy, and undeniably within his own Power; and thereby have leſſened much of the Devotion of that People to him, when they ſhould have ſeen him quit his power of preſerving them in the leaſt degree) yet, for many reaſons, they were not willing to take that harſh part upon Themſelves; and ſo thoſe condemn'd Prieſts were no more proſecuted, and were much ſafer under that Reference for their execution, than they could have been, at that time, by a Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*. For the other part of the Anſwer concerning the Magazine, it made no pauſe with them; but within few day's after, they ſent a Warrant to their own Governour, Sr *John Hotham*, to deliver it; and to their own Admiral, the Earl of *Warwick*, to tranſport it to *London*; which was, notwithſtanding the King's inhibition, done accordingly. But they had at that time another Meſſage from the King, which was referr'd to in the laſt Clauſe of that Anſwer, and came to their hands ſome few days before, that gave them ſome ſerious trouble and apprehenſion; the grounds and reaſons of which were theſe:

"THE King finding, that notwithſtanding all the profeſſions, and proteſtations he could make, the buſineſs of *Ireland* was ſtill unreaſonably objected to him, as if he were not cordial in the ſuppreſſing that Rebellion, ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes:

His Majeſty's Meſſage to both Houſes, Apr. 8. 1642. offering to go in perſon into Ireland.

"THAT being grieved at the very Soul for the calamities of his good "Subjects of *Ireland*, and being moſt tenderly ſenſible of the falſe, and "ſcandalous reports diſperſed amongſt the People concerning the Re- "bellion there; which not only wounded his Majeſty in Honour, but "likewiſe greatly retarded the reducing that unhappy Kingdom, and "multiply'd the diſtractions at Home, by weakning the mutual confi- "dence between him, and his People: out of his pious Zeal to the Ho- "nour of Allmighty God, in eſtabliſhing the true Proteſtant profeſſion "in that Kingdom, and his Princely care for the good of all his Domi- "nions, he had firmly reſolved to go with all convenient ſpeed into "*Ireland*, to chaſtiſe thoſe wicked and deteſtable Rebels, odious to God, "and all good men; thereby ſo to ſettle the Peace of That Kingdom, "and the ſecurity of This, that the very Name of Fears and Jealouſies "might be no more heard of amongſt them.

"AND He ſaid, as he doubted not, but his Parliament would chear- "fully give all poſſible Aſſiſtance to this good Work, ſo he required "them, and all his loving Subjects, to believe, that he would, upon

"thoſe conſiderations, as earneſtly Purſue that deſign, not declining "any hazard of his Perſon in performing that duty, which he owed to "the defence of God's true Religion, and his diſtreſſed Subjects, as he "Undertook it for thoſe only ends; to the ſincerity of which profeſſion, "he called God to Witneſs, with this further aſſurance, that he would "never conſent, upon whatſoever pretence, to a Toleration of the Po- "piſh profeſſion there, or the abolition of the Laws now in force againſt "Popiſh Recuſants in that Kingdom.

"HIS Majeſty further advertiſed them, that, towards this work, he "intended to raiſe forthwith, by his Commiſſions, in the Counties near "*Weſt-Cheſter*, a Guard for his own Perſon (when he ſhould come into "*Ireland*) conſiſting of two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, "which ſhould be armed at *Weſt-Cheſter*, from his Magazine at *Hull*; "at which time, he ſaid, all the Officers, and Soldiers, ſhould take the "Oaths of Supremacy, and Allegiance; the Charge of raiſing and pay- "ing whereof, he deſired the Parliament to add to their former under- "takings for that War; which he would not only well accept, but, if "their Pay ſhould be found too great a burthen to his good Subjects, he "would be willing, by the advice of his Parliament, to ſell, or pawn, "any of his Parks, Lands, or Houſes, towards the ſupplies of the ſer- "vice of *Ireland*. With the addition of theſe Levies to the former of "Engliſh, and Scots, agreed upon in Parliament, he ſaid, he hoped ſo "to appear in that Action, that by the Aſſiſtance of Allmighty God, "that Kingdom, in a ſhort time, might be wholely reduced, and re- "ſtored to peace, and ſome meaſure of happineſs; whereby he might "chearfully return, to be welcomed home with the affections, and "bleſſings of all his good Engliſh People.

"TOWARDS this good work, he ſaid, as he had lately made diſpatches "into *Scotland*, to quicken the Levies there for *Ulſter*, ſo he heartily "wiſhed, that his Parliament would give all poſſible expedition to thoſe, "which they had reſolved for *Munſter* and *Canaught*; and hoped the "encouragement, which the Adventurers, of whoſe intereſts he would "be allways very careful, would hereby receive, would raiſe full ſums "of money for the doing thereof. He told them, that out of his earneſt "deſire to remove all occaſions, which did unhappily multiply miſun- "derſtandings between him and his Parliament, he had likewiſe pre- "pared a Bill to be offer'd to them by his Atturney concerning the Mi- "litia; whereby, he hoped, the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom might "be fully ſecured to the general ſatisfaction of all men, without Vio- "lation of his Majeſty's Juſt Rights, or prejudice to the Liberty of the "Subject. If this ſhould be thankfully received, he ſaid, he ſhould be "glad of it; if refuſed, he muſt call God, and all the world, to judge "on Whoſe part the default was; only he required, if the Bill ſhould "be approved of, that if any Corporations ſhould make their Lawful "Rights appear, they might be reſerved to them. He ſaid, before he "would part from *England*, he would take all due care to entruſt ſuch "Perſons with ſuch Authority in his abſence, as he ſhould find to be "requiſite for the peace and ſafety of the Kingdom, and the happy pro- "greſs of the Parliament.

THEY neither before nor after ever received any Meſſage from his Majeſty, that more diſcompoſed them; and ſo much the more, becauſe that which gave them moſt Umbrage, could not be publickly and ſafely avowed by them. For tho', to thoſe who had a due reverence to the

King's

King's Perſon, and an impatient deſire, that all miſunderſtandings might be compoſed, they urged "the hazard, and danger to his Majeſty's Per-"ſon, in ſuch an expedition, and the increaſe of jealouſies and diſtractions, "that would enſue in this Kingdom by his Abſence; and to others, who from the barbarity, inhumanity, and unheard of cruelty, exerciſed by the Rebels in *Ireland* upon the Engliſh Proteſtants (of which they every day received freſh and bleeding evidence) had contracted a great animoſity againſt that whole Nation, and were perſwaded that the work of extirpation was not ſo difficult as intruth it was; and to the Adventurers, who had disburſed great ſums of money, and had diſgeſted a full Aſſurance of Ample recompence by Confiſcations, and Forfeitures; "that by this Voyage of the King, a Peace would be in a ſhort time "concluded in that Kingdom, to their great diſadvantage and damage; yet the true Reaſons, which ſurpriſed and ſtartled them, were, that hereby the managing the War of *Ireland* would be taken out of their hands; and ſo, inſtead of having a Nurſery for Soldiers of their Own, which they might imploy as they ſaw occaſion; and a power of raiſing what money they pleaſed in this Kingdom under that title, which they might diſpoſe, as they found moſt fit for their affairs; the King would probably in a ſhort time recover One entire Kingdom to his obedience, by which he might be able to preſerve the peace of the Other Two. However, working by ſeveral impreſſions upon ſeveral Affections, they found it no difficult thing to perſwade, allmoſt an Unanimous, averſion from approving the Journey; they who uſually oppoſed their advice, not enduring to think of ſtaying in *England*, where the power, at leaſt for a time, would be in Them, whoſe Government, they knew, would be terrible when his Majeſty ſhould be in *Ireland*. Upon this they diſpatched a Magiſterial Anſwer to the King, in which they told him;

The Anſwer of both Houſes to his Majeſty's Meſſage of his going in Perſon into Ireland, Apr. 28. 1642.

"THAT the Lords and Commons in Parliament, had duly conſidered "the Meſſage, received from his Majeſty, concerning his purpoſe of go-"ing into *Ireland* in his Own Perſon to proſecute the War there, with "the bodies of his Engliſh Subjects, levied, tranſported, and maintained "at their Charge; which he was pleaſed to propound to them, not as "a matter wherein he deſired the advice of his Parliament, but as all-"ready firmly reſolved on, and forthwith to be put in execution, by "granting out Commiſſions for the levying of two thouſand Foot, and "two hundred Horſe, for a Guard for his Perſon when he ſhould come "into that Kingdom; wherein, they ſaid, they could not but, with all "reverence and humility to his Majeſty, obſerve, that he had declined "his Great Council, the Parliament, and varied from the uſual Courſe of "his Royal Predeceſſours; that a buſineſs of ſo great importance con-"cerning the Peace, and Safety of all his Subjects, and wherein they "have a ſpecial intereſt, by his Majeſty's promiſe, and by thoſe great "ſums, which they had disburſed, and for which they ſtood engaged, "ſhould be concluded, and undertaken without their advice: where-"upon, they ſaid, they held it their duty to declare, that if, at that time, "his Majeſty ſhould go into *Ireland*, he would very much endanger the "ſafety of his Royal Perſon, and Kingdoms, and of all other States pro-"feſſing the Proteſtant Religion in *Chriſtendom*, and make way to the "execution of that cruel, and bloody deſign of the Papiſts, every where "to root out and deſtroy the Reformed Religion; as the Iriſh Papiſts "had allready, in a great part, effected in that Kingdom; and, in all "likelyhood, would quickly be attempted in other places, if the conſi-

"deration of the ſtrength, and union of the two Nations of *England*, "and *Scotland*, did not much hinder, and diſcourage the execution of "any ſuch deſign. And that they might manifeſt to his Majeſty the "danger and miſery, which ſuch a journey and enterpriſe would pro- "duce, they preſented to his Majeſty the reaſons of that their humble "opinion and advice:

1. "HIS Royal Perſon would be ſubject, not only to the caſualty of "War, but to ſecret Practices and Conſpiracies; eſpecially his Majeſty "continuing his profeſſion to maintain the Proteſtant Religion in that "Kingdom, which the Papiſts were generally bound by their vow to "extirpate.

2. "IT would exceedingly encourage the Rebels; who did generally "profeſs and declare, that his Majeſty did favour and allow their pro- "ceedings, and that this Inſurrection was undertaken by the Warrant "of his Commiſſion; and it would make good their expectation of great "advantage, by his Majeſty's preſence at that time, of ſo much diſtraction "in his Kingdom, whereby they might hope the two Houſes of Par- "liament would be diſabled to ſupply the War there, eſpecially there "appearing leſs neceſſity of his Majeſty's Journey at that time, by rea- "ſon of the manifold ſucceſſes, which God had given againſt them.

3. "IT would much hinder, and impair the means whereby the "War was to be ſupported, and increaſe the Charge of it, and in both "theſe reſpects make it more inſupportable to the Subject; and this, "they ſaid, they could confidently affirm; becauſe many of the Adven- "turers, who had allready ſubſcribed, did, upon the knowledge of his "Majeſty's intention, declare their reſolution not to pay in their money; "and others, very willing to have ſubſcribed, do Now profeſs the con- "trary.

4. "HIS Majeſty's abſence muſt neceſſarily very much interrupt the "proceedings of Parliament; and deprive his Subjects of the benefit of "thoſe further Acts of Grace and Juſtice, which they ſhould humbly "expect from his Majeſty for the eſtabliſhing a perfect Union, and mu- "tual Confidence between his Majeſty and his People, and procuring, "and confirming the proſperity, and happineſs of both.

5. "IT would exceedingly increaſe the Fears and Jealouſies of his "People; and render their Doubts more probable, of ſome Force in- "tended, by ſome evil Counſels near his Majeſty, in oppoſition of the "Parliament, and favour of the Malignant Party of this Kingdom.

6. "IT would bereave his Parliament of that advantage, whereby "they were induced to undertake that War, upon his Majeſty's promiſe "that it ſhould be managed by Their advice; which could not be done, "if his Majeſty, contrary to their Counſels, ſhould undertake to order, "and govern it in his own Perſon.

"UPON which, and divers other reaſons, they ſaid, they had Re- "ſolved, by the full and concurrent Agreement of both Houſes, that "they could not, with diſcharge of their duty, conſent to any Levies or "raiſing of Soldiers to be made by his Majeſty, for that his intended "expedition into *Ireland*; or to the payment of any Army, or Soldiers "there, but ſuch as ſhould be imployed, and governed according to their "advice, and direction: and that, if ſuch Levies ſhould be made by any "Commiſſion of his Majeſty's, not agreed to by both Houſes of Parlia- "ment, they ſhould be forced to interpret the ſame to be raiſed to the "Terrour of his People, and Diſturbance of the Publick Peace; and

"did

"did hold themſelves bound, by the Laws of the Kingdom, to apply "the Authority of Parliament to ſuppreſs the ſame.

"AND, they ſaid, they did further moſt humbly declare, that if his "Majeſty ſhould by ill Counſel be perſwaded to go, contrary to that "advice of his Parliament (which they hoped his Majeſty would not) "they did not, in that caſe, hold themſelves bound to ſubmit to any "Commiſſioners, which his Majeſty ſhould chooſe; but did Reſolve to "Preſerve and Govern the Kingdom, by the Counſel and Advice of Par-"liament, for his Majeſty and his Poſterity, according to their Alle-"giance, and the Law of the Land: wherefore, they did moſt humbly "pray, and adviſe his Majeſty, to deſiſt from that his intended paſſage "into *Ireland*, and from all preparation of Men and Armes tending "thereunto; and to leave the managing of that War to his Parliament, "according to his promiſe made unto them, and his Commiſſion granted "under his Great Seal of *England*, by advice of both Houſes; in pro-"ſecution whereof, by God's bleſſing, they had allready made a pro-"ſperous entrance, by many defeats of the Rebels, whereby they were "much weakned and diſheartned; and had no probable means of ſub-"ſiſtence, if the proceedings of the two Houſes were not interrupted by "that interpoſition of his Majeſty's Journey: but they hoped, upon good "grounds, that, within a ſhort time, without hazard of his Perſon, and "ſo much dangerous confuſion in his Kingdoms, which muſt needs en-"ſue, if he ſhould proceed in that reſolution, they ſhould be enabled "fully to vindicate his Majeſty's Right, and Authority in that Kingdom; "and puniſh thoſe horrible, outragious cruelties, which had been com-"mitted in the murthering, and ſpoiling ſo many of his Subjects; and "to bring that Realm to ſuch a condition, as might be much to the Ad-"vantage of his Majeſty and the Crown, and the Honour of his Go-"vernment, and Contentment of his People: for the better and more "ſpeedy effecting whereof, they did again renew their humble deſires "of his return to his Parliament; and that he would pleaſe to reject all "Counſels, and Apprehenſions, which might any way derogate from "that faithfulneſs, and Allegiance, which, in truth and ſincerity, they "had allways born and profeſſed to his Majeſty, and ſhould ever make "good, to the uttermoſt, with their Lives and Fortunes.

To this Petition (the Matter whereof finding a general concurrence, there was the leſs debate, and contradiction upon the Manner of expreſ-ſion) being ſent to the King to *York*; and, in the mean time, all prepa-rations being ſuſpended for the neceſſary relief for *Ireland*, inſomuch as with the Votes (which were preſently printed) againſt the King's Jour-ney, there was likewiſe an Order printed to diſcourage the Adventurers from bringing in their Money; the which, tho' it had no approbation from either Houſe, and ſeem'd to be angrily interpreted by them, and the Printer was order'd to be found out and puniſhed, yet did wholely ſtop that Service; and by the no-enquiry, or puniſhment of that bold-neſs, appear'd to be done by deſign) his Majeſty ſpeedily returned this Anſwer.

The King's Reply touching his going into Ireland.

"THAT he was ſo troubled, and aſtoniſhed to find that unexpected "reception, and miſunderſtanding of his Meſſage concerning his Iriſh "Journey, that (being ſo much diſappointed of the Approbation, and "thanks he looked for to that Declaration) he had great cauſe to doubt, "whether it were in his power, to Say, or Do any thing, which would "not fall within the like interpretation: but he ſaid, as he had, in that

"Meſſage, called God to Witneſs the ſincerity of the profeſſion of his "only ends for the undertaking that Journey; ſo he muſt Appeal to all "his good Subjects, and the whole world, whether the reaſons alledged "againſt that Journey, were of Weight to ſatisfy his underſtanding; or "the Counſel, preſented to diſſwade him from it, were full of that Duty, "as was like to prevail over his Affections. For the reſolving of ſo "great a buſineſs without the Advice of his Parliament, he ſaid, he muſt "remember them, how often, by his Meſſage, he made the ſame offer, "if They ſhould adviſe him thereunto; to which they never gave him "the leaſt Anſwer; but, in their late Declaration, told him, that they "were not to be ſatisfy'd with Words: ſo that he had reaſon to conceive, "they rather avoided, out of regard to his Perſon, to give him Counſel "to run that hazard, than that they diſapproved the inclination. And, "he asked them, what greater comfort, or ſecurity the Proteſtants of "*Chriſtendom* could receive, than by ſeeing a Proteſtant King venture, "and engage his Perſon for the Defence of That Religion, and the Sup-"preſſion of Popery? to which he ſolemnly proteſted, in that Meſſage, "never to grant a Toleration, upon what pretence ſoever, or any abo-"lition of any of the Laws There in force againſt the Profeſſours of it. "And, he ſaid, when he conſidered the great calamities, and unheard of "cruelties, his poor Proteſtant Subjects in that Kingdom had undergone "for the ſpace of near, or full ſix Months; the growth and increaſe of "the ſtrength of thoſe barbarous Rebels; and the evident probability of "forreign ſupplies, if they were not ſpeedily ſuppreſſed; the very ſlow "ſuccours hitherto ſent them from hence: that the Officers of ſeveral "Regiments, who had long time been allowed entertainment from them "for that Service, had not raiſed any ſupply, or ſuccour for that King-"dom; that many Troops of Horſe had long lain near *Cheſter* un-"tranſported; that the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, on whom he relied "principally for the conduct, and managing of Affairs there, was ſtill in "this Kingdom, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's earneſtneſs expreſſed, that "he ſhould repair to his Command: and when he conſider'd the many "and great ſcandals raiſed upon himſelf by report of the Rebels, and "not ſufficiently diſcountenanced Here, notwithſtanding ſo many pro-"feſſions of his Majeſty; and had ſeen a Book, lately printed by the "Order of the Houſe of Commons, entituled a Remonſtrance of divers "remarkable paſſages concerning the Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, "wherein ſome Examinations were ſet down (how improbable or im-"poſſible ſoever) which might make an impreſſion in the minds of "many of his weak Subjects: And laſtly, when he had duely weighed "the diſhonour that would perpetually lie upon this Kingdom, if full "and ſpeedy relief were not diſpatched thither; his Majeſty could not "think of a better way to diſcharge his Duty to Allmighty God, for the "defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, or to manifeſt his Affection to "his three Kingdoms, for their preſervation, than by engaging his Per-"ſon in that expedition, as many of his Royal Progenitors had done, "even in Forreign Parts, upon cauſes of Leſs importance and piety, with "great Honour to themſelves, and Advantage to this Kingdom. And "therefore, he expected at leaſt Thanks for ſuch his inclination.

"FOR the danger to his Perſon, he ſaid, he conceived it neceſſary, "and worthy of a King, to adventure his Life to preſerve his Kingdoms; "neither could it be imagined that he would ſit ſtill, and ſuffer his King-"doms to be loſt, and his good Proteſtant Subjects to be Maſſacre'd,

"without

"without expoſing his own Perſon to the utmoſt hazard for their relief "and preſervation; his life, when it was moſt pleaſant, being nothing "ſo precious to him, as it was, and ſhould be, to govern and preſerve "his People with Honour, and Juſtice.

"FOR any encouragement to the Rebels, becauſe of the Reports they "raiſed, he ſaid, he could not conceive, that the Rebels were capable "of a greater terrour, than by the Preſence of their Lawful King, in the "head of an Army, to chaſtiſe them. Beſides, it would be an unſpeakable "advantage to them, if any report of Theirs could hinder him from do- "ing any thing, which were fit for him to do, if ſuch report were not "raiſed: that would quickly teach them, in this Jealous age, to pre- "vent, by ſuch reports, any other Perſons coming againſt them, whom "they had no mind ſhould be imploy'd.

"HE told them, that he marvelled, that the Adventurers, whoſe "advantage was a principal motive (next the reaſons before mentioned) "to him, ſhould ſo much miſtake his purpoſe; whoſe intereſt he con- "ceived muſt be much improved by the expedition he hoped, by God's "bleſſing, to uſe in that Service; that being the moſt probable way for "the ſpeedy Conqueſt of the Rebels, their Lands were ſufficiently ſe- "cured by Act of Parliament.

"HE told them, he thought himſelf not kindly uſed, that the addi- "tion of ſo few Men to their Levies (for a Guard to his Perſon in *Ire-* "*land*) ſhould be thought fit for their refuſal; and much more, that "having uſed ſo many cautions in that Meſſage, both in the ſmalneſs "of the number; in his having raiſed none, untill their Anſwer; in their "being to be raiſed only near the place of ſhipping; in their being There "to be armed, and that not till they were ready to be ſhipp'd; in the "proviſion, by the Oaths, that none of them ſhould be Papiſts (all which "were ſufficient to deſtroy all grounds of Jealouſy of any Force intended "by them in oppoſition to the Parliament, or favour to any Malignant "Party) any Suſpicion ſhould, notwithſtanding, be grounded upon it.

"NEITHER, he ſaid, could it be underſtood, that when he recom- "mended the managing of that War to Them, he intended to exclude "Himſelf, or not to be concerned in their Counſels, that if he found "any Expedient (which, in his conſcience and underſtanding, he thought "neceſſary for that great work) he might not put it in practice. He "told them, he looked upon them as his great Council, whoſe advice "he allways had, and would, with great regard and deliberation, weigh "and conſider: but he looked upon himſelf as neither deprived of his "Underſtanding, or deveſted of any Right he had, if there were no Par- "liament ſitting. He ſaid, he called them together, by his own Writ "and Authority (without which they could not have met) to give him "faithful Counſel about his Great Affairs; but he reſigned not up his "own Intereſt, and Freedom; he never ſubjected himſelf to Their ab- "ſolute Determination; He had allways weighed their Counſels, as pro- "ceeding from a Body intruſted by him; and when he had diſſented "from them, he had returned them the reaſons, which had prevailed "with his conſcience and underſtanding, with that Candour, which a "Prince ſhould uſe towards his Subjects; and that Affection, which a Fa- "ther could expreſs to his Children. What application had been uſed "to rectify his Underſtanding by Reaſons, or what Motives had been "given to perſwade his Affections, he would leave all the world to "judge. And then, he ſaid, he muſt tell them, howſoever a Major part

"might

"might bind Them in matter of opinion, he held Himſelf (and he was "ſure the Law and Conſtitution of the Kingdom had allways held the "ſame) as free to diſſent, till his Reaſon was convinced, for the Gene- "ral Good, as if they had delivered No opinion.

"FOR his Journey it ſelf, he told them the circumſtances of their "Petition were ſuch, as he knew not well what Anſwer to return, or "whether he were beſt to give Any; that part which pretended to carry "Reaſon with it, did no way ſatisfy him; the Other, which was rather "Reprehenſion and Menace, than Advice, could not ſtagger him. His "Anſwer therefore was, that he ſhould be very glad to find the work of "*Ireland* ſo eaſy, as they ſeem'd to think it; which did not ſo appear "by any thing known to him, when he ſent his Meſſage: and tho' he "would never refuſe, or be unwilling, to venture his Perſon, for the "Good and Safety of his People, he was not ſo weary of his life, as to "hazard it Impertinently; and therefore, ſince they ſeem'd to have re- "ceived Advertiſements of ſome late, and great ſucceſſes in that King- "dom, he would ſtay ſome time to ſee the event of thoſe, and not pur- "ſue his reſolution till he had given them a Second notice: but, if he "found the miſerable condition of his poor Subjects of that Kingdom "were not ſpeedily relieved, he would, with God's Aſſiſtance, viſit them "with ſuch Succours, as his Particular credit and intereſt could ſupply "him with, if They refuſed to Joyn with him. And he doubted not "but the Levies he ſhould make (in which he would obſerve punctually "the former, and all other cautions, as might beſt prevent all Fears and "Jealouſies; and to uſe no Power but what was Legal) would be ſo "much to the ſatisfaction of his Subjects, as no perſon would dare pre- "ſume to reſiſt his Commands; and if they ſhould, at their Peril be it. "In the mean time, he hoped his forwardneſs, ſo remarkable to that "Service, ſhould be notorious to all the world; and that all ſcandals, "laid on him in that buſineſs, ſhould be clearly wiped away.

"HE told them, he had been ſo careful that his Journey into *Ireland* "ſhould not interrupt the proceedings of Parliament, nor deprive his "Subjects of any Acts of Juſtice, or further Acts of Grace for the real "benefit of his People, that he had made a free offer of leaving ſuch "power behind, as ſhould not only be neceſſary for the Peace and Safety "of the Kingdom, but fully provide for the happy progreſs of the Par- "liament: and therefore he could not but wonder, ſince ſuch power "had been allways left here, by Commiſſion, for the Government of "this Kingdom, when his Progenitors had been out of the ſame, during "the ſitting of Parliaments; and ſince Themſelves deſired that ſuch a "power might be left here by his Majeſty, at his laſt going into *Scotland*; "what Law of the Land they had now found to diſpence with them "from ſubmitting to ſuch Authority, legally derived from him, in his "abſence; and to enable them to govern the Kingdom by their Own "meer Authority.

"FOR his return to *London*, he ſaid, he had given them ſo full An- "ſwers in his late Declaration, and Anſwers that he knew not what to "add to, if they would not provide for his ſecurity with them, nor agree "to remove to another place, where there might not be the ſame dan- "ger to his Majeſty. He told them, he expected, that (ſince he had "been ſo particular in the cauſes and grounds of his Fears) they ſhould "have ſent him word, that they had publiſhed ſuch Declarations againſt "future Tumults and unlawful Aſſemblies, and taken ſuch Courſes for

"the

"the ſuppreſſing ſeditious Pamphlets and Sermons, that his Fears of "that kind might be laid aſide, before they ſhould preſs his return.

"To conclude, he told them, he could wiſh, that they would, with "the ſame ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, weigh and examin their Meſſages, and "Expreſſions To him, as they did thoſe they received From him. For "he was very confident, that if they examined his Rights and Privi-"ledges, by what His Predeceſſors had enjoyed; and their own Ad-"dreſſes, by the uſual courſes obſerved by Their Anceſtors; they would "find many expreſſions in that Petition, warranted only by their own "Authority; which indeed he forbore to take notice of, or to give An-"ſwer to, leſt he ſhould be tempted, in a juſt indignation, to expreſs a "greater paſſion, than he was Yet willing to put on. God in his good "time, he hoped, would ſo inform the hearts of all his Subjects, that "he ſhould recover from the miſchief, and danger of that diſtemper; "on whoſe good pleaſure, he ſaid, he would wait with all patience, "and humility.

FROM this time the purpoſe was never reſumed of his Majeſty's perſonal expedition into *Ireland*, and ſo They were freed from That apprehenſion. The truth is, that Counſel for his Majeſty's Journey into *Ireland* was very ſuddainly taken, and communicated to very few, without conſideration of the objections, that would naturally ariſe againſt it; and was rather reſolved as a probable Stratagem, to compoſe the two Houſes to a better temper and ſobriety, upon the Apprehenſion of the King's abſence from them, and the inconveniencies that might thence enſue, than ſufficiently conſider'd and digeſted for Execution. For none were more violent againſt it than they who ſerved the King moſt faithfully in the Houſes; who, in the King's abſence, and after ſuch a Grant of the Militia, as was then offer'd, looked upon themſelves as ſacrificed to the pride and fury of thoſe, whoſe inclinations, and temper had begot the Confuſions they complained of. But if it had been ſo duely weighed and conſulted, and Men ſo diſpoſed, that it might have been Executed, and the King had taken a fit Council, and Retinue about him, it would, at that time, have been no hard matter ſpeedily to have reduced *Ireland*; and by the reputation, and authority of That, the other two Kingdoms might have been contained within their proper bounds. But, as it fell out, the Overture proved Diſadvantageous to the King, and gave the other Party New cauſe of Triumph, that they had plainly Threaten'd him out of what He pretended to have firmly reſolved to do; which diſadvantage was improved by the Other Propoſition, that attended it, concerning the Militia. For the Bill, ſent by the King upon that Argument, brought the buſineſs again into Debate; and, tho' nothing was concluded upon it, the King was a looſer by the Propoſition, tho' not ſo much as he fear'd he ſhould have been, when he ſaw his Journey into *Ireland* deſperate; upon the ſuppoſition of which, he had only made that tender.

THE Bill ſent by the King, and preferred to the Houſe of Peers, by the Atturney General, granted the Militia, for one year, to the perſons firſt nominated by the Houſes in their Ordinances to his Majeſty; and made thoſe perſons, in the Execution of that Truſt, ſubject to the Authority of his Majeſty, and the two Houſes Jointly, whilſt his Majeſty was within the Kingdom; and, in his abſence, of the two Houſes Only. What alterations, and amendments they made in it before they returned it again for the Royal Aſſent, will beſt appear by the King's

Anſwer, which he ſent to them at the time of his refuſal to paſs it; which was,

His Majeſty's Meſſage to both Houſes Apr. 28. 1642. concerning his refuſal to paſs the Bill for the Militia.

"THAT he had, with great deliberation and patience, weighed and "conſidered (as it concerned him much to weigh the conſequences of "every Law before he paſſed it) their Bill lately ſent to him for the "ſetling the Militia; and tho' it had not been uſual to give any reaſon "for the refuſal to paſs any Bill, it being abſolutely in his power to paſs, "or not to paſs any Act ſent to him, if he conceived it prejudicial to him-"helf, or inconvenient to his Subjects, for whom he was truſted, and "muſt one day give an account; yet, in that buſineſs of the Militia, "which, being miſunderſtood amongſt his good Subjects, had been uſed "as an Argument, as if he were not Vigilant enough for the publick "ſafety, and leſt he ſhould be thought leſs Conſtant in his reſolutions, "and that Bill to be the ſame he had ſent to them, he thought fit to "give them, and all the world particular ſatisfaction, why he could not, "Ought not, Muſt not paſs That Bill, being the firſt publick Bill he had "refuſed this Parliament: and therefore, he told them, he muſt com-"plain, that having expreſſed himſelf ſo clearly and particularly to "them in that point, they ſhould preſs any thing upon him, which they "could not but foreſee he muſt refuſe; except he departed from thoſe "reſolutions, grounded upon ſo much reaſon, he had ſo earneſtly before "acquainted them with, and againſt which they had not given one Ar-"gument to ſatisfy his judgment.

"HE told them, he was pleaſed, they had declined the Unwarranta-"ble courſe of their Ordinance (to the which, he was confident, his "good Subjects would never have yielded their conſent) and choſen "that only right way of impoſing upon the People, which he would "have allowed but for the reaſons following:

"HE ſaid, he had refuſed to conſent to their Ordinance, as for other "things, ſo for that the power was put into the perſons Nominated "therein by direction of both Houſes of Parliament, excluding his Ma-"jeſty from any power in the diſpoſition, or execution of it together "with them: He had then adviſed them, for many reaſons, that a Bill "ſhould be prepared; and after in his Anſwer of the 26th of *March* to "the Petition of both Houſes, he had told them, if ſuch a Bill ſhould be "prepared with that due regard to his Majeſty, and care of his People, "in the limitation of the power, and other circumſtances, he ſhould "recede from nothing he formerly expreſſed.

"WHAT paſſed (enough to have diſcouraged him from being further "Sollicitous in that Argument) after his full, and gracious Anſwers, he "was content to forget. When he reſolved on his Journey into *Ireland*, "ſo that by reaſon of his abſence, there might be no want of ſettling "that power; beſides complying with their fears; he ſent, together "with a Meſſage of that his purpoſe, a Bill for ſettling the power for a "year; hoping in that time to return to them, and being ſure that, in "much leſs time, they might do the buſineſs, for which at firſt they "ſeem'd to deſire this; which was, that they might ſecurely conſider his "Meſſage of the 20th of *January* laſt. By that Bill, which he ſent, he "conſented to thoſe Names they propoſed to their Ordinance, and in "the limitation of the power; provided, that himſelf ſhould not be able "to execute any thing but by their advice; and, when he ſhould be out "of the Kingdom, the Sole execution to be in them; with many other "things, of ſo Arbitrary, and Uncircumſcribed a power, that he ſhould

"not

"not have conſented to, but with reference to the abſence of his own "Perſon out of the Kingdom; and thought it the more ſufferable, in "reſpect the time was but for a year. Whether that Bill, they had ſent "to him to paſs, were the ſame, the world would judge.

"HE ſaid, they had, by that Bill tender'd to his Majeſty, without "taking notice of him, put the Power of the whole Kingdom, the Life "and Liberties of the Subjects of all degrees, and qualities, into the hands "of Particular Men, for two years: He asked them, if they could ima- "gin he would truſt ſuch an Abſolute power in the hands of Particular "Perſons, which he had refuſed to commit to both Houſes of Parlia- "ment? Nay, if the Power it ſelf were not too Abſolute, too Unlimited "to be committed into any Private hands? Whether Sr *John Hotham*'s "high inſolence ſhewed him not, what he might expect from an Exor- "bitant legal power, when he, by a power not warrantable by Law, "durſt venture upon a Treaſonable diſobedience? but his Majeſty would "willingly know, and indeed ſuch an account in ordinary civility, he "ſaid, he might have expected, why he was, by that Act, abſolutely "Excluded, from any Power, or Authority in the Execution of the Mi- "litia. He ſaid, ſure their Fears and Jealouſies were not of ſuch a Na- "ture, as were capable of no other remedy, than by leaving him No "power in a point of the greateſt importance; in which God, and the "Law, had truſted him Solely, and which he had been contented to "Share with them by his own Bill, by putting It, and a Greater, into "the hands of particular Subjects. He asked them, what all Chriſtian "Princes would think of him, after he had paſſed ſuch a Bill? How they "would value his Soveraignty? And yet, he ſaid, ſure His Reputation "with Forreign Princes was ſome ground of Their Security. Nay, he "was confident, by that time they had throughly conſider'd the poſſible "conſequence of that Bill, upon Themſelves, and the reſt of his good "Subjects, they would All give him Thanks for Not conſenting to it; "finding their condition, if it ſhould have paſſed, would not have been "ſo pleaſing to them. He told them, he hoped that Animadverſion "would be no breach of their Priviledges. In that throng of buſineſs "and diſtemper of affections, it was poſſible, Second thoughts might "preſent ſomewhat to their conſiderations, which eſcaped them before.

"HE remember'd them, that he had paſſed a Bill, this Parliament, "at their entreaty, concerning the captives of *Algiers*, and waved many "objections of his own to the contrary, upon information that the buſi- "neſs had been many Months conſider'd by them; whether it proved "ſuitable to their intentions, or whether they had not, by ſome private "Orders, ſuſpended that Act of Parliament upon view of the miſtakes, "Themſelves beſt knew; as likewiſe, what other great Alterations they "had made upon other Bills, paſſed this Seſſion. He told them, he could "not paſs over the putting Their Names out of that Bill, whom before "they had recommended to him in their Ordinance, not thinking fit, "it ſeem'd, to truſt thoſe, who would obey no Guide but the Law of the "Land (he Imagined they would not wiſh he ſhould in his eſtimation "of others follow that their Rule) and the leaving out, by ſpecial pro- "viſion, the preſent Lord Mayor of *London*, as a perſon in their diſfa- "vour; whereas, he ſaid, he muſt tell them, his demeanour had been "ſuch, that the City, and the whole Kingdom, was beholding to him "for his example.

"TO conclude, he ſaid, he did not find himſelf poſſeſſed of ſuch an

"Exceſs of power, that it was fit to transfer, or conſent it ſhould be in "other Perſons, as was directed by that Bill; and therefore, he ſhould "rely upon that Royal right and juriſdiction, which God, and the Law "had given him, for the ſuppreſſing of Rebellion, and reſiſting Forreign "Invaſion; which had preſerved the Kingdom in the time of all his "Anceſtors, and which, he doubted not, but he ſhould be able to exe-"cute. And, not more for his own honour and right, than for the li-"berty and ſafety of his People, he could not conſent to paſs that Bill.

THO' no ſober man could deny the reaſonableneſs of that Anſwer, and that there was indeed ſo great a difference between the Bill ſent by his Majeſty, and that preſented to him from the two Houſes, that it could not ſoberly be imagined he would conſent to it; yet, it had been better for his Majeſty, that the firſt Overture from himſelf had never been made; it giving New life, ſpirit, and hopes to them; and they making the People believe (who underſtood not the difference, and knew not that the King's pleaſure, ſignify'd by both Houſes of Parliament, was in effect the pleaſure of both Houſes without the King) that his Majeſty now refuſed to conſent to what himſelf had offer'd, and propoſed; whilſt his own Party (for ſo thoſe begun now to be called, who preſerved their Duty, and Allegiance entire) was as much troubled to find ſo ſoveraign a power of the Crown offer'd to be parted with to the two Houſes, as was tender'd to them by the King's own Bill; and that it was poſſible for his Majeſty to recede from his firmeſt Reſolves, even in a point, that would not naturally admit of the leaſt diviſion, or diminution.

THE King, being well pleaſed that he had gone through one of his reſolutions, and not much troubled at the anger it had produced, and finding his Court full of Perſons of Quality of the Country, who made all expreſſions of affection and duty, which they thought would be moſt acceptable to him, reſolved to undertake an other enterpriſe, which was of more importance, and which in truth was the ſole motive of his Journey into thoſe parts. The great Magazine of Armes and Ammunition, which was left upon the disbanding the Army, remained ſtill at *Hull*, and was a nobler proportion than remained in the Tower of *London*, or all other his Majeſty's Stores; and there had been formerly a purpoſe to have ſecured the ſame by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s preſence there, which had been diſappointed, as hath been before mentioned, and Sr *John Hotham* ſent thither to look to it; who was now there only with One of the Companies of the Traind-bands; and ſo the King reſolved that he would Himſelf make a Journey thither, with his own Uſual Train; and being there, that he would ſtay there, till he had ſecured the place to him. This was his purpoſe; which he concealed to that degree, that very few about him knew any thing of it.

ASSOON as it was known that his Majeſty meant to reſide in *York*, it was eaſily ſuſpected, that he had an eye upon That Magazine; and therefore they made an Order in both Houſes, "that the Magazine ſhould be "removed from *Hull* to the Tower; and Ships were making ready for the Tranſportation; ſo that his Majeſty could no longer defer the execution of what he deſigned. And, being perſwaded, by ſome who believed themſelves, that if he went thither, it would neither be in Sr *John Hotham*'s Will, nor his Power, to keep him out of that Town; and that, being poſſeſſed of ſo conſiderable a Poſt, and of the Magazine there, he ſhould find a better temper towards a Modeſt, and Dutiful Treaty;

his

his Majeſty took the opportunity of a Petition preſented to him by the Gentlemen of *York-ſhire* (who in truth were much troubled at the Order for removing the Magazine from *Hull*; and were ready to appear in any thing for his Service) in which, "they deſired him to caſt his eye, "and thoughts upon the ſafety of his own Perſon, and his Princely Iſſue, "and that whole County; a great means whereof, they ſaid, did con- "ſiſt in the Armes, and Ammunition at *Hull*, placed there by his Prince- "ly care and charge; and ſince, upon general apprehenſions of dangers "from forreign parts, thought fit to be continued: and they did very "earneſtly beſeech him, that he would take ſuch courſe, that it might "ſtill remain there, for the better ſecuring thoſe, and the reſt of the "Northern parts. Hereupon, he reſolved to go thither himſelf; and, the night before, he ſent his Son the Duke of *York*, who was lately arrived from *Richmond*, accompanied with the Prince Elector, thither, with ſome other perſons of Honour; who knew no more, than that it was a Journey given to the pleaſure, and curioſity of the Duke. Sr *John Hotham* received them with that duty, and civility that became him. The next morning early, the King took Horſe from *York*; and, attended with two or three hundred of his Servants, and Gentlemen of the Country, rode thither; and, when he came within a Mile of the Town, ſent a Gentleman to Sr *John Hotham*, "to let him know that the King would "that day dine with him; with which he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed, or Seemed to be ſo.

THE man was of a fearful nature, and perplexed underſtanding, and could better reſolve upon deliberation than on a ſuddain; and many were of opinion, that if he had been prepared dextrouſly before hand, and in confidence, he would have conformed to the King's pleaſure; for he was maſter of a Noble fortune in Land, and rich in Money; of a very ancient Family, and well Allied; his Affections to the Government very good; and no man leſs deſired to ſee the Nation involved in a Civil War, than He: and, when he accepted this imployment from the Parliament, he never imagined it would engage him in Rebellion; but believed, that the King would find it neceſſary to comply with the Advice of his two Houſes; and that the preſerving that Magazine from being poſſeſſed by him, would likewiſe prevent any poſſible rupture into Armes. He was now in great confuſion; and calling ſome of the chief Magiſtrates, and other Officers together to conſult, they perſwaded him, not to ſuffer the King to enter into the Town. And his Majeſty coming within an hour after his Meſſenger found the Gates ſhut, and the Bridges drawn, and the Walls mann'd; all things being in a readineſs for the reception of an Enemy. Sr *John Hotham* himſelf from the Walls, with ſeveral profeſſions of Duty, and many expreſſions of Fear, telling his Majeſty "that he durſt not open the Gates, being truſted by the Parliament; the King told him, "that he believed he had no Order from the Parliament "to ſhut the Gates againſt him, or to keep him out of the Town. He replied, "that his train was ſo great, that if it were admitted, he ſhould "not be able to give a good account of the Town. Whereupon the King offer'd "to enter with twenty Horſe only, and that the reſt ſhould ſtay "without. The which the Other refuſing, the King deſired him "to "come to him, that he might confer with him, upon his Princely word "of ſafety, and liberty to return. And when he excuſed himſelf likewiſe from That, his Majeſty told him, "that as this Act of his was un- "parallel'd, ſo it would produce ſome notable Effect; that it was not

"poſſible for him to ſit down by ſuch an Indignity, but that he would "immediately Proclaim him Traitor, and proceed againſt him as ſuch; "that this diſobedience of his would probably bring many miſeries upon "the Kingdom, and much loſs of Blood; all which might be prevented, "if he performed the duty of a Subject; and therefore adviſed him to "think ſadly of it, and to prevent the neceſſary growth of ſo many Ca- "lamities, which muſt lie all upon His Conſcience. The Gentleman, with much diſtraction in his looks, talked confuſedly of the "Truſt he "had from the Parliament; then fell on his knees, and wiſhed, "that "God would bring Confuſion upon Him, and His, if he were not a Loyal "and Faithful Subject to his Majeſty; but, in concluſion, plainly denied "to ſuffer his Majeſty to come into the Town. Whereupon, the King cauſed him immediately to be proclaim'd a Traitor; which the Other received with ſome expreſſions of Undutifulneſs and Contempt. And ſo the King, after the Duke of *York*, and the Prince Elector, with their Retinue, were come out of the Town, where they were kept ſome hours, was forced to retire that night to *Beverly*, four miles from that place; and the next day returned to *York*, full of Trouble, and Indignation for the Affront he had received; which He foreſaw would produce a very great deal of Miſchief.

The King's Meſſage to the two Houſes concerning Hull.

THE King ſent an Expreſs to the two Houſes with a Meſſage, declaring what had paſſed; and "that Sr *John Hotham* had juſtify'd his "Treaſon and Diſloyalty, by pretence of an Order and Truſt from Them; "which as He could not Produce, ſo, his Majeſty was confident, They "would not Own; but would be highly ſenſible of the Scandal he had "laid upon Them, as well as of his Diſloyalty to his Majeſty. And "therefore, he demanded Juſtice of them againſt him, according to Law. The Houſes had heard before of the King's going out of *York* thither, and were in terrible apprehenſion that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Town; and that Sr *John Hotham* (for they were not confident of him, as of a man of their own faith) by Promiſes or Menaces, had given up the Place to him; and, with this apprehenſion, they were exceedingly Dejected; but when they heard the truth, and found that *Hull* was ſtill in their hands, they were equally Exalted, magnifying their truſty Governor's faith, and fidelity Againſt the King. In the mean time, the Gentlemen of the North expreſſed a marvellous ſenſe and paſſion on his Majeſty's behalf; and offer'd to raiſe the Force of the County to take the Town by force. But the King choſe, for many Reaſons, to ſend again to the Houſes another Meſſage, in which he told them,

His Majeſty's ſecond Meſſage to the two Houſes concerning Hull.

"THAT He was ſo much concerned in the undutiful Affront (an In- "dignity all his good Subjects muſt diſdain in his behalf) he had received "from Sr *John Hotham* at *Hull*, that he was impatient till he received "Juſtice from them; and was compelled to call again for an Anſwer, be- "ing confident, however they had been ſo careful, tho' without his con- "ſent, to put a Gariſon into that his Town, to ſecure it, and his Maga- "zine againſt any Attempt of the Papiſts, that they never intended to "diſpoſe, and maintain it againſt Him, their Soveraign. Therefore, he "required them forthwith (for the buſineſs would admit no delay) to "take ſome Speedy courſe, that his ſaid Town and Magazine might be "immediately delivered up unto him; and that ſuch ſevere exemplary "proceedings ſhould be againſt thoſe Perſons, who had offer'd that in- "ſupportable Affront and Injury to him, as by the Law was provided: "and, till that ſhould be done, he would intend no buſineſs whatſoever,

"other

"other than the buſineſs of *Ireland*. For, he ſaid, if he were brought "into a condition ſo much worſe than any of his Subjects, that, whilſt "They all enjoyed their Priviledges, and might not have their Poſſeſ- "ſions diſturbed, or their Titles queſtioned, He only might be ſpoiled, "thrown out of his Towns, and his Goods taken from him, it was time "to examin how he had loſt thoſe Priviledges; and to try all poſſible "ways, by the help of God, the Law of the Land, and the Affection of "his good Subjects to recover them, and to vindicate himſelf from thoſe "Injuries; and, if he ſhould miſcarry therein, he ſhould be the firſt "Prince of this Kingdom, which had done ſo, having no other end but "to defend the true Proteſtant Religion, the Law of the Land, and the "liberty of the Subject; and he deſired God ſo to deal with him, as he "continued in thoſe Reſolutions.

INSTEAD of any Anſwer to his Majeſty upon theſe two Meſſages, or ſadly conſidering how this breach might be made up, they immediately publiſh (together with a declaration of their former jealouſies of the Papiſts; of the Malignant Party; of the Lord *Digby*'s Letter intercepted; of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s being ſent thither, upon which they had firſt ſent down a Governour, and put a Garriſon into *Hull*) ſeveral Votes and Reſolutions, by which they Declared,

"THAT Sr *John Hotham* had done nothing but in obedience to the "Command of both Houſes of Parliament, and that the Declaring of "him a Traitor, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, was a high "breach of the Priviledge of Parliament, and being without due proceſs "of Law, was againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and againſt the Law "of the Land.

AND hearing at the ſame time, that a Letter coming from *Hull* to them the night after the King's being there, had been intercepted by ſome of his Majeſty's Servants, they declared "that all ſuch intercepting "of any Letters ſent to Them, was a high breach of the Priviledge of "Parliament, which by the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Proteſtation, "they were bound to defend with their Lives, and their Fortunes, and "to bring the Violator thereof to condign Puniſhment. Then they or- der'd, that the Sheriffs, and Juſtices of the Peace of the Counties of *York*, and *Lincoln*, and all others his Majeſty's Officers, ſhould ſuppreſs all Forces, that ſhould be raiſed or gathered together in thoſe Counties, either to force the Town of *Hull*, or ſtop the paſſages to, and from the ſame, or in any other way to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. All which Votes, Orders, and Declarations being printed, and diligently diſperſed throughout the Kingdom before any Addreſs made to his Majeſty in Anſwer of his Meſſages, and coming to his View, the King publiſhed an Anſwer to thoſe Votes and Declarations, in which he ſaid:

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Declaration, and Votes concerning Hull.

"SINCE his gracious Meſſages to both Houſes of Parliament, de- "manding Juſtice for the high and unheard of Affront offer'd unto him, "at the Gates of *Hull*, by Sr *John Hotham*, was not thought worthy of "an Anſwer; but that inſtead thereof, they had thought fit, by their "printed Votes, to [redacted] avow that unparallel'd Act to be done in "obedience to the Command of both Houſes of Parliament (tho' at that "time he could produce no ſuch Command) and, with other Reſolutions "againſt his proceedings there, to publiſh a Declaration concerning that "buſineſs, as an Appeal to the People, and as if their intercourſe with "his Majeſty, and for his ſatisfaction, were now to no more purpoſe; "tho' he knew that Courſe of theirs to be very unſuitable to the modeſty,

"and

"and duty of Former times, and unwarrantable by any Precedents, but "what Themſelves had made; yet, he was not unwilling to joyn iſſue "with them in That way, and to let all the world know, how neceſſary, "juſt, and Lawful all his proceeding's had been in that point, and that "the Defence of thoſe proceedings, was the Defence of the Law of the "Land, of the Liberty, and Property of the Subject; and that by the "ſame Rule of Juſtice which was now offer'd to him, all the Private in- "tereſt, and Title of all his good Subjects to all their Lands and Goods, "was confounded and deſtroyed. He remember'd them, that Mr *Pym* "had ſaid in his Speech againſt the Earl of *Strafford* (which was publiſh- "ed by Order of the Commons Houſe) the Law is the ſafeguard, the "Cuſtody of all private Intereſt, your Honours, your Lives, your Li- "berties, and Eſtates are all in the keeping of the Law; without this "every Man hath a like Right to any thing. And he ſaid, he would "fain be Anſwer'd what Title any Subject of his Kingdom had to his "Houſe and Land, that He had not to his town of *Hull*? Or what "right any Subject had to his Money, Plate, or Jewels, that his Ma- "jeſty had not to his Magazine, and Munition there? If he had ever "ſuch a Title, he ſaid he would know, when he Loſt it? And if that "Magazine and Munition, bought with his own money, were ever His, "when and how that Property went out of him? He very well knew "the great and unlimited power of a Parliament; but he knew as well, "that it was only in that ſenſe, as He was a Part of that Parliament; "without Him, and againſt His conſent, the Votes of either or both "Houſes together, muſt not, could not, ſhould not (if he could help it, "for his Subjects ſake, as well as his own) forbid any thing that was en- "joyn'd by the Law, or enjoyn any thing that was forbidden by the "Law. But in any ſuch alteration, which might be for the Peace, and "Happineſs of the Kingdom, he had not, ſhould not refuſe, to conſent. "And he doubted not, but that all his good Subjects would eaſily diſcern, "in what a miſerable Inſecurity and Confuſion, they muſt neceſſarily "and inevitably be, if Deſcents might be alter'd; Purchaſes avoided; "Aſſurances and Conveyances cancelled; the Soveraign Legal Autho- "rity deſpiſed, and reſiſted by Votes, or Orders of Either, or both Houſes. "And this, he ſaid, he was ſure, was his Caſe at *Hull*; and as it was His "this day, by the ſame Rule, it might be Theirs to Morrow.

"AGAINST any deſperate Deſign of the Papiſts, of which they diſ- "courſed ſo much, he had ſufficiently expreſſed his Zeal, and Intentions; "and ſhould be as forward to adventure his own Life, and Fortune, to "oppoſe any ſuch deſigns as the meaneſt Subject in his Kingdoms.

"FOR the Malignant Party, he ſaid, as the Law had not, to his know- "ledge, defined their condition, ſo Neither Houſe had Preſented them "to his Majeſty, under ſuch a Notion, as he might well underſtand, "Whom they intended; and he ſhould therefore only enquire after, and "avoid the Malignant Party, under the Character of perſons diſaffected "to the Peace, and Government of the Kingdom, and ſuch who, neglect- "ing and deſpiſing the Law of the Land, had given themſelves other "Rules to walk by, and ſo diſpenced with their Obedience to Authority; "of Thoſe perſons, as Deſtructive to the Common-wealth, he ſhould take "all poſſible caution.

"WHY any Letters intercepted from the Lord *Digby*, wherein He "mentioned a retreat to a place of Safety, ſhould hinder him from viſiting "his own Fort, and how he had oppoſed any ways of Accommodation

"with

"with his Parliament, and what ways, and Overtures had been offer'd
"in any way, or like any deſire of ſuch Accommodation; or whether
"his Meſſage of the twentieth of *January* laſt, ſo often in vain preſſed
"by him, had not ſufficiently expreſſed his earneſt deſire of it, he ſaid,
"all the world ſhould judge; neither was it in the power of any Per-
"ſons to incline him to take Armes againſt his Parliament, and his good
"Subjects, and miſerably to embroil the Kingdom in Civil Wars. He
"had given ſufficient Evidence to the world how much his Affections
"abhorred, and how much his heart did bleed at, the apprehenſion of
"a Civil War. And, he ſaid, God and the World muſt judge, if his
"Care and Induſtry were not, only to defend and protect the Liberty
"of the Subject, the Law of the Kingdom, his own juſt Rights (part
"of that Law) and his Honour much more precious than his Life: and
"if, in oppoſition to theſe, any Civil War ſhould ariſe, upon Whoſe ac-
"count the Blood, and Deſtruction that muſt follow, muſt be caſt: God
"and his own Conſcience, told him, that He was clear.

"FOR Captain *Leg*'s being ſent heretofore to *Hull*, or for the Earl of
"*Newcaſtle*'s being ſent thither by his Warrant and Authority, he ſaid,
"he had asked a queſtion long ago, in his Anſwer to both Houſes con-
"cerning the Magazine at *Hull*, which, he had cauſe to think, was not
"eaſy to be Anſwer'd; Why the general Rumour of the deſign of Pa-
"piſts, in the Northern Parts, ſhould not be thought ſufficient ground
"for his Majeſty to put ſuch a Perſon of Honour, Fortune, and unble-
"miſhed Reputation, as the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was known to be, into
"a Town and Fort of his own, where his own Magazine lay; and yet
"the ſame Rumour be warrant enough to commit the ſame Town and
"Fort, without his conſent, to the hands of Sr *John Hotham*, with ſuch
"a power as was now too well known, and underſtood? How his Refu-
"ſal to have that Magazine removed, upon the Petition of both Houſes,
"could give any advantage againſt him, to have it taken from him, and
"whether it was a Refuſal, all men would eaſily underſtand, who read
"his Anſwer to that Petition; to which, it had not been yet thought fit,
"to make any Reply.

"FOR the Condition of thoſe Perſons, who preſented the Petition to
"him at *York* (whom that Declaration called, ſome Few ill affected Per-
"ſons about the City of *York*) to continue the Magazine at *Hull*; he
"ſaid, he made no doubt, but that Petition would appear to be atteſted,
"both in Number, and Weight, by Perſons of Honour and Integrity,
"and much more converſant with the Affections of the whole Country,
"than moſt of thoſe Petitions, which had been received with ſo much
"Conſent, and Approbation. And for the Preſumption of interpoſing
"Their advice, his Majeſty the more wonder'd at that exception, when
"ſuch encouragement had been given, and thanks declared to Multitudes
"of mean, unknown People, Apprentices, and Porters, who had accom-
"panied Petitions of very ſtrange Natures.

"FOR the manner of his going to *Hull*, he ſaid, he had clearly ſet
"forth the ſame, in his Meſſage to both Houſes of that buſineſs; and
"for any Intelligence given to Sr *John Hotham* of an intention to de-
"prive him of His life, as he knew there was no ſuch intention in him,
"having given him all poſſible Aſſurance of the ſame, at his being there,
"ſo he was confident, no ſuch Intelligence was given, or if it were, it
"was by ſome Villain, who had nothing but Malice, or Deſign to fright
"him from his due Obedience; and Sr *John Hotham* had all the reaſon

"to assure himself, that his Life would be in much more danger by re-
"fusing to admit his King into his own Town and Fort, than by yield-
"ing him that obedience, which he owed by his Oaths of Allegiance
"and Supremacy, and the Protestation, which he knew was due and
"warrantable, by the Laws of the Land. For the Number of his At-
"tendants, tho' that could be no Warrant for such a disobedience in a
"Subject, he said, it was well known (as his Majesty had expressed in
"his Message to both Houses, to which credit ought to have been given)
"that he offer'd to go into the Town with twenty Horse only, his whole
"Train being Unarmed; and whosoever thought that too great an At-
"tendance for his Majesty, and his two Sons, had sure an intention to
"bring him to a meaner Retinue, than they would yet avow.

"HERE then, he said, was his Case, of which all the world should judge:
"his Majesty endeavoured to visit a Town, and Fort of his own, wherein
"his own Magazine lay; a Subject, in defiance of him, shuts the Gates
"against him; with Armed Men resists, denies, and opposes his en-
"trance; tells him, in plain terms, he should not come in. He said,
"he did not pretend to understand much Law, yet, in the point of Trea-
"son, he had had much learning taught him this Parliament; and if the
"sense of the Statute of the 25th year of *Edward* the III. *ch.* 2. were not
"very differing from the Letter, Sr *John Hotham*'s Act was no less than
"plain High-Treason: and he had been contemptibly stupid, if he had
"after all those circumstances of Grace and Favour then shew'd to him,
"made any scruple to proclaim him Traitor. And whether he were so,
"or no, if he would render himself, his Majesty would require no other
"Trial, than that which the Law had appointed to every Subject, and
"which he was confident he had not, in the least degree, violated in
"those proceedings; no more than he had done the Priviledge of Parlia-
"ment, by endeavouring, in a just way, to challenge his Own unquestion-
"able Priviledges. So that, in such a case, the declaring him Traitor,
"being a Member of the House of Commons, without process of Law,
"should be a breach of Priviledge of Parliament (of which he was sure
" none extended to Treason, Felony, or breach of Peace) against the Li-
"berty of the Subject, or against the Law of the Land, he must have
"Other reasons than bare Votes. He said, he would know if Sr *John*
"*Hotham* had, with the Forces by which he kept him out of his Town
"of *Hull*, pursued him to the Gates of *York*, which he might as legally
"have done, whether his Majesty must have stayed from declaring him
"Traitor till Process of Law might have issued against him? Would
"Fears and Jealousies dispence with necessary, and real Forms? And
"must his Majesty, when actual War is levied upon him, observe Forms
"which the Law it self doth not enjoyn? The Case, he said, was truly
"stated, let all the world judge (unless the mere sitting of a Parliament
"did suspend all Laws, and his Majesty was the only Person in *England*
"against whom Treason could not be committed) Where the fault was;
"and whatsoever course he should be driven to for the vindication of
"that his Priviledge, and for the recovery and maintenance of his
"known, undoubted Rights, he doth promise, in the presence of All-
"mighty God, and as he hopes for his Blessing in his success, that he
"would, to the utmost of his power, defend and maintain the true Pro-
"testant profession, the Law of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject,
"and the just Priviledge, and Freedom of Parliament.

"FOR the Order of Assistance given to the Committees of both Houses,

"concerning

"concerning their going to *Hull*, he ſaid, he ſhould ſay no more, but "that thoſe Perſons, named in that Order, he preſumed, would give "No commands, or his good Subjects obey Other, than what were war-"ranted by the Law (how large and unlimited ſoever the Directions "are, or the Inſtructions might be) for to that Rule he ſhould apply his "own Actions, and by it, require an Account from other Men; and "that all his good Subjects might the better know their duty in matters "of this Nature, he wiſhed them carefully to peruſe the Statute of the "11th year of King *Henry* VII. *ch.* 1. He ſaid, he would conclude with "Mr *Pym*'s own words: If the Prerogative of the King overwhelm the "Liberty of the People, it will be turn'd to Tyranny; if Liberty un-"dermine the Prerogative, it would grow into Anarchy, and ſo into "Confuſion.

BESIDES their Declaration, Votes, and Orders in the juſtification of Sr *John Hotham*, for his better Encouragement, and for a ground of his Sons reſidence at *Hull*, in whom they had in truth a firmer confidence than in the Father, they Order'd, "that if, by any Force or Ac-"cident, Sr *John Hotham* ſhould loſe his Life, or Otherwiſe die in that "Service, that his Son ſhould ſucceed him in the Government; and having thus declared themſelves, they thought fit at laſt to ſend ſome particular Anſwer to the King upon that buſineſs; which they were the rather inclined to do, that under that pretence, they might ſend down a Committee of their own to reſide at *York*; whereby they might receive conſtant animadverſions of what happen'd, and what was deſign'd, and their Friends, and Dependants in that large, populous, and rich County, be the better confirm'd in their Affections, and Devotions to them; and, to that purpoſe, they ſent down the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sr *Hugh Cholmly* (a faſt friend to Sr *John Hotham*) Sr *Philip Stapleton*, who had likewiſe married *Hotham*'s Daughter, and Sr *Harry Cholmly*, who preſented their Anſwer in writing to his Majeſty; the which, being of a Mould unuſual, and a Dialect higher and rougher, than even themſelves had yet uſed, I have thought fit to inſert in the ſame words it was delivered; thus.

The moſt humble Anſwer of the Lords, and Commons in Parliament to two Meſſages from your ſacred Majeſty concerning Sr John Hotham's *refuſal to give your Majeſty entrance into the Town of* Hull.

The Anſwer of the Lords, and Commons to his Majeſty's two Meſſages concerning Hull.

"YOUR Majeſty may be pleaſed to underſtand, that We, your Great "Council, finding manifold evidences of the wicked Counſels, and Pra-"ctices of ſome in near Truſt, and Authority about you, to put the King-"dom into a Combuſtion, by drawing your Majeſty into places of "ſtrength, remote from your Parliament, and by exciting your People "to Commotions, under pretence of ſerving your Majeſty againſt your "Parliament, leſt this Malignant Party, by the advantage of the Town, "and Magazine at *Hull*, ſhould be enabled to go through with their "miſchievous Intentions, did, in diſcharge of the great Truſt that lies "upon us, and by that Power which in Caſes of this nature reſides in "us, command the Town of *Hull* to be ſecured by a Garriſon of the ad-"joyning Train'd-bands, under the Government of Sr *John Hotham*; "requiring him to keep the ſame for the Service of your Majeſty and "the Kingdom: wherein We have done nothing contrary to your Royal "Soveraignty in that Town, or Legal Propriety in the Magazine.

"UPON conſideration of Sr *John Hotham*'s proceeding at your Ma-"jeſty's

"jesty's being there, We have, upon very good ground, adjudged, that "he could not discharge the Trust, upon which, nor make good the "end, for which he was placed in the Guard of that Town and Maga- "zine, if he had let in your Majesty with such Counsellors, and Com- "pany as were then about you.

"WHEREFORE, upon full Resolution of both Houses, We have de- "clared Sr *John Hotham* to be clear from that odious crime of Treason; "and have avowed, that he hath therein done nothing but in obedience "to the Command of both Houses of Parliament; assuring our selves "that, upon mature deliberation, your Majesty will not interpret his "obedience to such Authority to be an Affront to your Majesty, or to "be of that nature, as to require any Justice to be done upon him, or "satisfaction to be made to your Majesty: but that you will see just "cause of joyning with your Parliament, in preserving and securing the "Peace of the Kingdom; suppressing this wicked and Malignant Party, "who, by false colours, and pretensions of maintaining your Majesty's "Prerogative against the Parliament (wherein they fully agree with the "Rebels in *Ireland*) have been the causes of all our Distempers, and "Dangers.

FOR prevention whereof We know no better remedy, than settling "the Militia of the Kingdom, according to the Bill, which We have "sent your Majesty without any intention of deserting, or declining the "validity, or observance of that Ordinance, which past both Houses, "upon your Majesty's former refusal: but We still hold, that Ordinance "to be effectual by the Laws of this Kingdom. And We shall be ex- "ceeding glad, if your Majesty by approving these our just, dutiful, and "necessary proceedings, shall be pleased to entertain such Counsel, as "We assure our selves, by God's blessing, will prove very advantagious "for the Honour, and Greatness of your Majesty; the Safety, and Peace "of your People; amongst which, We know none more likely to pro- "duce such good effects, than a Declaration from your Majesty of your "purpose to lay aside all thoughts of going into *Ireland*, and to make a "speedy return into these parts, to be near your Parliament. Which as "it is our most humble desire, and earnest Petition, so shall it be se- "conded with our most dutiful care for the safety of your Royal Per- "son, and constant Prayers, that it may prove honourable, and succes- "ful, in the happiness of your Majesty, and all your Kingdoms.

To this Answer, with all formality delivered to his Majesty by the Committee, the King returned a quick Reply:

His Majesty's Reply.

"THAT he had been in good hope, that the reason, why they had so "long deferr'd their Answer to his Messages concerning *Hull*, had been, "that they might the better have given him satisfaction therein, which "now added the more to his Astonishment, finding their Answer, after "so long advisement, to be of that nature, which could not but rather "increase, than diminish the present distractions, if constantly adhered "to by the Parliament. He asked them, whether it was not too much, "that his Town of *Hull* had a Garrison put into it, to the great charge "of the Country, and Inconvenience to the poor Inhabitants, without "His consent and approbation, under colour at That time of Forreign "Invasion, and Apprehensions of the Popish Party; but that Now the "reasons thereof should be Enlarged with a Scandal to his Majesty, and "his faithful Servants, only to bring in the more specious Pretext for "the avowing Sr *John Hotham*'s Insolence, and Treason?

"HE

"HE ſaid, he had often heard of the great Truſt, that, by the Law "of God and Man, was committed to the King for the defence and "ſafety of his People; but as yet he never underſtood, what Truſt or "Power was committed to Either, or Both Houſes of Parliament, with- "out the King; They being ſummon'd to Counſel, and Adviſe the King. "But by what Law or Authority, they poſſeſs themſelves of his Ma- "jeſty's Right and Inheritance, he was confident, that as they had not, "ſo they could not ſhew. He told them, that he had not hitherto "given the leaſt interruption to publick Juſtice; but They, rather than "ſuffer One of their Members, to come ſo much as to a legal Trial for "the higheſt crime, would make uſe of an Order of Parliament to coun- "tenance Treaſon, by declaring him free from that guilt, which all for- "mer Ages never accounted other; and that without ſo much as en- "quiring the opinion of the Judges; for he was confident, they would "have mentioned their opinion, if they had asked it.

"THEREFORE he expected, that upon further, and better conſidera- "tion of the great, and neceſſary conſequence of the buſineſs of *Hull*, "and ſeriouſly weighing, how much it did concern the Peace, and Quiet "of the Kingdom, They would, without further inſtance from his Ma- "jeſty, give him full, and ſpeedy Juſtice againſt Sr *John Hotham*. And, "he ſaid, he would leave all his good People to think, what hope of "Juſtice there was left for Them, when they Refuſed, or Delayed to give "their own Soveraign ſatisfaction. And, as he had allready ſaid, till "that ſhould be done, he would intend no buſineſs whatſoever other than "that of *Ireland*.

"AND he ſaid, he likewiſe expected that They would not put the "Militia in execution, until they could ſhew him by what Law they "had Authority to do the ſame, without His conſent; or if they did, he "was confident, that he ſhould find much more obedience according to "Law, than they would do againſt Law. And he ſhould eſteem all "thoſe, who ſhould obey them therein, to be diſturbers of the Peace "of the Kingdom; and would, in due Seaſon, call them to a Legal ac- "count for the ſame.

"CONCERNING his return, he told them, he never heard that the "ſlandering of a King's Government, and his faithful Servants, the re- "fuſing of him Juſtice, and in a caſe of Treaſon, and the ſeeking to take "away his undoubted and Legal Authority, under the pretence of putting "the Kingdom into a poſture of Defence, were Arguments to induce a "King to come near, or hearken to his Parliament.

THE King diſpatched this Anſwer the ſooner, that the Country might be freed from the Impreſſion, the Preſence and Activity of the Com- mittee made in them; but when he deliver'd it to them, and required them to make all convenient haſt with it to the Houſes, they told him, "they would ſend it by an Expreſs, but that themſelves were required, "and appointed ſtill to reſide at *York*. The King told them, "that he "liked not ſuch Superviſors near him, and wiſhed them to be very care- "ful in their carriage; that the Country was viſibly Then very well af- "fected; and if he found any declenſion, he well knew to Whom to im- "pute it; and ſhould be compelled to proceed in an other manner againſt "them, than, with reference to their Perſons (for they were all then re- puted Moderate men, and had not been thought diſaffected to the Go- vernment of Church, or State) "he ſhould be willing to do. They An- ſwered with a ſullen confidence, "that they ſhould demean themſelves

"according to their Instructions; and would perform the Truſt, repoſed "in them by the two Houſes of Parliament. Yet ſuch was the ticklish-neſs of the King's condition, that, tho' it was moſt Evident that their coming, and ſtaying there was to pervert, and corrupt the Loyalty, and Affections of thoſe parts, and to infuſe into them Inclinations contrary to their Allegiance, it was not thought Counſellable at that time, either to commit them to Priſon, or to expel them from that City, or to inhibit them the freedom of his own Court, and Preſence; and ſo they continued, for the ſpace of above a Month, in *York*, even in defiance of the King.

THE Militia was the Argument, which They found made deepeſt impreſſion in the People, being totally ignorant what it was, or what the conſequence of it might be; and ſo believing whatſoever They told them concerning it. And therefore they reſolved to drive that Nail home; and tho', for want of their Imminent Danger, and during the time of the King's Treaty, and Overture of a Bill, they had forborn the execution of their Ordinance; yet the frequent Muſters of Volunteers without Order, allmoſt in all Countries, by the bare Authority of their Votes, gave them ſufficient Evidence how open the People were to their Commands; at leaſt how unprepared Authority was to reſiſt, and oppoſe them: and therefore, after the King had diſplaced their two Favourites, and refuſed to paſs the Bill for the Militia, and Sr *John Hotham* had refuſed to let the King come into the Town of *Hull*, and They had Juſtify'd him for ſo doing, they prepared a Declaration concerning the whole State of the Militia, as the Reſolution of the Lords and Commons upon that matter; in which they ſaid,

The Declaration of the two Houſes about the Militia, May 5. 1642.

"THAT holding it neceſſary for the Peace, and Safety of the King-"dom, to ſettle the Militia thereof, they had, for that purpoſe, prepared "an Ordinance of Parliament, and with all humility had preſented the "ſame to his Majeſty for his Royal Aſſent. Who, notwithſtanding the "faithful Advice of his Parliament, and the ſeveral Reaſons offer'd by "them, of the neceſſity thereof for the ſecuring of his Majeſty's Perſon, "and the Peace and Safety of his People, did refuſe to give his Conſent; "and thereupon, they were neceſſitated, in diſcharge of the Truſt re-"poſed in Them, as the Repreſentative Body of the Kingdom, to make "an Ordinance, by the Authority of both Houſes, to ſettle the Militia, "warranted thereunto by the Fundamental Laws of the Land: that his "Majeſty, taking notice thereof, did, by ſeveral Meſſages, invite them "to ſettle the ſame by Act of Parliament; affirming in his Meſſage ſent "in Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes, preſented to his Majeſty at "*York*, *March* 26. that he allways thought it neceſſary the ſame ſhould "be ſettled, and that he never denied the Thing, only denied the Way; "and for the Matter of it, took exception only to the preface, as a thing "not ſtanding with his Honour to conſent to; and that Himſelf was "excluded in the Execution, and for a time Unlimited: whereupon the "Lords and Commons, being deſirous to give his Majeſty all ſatisfaction "that might be, even to the leaſt Title of Form and Circumſtances, when "his Majeſty had pleaſed to offer them a Bill ready drawn, had, for no "other cauſe, than to manifeſt their hearty Affection to comply with "his Majeſty's deſires, and obtain his conſent, entertain'd the ſame, in "the mean time no way declining their Ordinance; and to expreſs their "earneſt Zeal to correſpond with his Majeſty's deſires (in all things that "might conſiſt with the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom, and the Truſt

"repoſed

"repoſed in them) did paſs That Bill, and therein omitted the Preamble "inſerted before the Ordinance; limited the time to leſs than two years; "and confined the Authority of the Lieutenants to theſe three particu- "lars, namely Rebellion, Inſurrection, and Forreign Invaſion; and re- "turned the ſame to his Majeſty for his Royal Aſſent: but all theſe ex- "preſſions of Affection and Loyalty, all thoſe deſires, and earneſt endea- "vours to comply with his Majeſty, had, to their great grief and ſorrow, "produced no better Effects than an abſolute denial, even of that which "his Majeſty by his former Meſſages, as they conceived, had promiſed: "the Advice of Evil and Wicked Councils receiving ſtill more Credit "with him, than that of his Great Council of Parliament in a matter "of ſo high importance, that the ſafety of his Kingdom, and peace of his "People, depended upon it.

"BUT now, what muſt be the exceptions to that Bill? Not any ſure "that were to the Ordinance; for a care had been taken to give ſa- "tisfaction in all thoſe particulars. Then the Exception was, becauſe "that the diſpoſing and execution thereof was referr'd to both Houſes "of Parliament, and his Majeſty Excluded; and Now that, by the "Bill, the Power and Execution was aſcertain'd, and reduced to par- "ticulars, and the Law of the Realm made the Rule thereof, his Ma- "jeſty would not truſt the Perſons. The power was too Great, too "Unlimited, to truſt them with. But what was that Power? Was it "any other, but, in expreſs terms, to ſuppreſs Rebellion, Inſurrection, "and Forreign Invaſion? And who were thoſe Perſons? Were not they "ſuch as were nominated by the Great Council of the Kingdom, and Af- "ſented to by his Majeſty? And was it too Great a Power, to truſt Thoſe "Perſons with the ſuppreſſion of Rebellion, Inſurrection, and Forreign "invaſion? Surely, they ſaid, the moſt wicked of them who adviſed his "Majeſty to that Anſwer, could not ſuggeſt, but that it was neceſſary "for the ſafety of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and the Peace of the King- "dom, ſuch a power ſhould be put in Some hands; and there was no "pretence for exception to the Perſons. They ſaid, his Majeſty had, "for the ſpece of above fifteen years together, not thought a power, far "exceeding That, to be too Great to intruſt particular Perſons with, to "whoſe Will the Lives, and Liberties of his People, by Martial Laws, "were made Subject; for ſuch was the power given Lord Lieutenants, "and Deputy Lieutenants, in every County of this Kingdom, and that "without the conſent of the People, or Authority of Law. But now in "caſe of Extreme Neceſſity, upon the advice of both Houſes of Parlia- "ment, for no longer ſpace than two years, a Leſſer power, and that for "the ſafety of King and People, was thought too Great to truſt particular "Perſons with, tho' named by both Houſes of Parliament, and approved "by his Majeſty Himſelf: and ſurely, if there were a neceſſity to ſettle "the Militia (which his Majeſty was pleaſed to confeſs) the Perſons could "not be intruſted with Leſs power than that, to have it at all Effectual. "And the Precedents of former Ages, when there happen'd a Neceſſity "to raiſe ſuch a Power, never ſtreightn'd that Power to a narrower "compaſs; witneſs the Commiſſions of Array in ſeveral King's Reigns, "and often iſſued out by the Conſent, and Authority of Parliament.

"THE Lords and Commons therefore, intruſted with the ſafety of "the Kingdom, and peace of the People (which, they called God to "witneſs, was their only aime) finding themſelves denied thoſe their ſo "neceſſary and juſt Demands, and that they could never be diſcharged

"before

"before God or Man, if they ſhould ſuffer the ſafety of the Kingdom,
"and peace of the People, to be expoſed to the malice of the Malignant
"Party at home, or the Fury of Enemies abroad: and knowing no
"other way to encounter the imminent, and approaching danger, but
"by putting the People into a fit poſture of defence, did Reſolve to put
"their ſaid Ordinance in preſent execution; and did require all perſons
"in Authority, by vertue of the ſaid Ordinance, forthwith to put the
"ſame in execution, and all others to obey it, according to the Funda-
"mental Laws of the Kingdom in ſuch caſes, as they tender'd the up-
"holding of the True Proteſtant Religion, the Safety of his Majeſty's
"Perſon, and his Royal Poſterity, the Peace of the Kingdom, and the
"Being of this Common-wealth. This Declaration (being in Anſwer
to a Meſſage from his Majeſty) was Printed, and, with the uſual care
and dexterity, diſperſed throughout the Kingdom, without ſo much as
ſending it to the King; and, thereupon, Warrants and Directions iſſued
into all parts, for the exerciſing the Militia.

THIS being the firſt Declaration they had in plain terms publiſhed againſt the King, without ever communicating it, or preſenting it to him, as they had done all the reſt, his Majeſty was the more troubled how to take notice of it; but conceiving it neceſſary to apply ſome Antidote to this Poiſon, the violent operation whereof he had reaſon to apprehend, he publiſhed a Declaration by way of Anſwer to that Declaration, in which he ſaid,

The King's Declaration in Anſwer to the foregoing Declaration.

"THAT he very well underſtood, how much it was below the High
"and Royal Dignity (wherein God had placed him) to take notice of,
"much more to trouble himſelf with Anſwering thoſe many ſcandalous,
"ſeditious Pamphlets, and Printed Papers, which were ſcatter'd, with
"ſuch great licence throughout the Kingdom (notwithſtanding his Ma-
"jeſty's earneſt deſire, ſo often in vain preſſed, for a Reformation) tho'
"he found it evident, that the minds of many of his weak Subjects,
"had been, and ſtill were poyſon'd by thoſe means; and that ſo gene-
"ral a terrour had poſſeſſed the minds and hearts of all men, that whilſt
"the Preſſes ſwarm'd with, and every day produced, new Tracts againſt
"the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church and State, moſt men wanted
"the Courage, or the Conſcience to write, or the opportunity and En-
"couragement to publiſh ſuch compoſed, ſober Animadverſions, as
"might either preſerve the minds of his good Subjects from ſuch in-
"fection, or reſtore and recover them, when they were ſo infected:
"but, his Majeſty ſaid, he was contented to let himſelf fall to any Of-
"fice, that might undeceive his People, and to take more pains that
"way by his Own Pen, than ever King had done, when he found any
"thing that ſeem'd to carry the Reputation, and Authority of Either,
"or Both Houſes of Parliament, and would not have the ſame refuted,
"and diſputed by Vulgar and Common Pens, till he ſhould be through-
"ly informed whether thoſe Acts had in truth that Countenance and
"Warrant, they pretend: which regard of his, his Majeſty doubted not
"but, in time, would recover that due Reverence (the abſence whereof
"he had to much reaſon to complain of) to his Perſon and his Meſſages,
"which in all Ages had been paid, and, no doubt, was due to the Crown
"of *England*.

"HE ſaid, he had therefore taken notice of a Printed Paper, entituled
"a Declaration of both Houſes, in Anſwer to his laſt Meſſage concern-
"ing the Militia, publiſhed by Command; the which he was unwilling

"to

"to believe (both for the matter of it, the expreſſions in it, and the "manner of publiſhing it) could reſult from the conſent of both Houſes; "neither did his Majeſty know by what Lawful command, ſuch Un- "comely, Irreverent mention of Him could be publiſh'd to the world: "And, tho' Declarations of that kind had of late, with too much bold- "neſs, broken in upon his Majeſty, and the whole Kingdom, when one, "or both Houſes had thought fit to communicate their Counſels, and "Reſolutions to the People; yet, he ſaid, he was unwilling to believe, "that ſuch a Declaration as that could be publiſhed in anſwer to his "Meſſage, without vouchſafing at leaſt to ſend it to his Majeſty as their "Anſwer. Their buſineſs, for which they were met by his Writ and "Authority, being to Counſel him for the good of his People, not to "Write againſt him to his People; nor had any conſent of his Majeſty "for their long continuing together enabled them to do any thing, but "what they were firſt ſummon'd by his Writ to do. At leaſt he would "believe, tho' miſunderſtanding and jealouſy (the Juſtice of God, he "ſaid, would overtake the Fomenters of that jealouſy, and the Pro- "moters and Contrivers of that miſunderſtanding) might produce, to "ſay no worſe, thoſe very Untoward expreſſions, that if thoſe Houſes "had contrived that Declaration as an Anſwer to his Meſſage, they "would have vouchſafed ſome Anſwer to the Queſtions propoſed in his, "which, he profeſſed, did, and muſt evidently prevail over his under- "ſtanding; and in their Wiſdom and Gravity, they would have been "ſure to have ſtated the matters of Fact, as (at leaſt to ordinary under- "ſtandings) might be unqueſtionable; neither of which was done by "that Declaration.

"HIS Majeſty deſired to know, why he was by that Act abſolutely "excluded from any Power, or Authority in the execution of the Mi- "litia; and, he ſaid, he muſt appeal to all the world, whether ſuch an "Attempt, were not a greater and juſter ground for Fear and Jealouſy "in Him, than any one that was avowed for thoſe Deſtructive Fears and "Jealouſies which were ſo publickly own'd, allmoſt, to the ruin of the "Kingdom. But his Majeſty had been told, that he muſt not be jealous "of his Great Council of both Houſes of Parliament: He ſaid, he was "not, no more than they were of his Majeſty, their King; and hitherto "they had not avow'd any Jealouſy of, or Diſaffection to his Perſon; "but imputed all to his evil Counſellors, to a Malignant Party, that was "not of Their minds; ſo his Majeſty did (and, he ſaid, he did it from "his Soul) profeſs no Jealouſy of his Parliament, but of ſome Turbu- "lent, Seditious, and Ambitious Natures; which, being not ſo clearly "diſcern'd, might have an influence even upon the Actions of both "Houſes: and if that Declaration had paſſed by that conſent (which he "was not willing to believe) he ſaid, it was not impoſſible, but that the "apprehenſion of ſuch Tumults, which had driven his Majeſty from his "City of *London*, for the ſafety of his Perſon, might make ſuch an im- "preſſion upon other men, not able to remove from the danger, to make "them Conſent, or not to own a Diſſent, in matters not agreable to their "Conſcience, or Underſtanding.

"HE ſaid, he had mention'd, in that his Anſwer, his diſlike of putting "Their Names out of the Bill, whom before they recommended to his "Majeſty, in their pretended Ordinance, and the leaving out, by ſpecial "Proviſion, the preſent Lord Mayor of *London*; to all which the De- "claration afforded no Anſwer; and therefore he could not ſuppoſe it

"was intended for an Anſwer to that his Meſſage, which whoſoever "looked upon, would find to be in no degree Anſwer'd by that Decla- "ration; but it informed all his Majeſty's Subjects, after the mention "with what humility the Ordinance was prepared, and preſented to his "Majeſty (a matter very evident in the Petitions, and Meſſages con- "cerning it) and his refuſal to give his conſent, notwithſtanding the ſe- "veral reaſons offer'd, of the neceſſity thereof for the ſecuring of his "Perſon, and the Peace and Safety of his People (whether any ſuch "reaſons were given, the weight of them, and whether they were not "clearly and candidly Anſwered by his Majeſty, the World would eaſily "judge) that they were at laſt neceſſitated to make an Ordinance by "Authority of both Houſes, to ſettle the Militia, warranted thereunto "by the Fundamental Laws of the Land. But, his Majeſty ſaid, if that "Declaration had indeed intended to have Anſwer'd him, it would have "told his good Subjects what thoſe Fundamental Laws of the Land were, "and where to be found; and would, at leaſt, have mention'd one Or- "dinance, from the firſt beginning of Parliaments to to this preſent Par- "liament, which endeavour'd to impoſe any thing upon the Subject "without the King's Conſent; for of ſuch, he ſaid, all the enquiry he "could make could never produce him one Inſtance. And if there were "ſuch a Secret of the Law, which had lain hid from the beginning of "the world to that time, and Now was diſcover'd to take away the Juſt, "Legal Power of the King, he wiſhed there were not ſome Other Secret "(to be diſcover'd when they pleaſed) for the ruin, and deſtruction of "the Liberty of the Subject. For, he ſaid, there was no doubt if the "Votes of both Houſes had any ſuch Authority to make a New Law, it "had the ſame Authority to repeal the Old; and then, what would be- "come of the long eſtabliſhed Rights and Liberties of the King and "Subject, and particularly of *Magna Charta*, would be eaſily diſcern'd "by the moſt ordinary Underſtanding.

"HE ſaid, it was true, that he had (out of tenderneſs of the Conſti- "tution of the Kingdom, and care of the Law, which he was bound to "defend, and being moſt aſſured of the unjuſtifiableneſs of the pretended "Ordinance) invited, and deſired both Houſes of Parliament to ſettle "whatſoever ſhould be fit of that nature by Act of Parliament. But was "he therefore obliged to paſs whatſoever ſhould be brought to him of "that kind? He did ſay in his Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes "preſented to him at *York* the 26th of *March* laſt (and he had ſaid the "ſame in other Meſſages before) that he allways thought it neceſſary "that the buſineſs of the Militia ſhould be ſetled, and that he never de- "nied the Thing, only denied the Way; and he ſaid the ſame ſtill; and "that ſince the many Diſputes and Votes, upon Lords Lieutenants and "their Commiſſions (which had not been begun by his Majeſty, nor his "Father) had ſo diſcountenanced that Authority, which for many years "together was happily looked upon with reverence, and obedience by "the People, his Majeſty did think it very neceſſary, that ſome whole- "ſom Law ſhould be provided for that Buſineſs; but he had declared in "his Anſwer to the pretended Ordinance, that he expected, that that "neceſſary Power ſhould be firſt inveſted in his Majeſty, before he con- "ſented to transfer it to other men; neither could it ever be imagined "that he would conſent that a greater Power ſhould be in the hands of "a Subject, than he was thought worthy to be truſted with Himſelf. "And if it ſhould not be thought fit to make a new Act or Declaration

"in

"in the point of the Militia, he doubted not, but he ſhould be able to "grant ſuch Commiſſions as ſhould very legally enable thoſe he truſted, "to do all Offices for the peace and quiet of the Kingdom, if any diſtur- "bance ſhould happen.

"BUT it was ſaid, he had been pleaſed to offer them a Bill ready "drawn, and that They, to expreſs their earneſt Zeal to correſpond with "his deſire, did paſs that Bill; and yet all that expreſſion of Affection "and Loyalty, all that earneſt deſire of theirs to comply with his Ma- "jeſty, produced no better effect than an abſolute denial, even of what "by his former Meſſages his Majeſty had promiſed; and ſo that Decla- "ration, he ſaid, proceeded, under the pretence of mentioning evil and "wicked Counſels, to cenſure and reproach his Majeſty in a Dialect, "that, he was confident, his good Subjects would read, on his behalf, "with much Indignation. But, his Majeſty ſaid, ſure if that Declara- "tion had paſſed the examination of both Houſes of Parliament, they "would never have affirmed, that the Bill he had refuſed to paſs, was "the ſame he had ſent to them, or have thought that his Meſſage, where- "in the difference, and contrariety between the two Bills, was ſo par- "ticularly ſet down, would be Anſwer'd with the bare Averring them "to be one, and the ſame Bill: nor would they have declar'd, when his "exceptions to the Ordinance, and the Bill, were ſo notoriouſly known "to all, that care being taken to give ſatisfaction in all the particulars "he had excepted againſt in the Ordinance, he had found New exceptions "to the Bill; and yet that very Declaration confeſſed, that his exception "to the Ordinance was, that, in the diſpoſing and execution thereof, his "Majeſty was Excluded: and was not that an epreſs reaſon, in his "Anſwer, for his refuſal of the Bill; which that Declaration would needs "confute?

"BUT the Power was no other than to ſuppreſs Rebellion, Inſur- "rection, and Forreign Invaſion; and the Perſons truſted, no other than "ſuch as were nominated by the Great Council of the Kingdom, and "aſſented to by his Majeſty: and they asked, if that were too Great a "power to truſt thoſe Perſons with? Indeed, his Majeſty ſaid, whilſt ſo "great Liberty was uſed in Voting, and Declaring men to be Enemies "to the Common-wealth (a phraſe his Majeſty ſcarce underſtood) and "in cenſuring men for their Service, and Attendance upon his Majeſty's "Perſon, and in his lawful Commands, great heed muſt be taken into "what hands he committed ſuch a power to ſuppreſs Inſurrection, and "Rebellion; and if Inſurrection and Rebellion had found other Defini- "tions than what the Law had given, his Majeſty muſt be ſure that no "Lawful power ſhould juſtify thoſe Definitions: and if there were Learn- "ing found out to make Sr *John Hotham*'s taking Armes againſt him, "and keeping his Majeſty's Town and Fort from him, to be no Treaſon "or Rebellion, he knew not whether a new Diſcovery might not find it "Rebellion in his Majeſty to Defend Himſelf from ſuch Armes, and to "endeavour to recover what was ſo taken from him; and therefore, he "ſaid, it concern'd him, till the known Laws of the Land were allow'd "to be Judge between them, to take heed into what hands he committed "ſuch power.

"BESIDES, he asked, whether it could be thought, that becauſe he "was willing to truſt certain Perſons, that he was obliged to truſt them "in Whatſoever they were willing to be truſted? He ſaid, no Private "hands were fit for ſuch a Truſt; neither had he departed from any thing,

"in the leaſt degree, he had offer'd or promiſed before; tho' He might "with as much reaſon have withdrawn his Truſt from ſome Perſons, "whom before he had accepted, as They had done from others, whom "they had recommended. For the power which he was charged to have "committed to particular perſons, for the ſpace of fifteen years, by his "Commiſſions of Lieutenancy, it was notoriouſly known that it was "not a power created by his Majeſty, but continued very many years, "and in the moſt happy times this Kingdom had enjoyed, even thoſe of "his renown'd Predeceſſors, Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Father of happy "memory: and whatever Authority had been granted by thoſe Com- "miſſions, which had been kept in the old forms, the ſame was deter- "minable at his Majeſty's pleaſure; and he knew not, that they pro- "duced any of thoſe Calamities, which might give his good Subjects "cauſe to be ſo weary of them, as to run the hazard of ſo much Miſ- "chief, as that Bill, which he had refuſed, might poſſibly have pro- "duced.

"FOR the Precedents of former Ages in the Commiſſions of Array, "his Majeſty doubted not, but when any ſuch had iſſued out, that the "King's conſent was allways obtain'd, and the Commiſſions determina- "ble at His pleaſure; and then what the extent of Power was, would "be nothing applicable to that Caſe of the Ordinance.

"BUT whether that Declaration had refuted his Majeſty's reaſons "for his refuſal to paſs the Bill, or no, it reſolved, and required all per- "ſons in Authority thereby to put the Ordinance in preſent execution; "and all Others to obey it according to the Fundamental Laws of the "Land. But, his Majeſty ſaid, He, whom God had truſted to maintain "and defend thoſe Fundamental Laws, which, he hoped, God would "bleſs to ſecure him, did declare, that there was no Legal Power in Ei- "ther, or Both Houſes, upon any pretence whatſoever, without his Ma- "jeſty's conſent, to Command any part of the Militia of the Kingdom; "nor had the like ever been commanded by Either, or Both Houſes, "ſince the firſt foundation of the Laws of the Land; and that the Exe- "cution of, or the Obedience to that pretended Ordinance, was againſt "the Fundamental Laws of the Land, againſt the Liberty of the Sub- "ject, and the Right of Parliaments, and a High Crime in any that "ſhould execute the ſame: and his Majeſty did therefore charge, and "command all his loving Subjects of what degree, or quality ſoever, "upon their Allegiance, and as they tender'd the peace of the Kingdom, "from thenceforth not to Muſter, Levy, or Array, or Summon, or Warn "any of the Train'd-bands to riſe, Muſter or March, by Virtue, or un- "der Colour, of that pretended Ordinance: and to that Declaration, and "Command of his Majeſty's, he ſaid, he expected and required a full "Submiſſion, and Obedience from all his loving Subjects, upon their Al- "legiance, as they would Anſwer the Contrary at their Perils, and as "they tender'd the upholding of the True Proteſtant Religion, the Safety "of his Perſon, and his Royal Poſterity, the Peace, and Being of the "Kingdom.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe ſharp Declarations (infallible Symptoms of ſharper Actions) which were with equal diligence diſperſed by either ſide among the People, ſave that the Agents for the Parliament took as much care to Suppreſs the King's, as to Publiſh their own, whereas the King's deſire was that they might be both impartially read and examin'd, and to that purpoſe allways cauſed thoſe from the Parliament to be printed

printed with his own, They had the power and skill to perſwade men, who, but by that perſwaſion, could not have been ſeduced, and without ſeducing of whom they could have made but a very ſorry progreſs in miſchief, "that all would be well; that they were well aſſured that the "King would, in the end, yield to what they deſir'd; at leaſt, that they "ſhould prevail for a good Part, if not for All; and that there ſhould "be no War; tho' themſelves well knew, that the fire was too much kindled, to be extinguiſhed without a flame, and made preparations accordingly. For the raiſing and procuring of Money (beſides the vaſt Sums collected and contributed for *Ireland*, which they diſburſed very leiſurely, the ſupplies for that Kingdom, notwithſtanding the importunity and complaint from thence, being not diſpatch'd thither, both in quantity and quality, with that expedition as was pretended) they ſent out very ſtrict Warrants for the gathering all thoſe Sums of Money, which had been granted by any Bills of Subſidy, or Poll-Bill; in the collection of all which there had been great negligence, probably that They might have it the more at their own diſpoſal in their Need; by which they now recover'd great Sums into their hands. For the raiſing of Men (tho' it was not Yet time for them to avow the raiſing an Army) beſides the diſpoſing the whole Kingdom to Subject themſelves to their Ordinance of the Militia, and, by That, liſting in all places companies of Volunteers, who would be ready when they were called, they made more haſt than they had done in the Levies of Men, both Horſe and Foot, for the relief of *Ireland*, under Officers choſen, or approved by Themſelves; and propoſed the raiſing of an Army apart, of ſix or eight thouſand, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton* (a man very faſt to them) for *Munſter*, under the ſtyle of the Adventurers Army, and to have no dependance upon, nor be ſubject to, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but only to receive Orders from the two Houſes, and from a Committee to be appointed by them, which ſhould be allways with that Army: but the King, eaſily diſcerning the conſequence of that deſign, refuſed to grant ſuch a Commiſſion as they deſir'd; ſo that they were forced to be content, only with the advantage of New Exclamations againſt the King, "for hindering the ſupplies for *Ireland*, upon the occaſion of his denyal of that unreaſonable Commiſſion, and to proceed in their levies the Ordinary way; which they did, with great expedition. To confirm and encourage the Factious and Schiſmatical Party of the Kingdom, which thought the pace towards the reformation was not brisk, and furious enough, and was with great difficulty contained in ſo ſlow a March, They had, a little before, publiſhed a Declaration,

The two Houſes Declaration concerning a Reformation of the Liturgy.

"THAT they intended a due, and neceſſary Reformation of the Go- "vernment, and Liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing in "the One or the Other, but what ſhould be Evil, and Juſtly offenſive, "or at leaſt Unneceſſary, and Burthenſom; and, for the better effecting "thereof, ſpeedily to have conſultation with Godly and Learned Di- "vines: and, becauſe that would never of it ſelf attain the end ſought "therein, they would therefore uſe their utmoſt endeavours to eſtabliſh "Learned, and Preaching Miniſters, with a good and ſufficient main- "tenance throughout the whole Kingdom; wherein many dark Corners "were miſerably deſtitute of the means of Salvation, and many poor "Miniſters wanted neceſſary proviſion.

THIS Declaration, printed, and appointed to be publiſhed by the

Sheriffs in their ſeveral Counties, in all the Market Towns within the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, was not more intended to the heartning of thoſe, who were impatient for a Reformation (who in truth had ſo implicite a Faith in their Leaders, that they expected another manner of Reformation than was publickly promiſed) than to the lulling thoſe aſleep, who begun to be awake with the apprehenſion of that confuſion, they apprehended from the practice and licence, they ſaw practiced againſt the received Government, and Doctrine of the Church; and to be perſwaded, that it was time to oppoſe that Current. And, in this project, they were not diſappointed: for tho' this warily worded Declaration was evidence enough to Wiſe men, what They intended; and Logically comprehended an Alteration as great, as has been ſince attempted, and made; yet to Lazy and Quiet men, who could not diſcern conſequences, and were not willing to Antedate their miſeries, by ſuſpecting worſe was to come than they felt, or ſaw in their View, their fears were much abated, and the intentions of the Parliament ſeem'd not ſo bad, as they had been told by ſome that they were: and as this very Declaration of a due Reformation to be made of the Government of the Church, and the Liturgy, would, a year before, have given great Umbrage and Scandal to the People, when, generally, there was a due ſubmiſſion to the Government, and a ſingular reverence of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; ſo Now, when there was a General fear and apprehenſion inculcated into them, of a purpoſe utterly to ſubvert the Government, and utterly to aboliſh the Liturgy, they thought the taking away nothing in the One or the Other, but what ſhould be Evil, and Juſtly offenſive, or, at leaſt, Unneceſſary and Burthenſom, was an eaſy Compoſition; and ſo, by degrees, they ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſtill prevailed on towards ends, they extremely abhorred; and what at firſt ſeem'd Prophane and Impious to them, in a little time appear'd only Inconvenient; and what, in the beginning, they thought matter of Conſcience and Religion, ſhortly after they looked upon, as ſomewhat rather to be Wiſhed than poſitively Inſiſted on; and conſequently not to be laid in the balance with the Publick Peace, which they would imagin to be endanger'd by oppoſing the ſenſe that then prevailed: and ſo, by Undervaluing many particulars (which they Truly eſteem'd) as rather to be conſented to, than that the general ſhould ſuffer, they Brought, or Suffer'd the Publick to be brought to all the ſufferings it ſince underwent.

The Aſſembly of Divines.

AND now they ſhew'd what Conſultation they meant to have with Godly and Learned Divines, and what Reformation they intended, by appointing the Knights and Burgeſſes to bring in the Names of ſuch Divines for the ſeveral Counties, as they thought fit to conſtitute an Aſſembly for the framing a new Model for the Government of the Church, which was done accordingly; thoſe who were true Sons of the Church, not ſo much as endeavouring the Nomination of Sober, and Learned Men, abhorring ſuch a Reformation, as begun with the Invaſion, and Suppreſſion of the Churchs Rights in a Synod, as well known as *Magua Charta*: and if any well affected Member, not enough conſidering the ſcandal, and the conſequence of that Violation, did Name an Orthodox, and well reputed Divine, to aſſiſt in that Aſſembly, it was Argument enough againſt him, that he was Nominated by a Perſon in whom they had no Confidence; and They only had reputation enough to Commend to this Conſultation, who were known to deſire the utter demoliſhing

of

of the whole Fabrick of the Church: ſo that of about one hundred and twenty, of which that Aſſembly was to conſiſt (tho', by the recommendation of two or three Members of the Commons, whom they were not willing to diſpleaſe, and by the Authority of the Lords, who added a ſmall Number to thoſe named by the Houſe of Commons, a few very Reverend, and Worthy men were inſerted; yet of the whole Number) they were not above Twenty, who were not declar'd, and avow'd Enemies to the Doctrine, or Diſcipline of the Church of *England*; ſome of them infamous in their lives, and converſations; and moſt of them of very mean parts in Learning, if not of Scandalous Ignorance; and of no other reputation, than of malice to the Church of *England*; ſo that that Convention hath not Since produced any thing, that might not Then reaſonably have been expected from it

BUT that which gave greateſt power, and ſtrength to their growing Faction, was the ſeverity they uſed againſt all thoſe, of what Quality or Degree ſoever, who oppoſed their Counſels, and Proceedings. If any Lord, who had any place of Honour, or Truſt from the King, concurred not with them, they made an inquiſition into the whole paſſages of his Life; and if they could find no Fault, or no Folly (for any Levity, or Indiſcretion ſerved for a Charge) to reproach him with, it was enough "that they could not Confide in him: ſo they threatned the Earl of *Portland*, who with extraordinary vivacity croſſed their Conſultations, "that they would remove him from his Charge and Government of the "Iſle of *Wight* (which at laſt they did *de facto*, by committing him to Priſon without ſo much as aſſigning a Cauſe) and to that purpoſe, objected all the Acts of good fellowſhip; all the waſt of Powder, and all the waſt of Wine, in the drinking of Healths; and other Acts of Jollity, when ever he had been at his Government, from the firſt hour of his entering upon it: ſo that the Leaſt inconvenience a man in their Diſfavour was to expect, was to have his Name and Reputation uſed, for two or three hours, in the Houſe of Commons with what Licence and Virulency they pleaſed. None were perſecuted with more rigour, than the Clergy; whereof whoſoever publickly, or privately, cenſured their Actions, or ſuſpected their Intentions, was either committed to priſon, or compelled to a chargeable and long Attendance, as inconvenient as Impriſonment. And this meaſure of proceeding was Equally, if not with More animoſity, applied to thoſe, who, in former times, had been looked upon by that Party with moſt reverence. On the contrary, whoever Concurred, Voted, and Sided with them, in their extravagant concluſions, let the infamy of his Former life, or Preſent practice be what it would; his injuſtice and oppreſſion never ſo ſcandalous, and notorious; He was received, countenanc'd, and protected with marvellous demonſtrations of Affection: ſo that, between thoſe that Loved them, and thoſe that Fear'd them; thoſe that did not love the Church, and thoſe that did not love ſome Church-men; thoſe whom the Court had oppreſſed, and thoſe who had helped the Court to oppreſs Others; thoſe who fear'd their Power, and thoſe who fear'd their Juſtice; their Party was grown over the Kingdom, but eſpecially in the City, juſtly Formidable.

IN the mean time, the King omitted no opportunity to provide againſt the Storm he ſaw was coming; and, tho' he might not Yet own the apprehenſion of that danger he really found himſelf in, he neglected not the proviſion of what he thought moſt neceſſary for his defence; he cauſed all

all his Declarations, Meſſages, and Anſwers, to be induſtriouſly communicated throughout his Dominions; of which he found good effects; and, by their reception, diſcover'd that the People univerſally were not ſo irrecoverably poiſon'd, as he before had cauſe to fear: He cauſed private intimations to be given, and inſinuations to be made to the Gentry "that Their preſence would be acceptable to him; and to thoſe, who came to him, he uſed much gracious freedom, and expreſſed all poſſible demonſtrations, that he was glad of their Attendance: ſo that, in a ſhort time, the reſort to *York* was very great; and, at leaſt, a good face of a Court there

BEYOND the Seas, the Queen was as intent to do Her part; and to provide that ſo good Company, as ſhe heard was daily gather'd together about the King, ſhould not be diſſolved for want of Weapons to defend one another: and therefore, with as much ſecrecy, as could be uſed in thoſe Caſes, and in thoſe places where ſhe had ſo many Spies upon her, ſhe cauſed, by the Sale or Pawning of her own, and ſome of the Crown Jewels, a good quantity of Powder and Armes to be in a readineſs in *Holland*, againſt the time that it ſhould be found neceſſary to tranſport it to his Majeſty: ſo that both Sides, whilſt they entertain'd each other with diſcourſes of Peace (which allways carried a ſharpneſs with them, that whetted their appetite to War) provided for that War, which they ſaw would not be prevented.

HITHERTO the greateſt Acts of Hoſtility, ſaving that at *Hull*, were perform'd by Votes, and Orders; for there was Yet no viſible, formal execution of the Ordinance for the Militia, in any one County of *England*: for the appearance of Volunteers in ſome factious Corporations was rather Countenanced, than poſitively Directed and Enjoyn'd by the Houſes: and moſt places pretended an Authority, granted by the King in the Charters, by which thoſe Corporations were erected, or conſtituted; but Now they thought it time to ſatisfy the King, and the People, that they were in Earneſt (who were hardly perſwaded, that they had in truth the courage to execute their own Ordinance) and Reſolved, "that, on the tenth of *May*, they would have all the Train'd-bands of "*London*, Muſter'd in the Fields, where that exerciſe uſually was per-"form'd; and accordingly, on that day, their own new Officer, Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*, appear'd in *Finsbury* Fields, with all the Train'd-bands of *London* conſiſting of above eight thouſand Soldiers, diſpoſed into ſix Regiments, and under ſuch Captains and Colonels, as they had cauſe to Confide in. At this firſt triumphant Muſter, the Members of both Houſes appear'd in groſs; there being a Tent purpoſely ſet up for them, and an entertainment at the Charge of the City to the value of near a thouſand pounds; all men preſuming, that this example of *London*, with ſuch ceremony and ſolemnity, would be eaſily follow'd throughout the Kingdom; and many believing, they had made no ſmall progreſs towards the end they aimed at, by having engaged the very body of the City in a guilt equal to their own: for' tho' they had before ſufficient evidence of the Inclinations of the Mean, and Common people to them, and reaſonable aſſurance, that thoſe in Authority would hardly be able to contain them; yet, till this day, they had no inſtance of the Concurrence of the City in an Act expreſsly Unlawful. But now they preſumed all difficulties were over; and ſo ſent their Directions to the Counties adjacent, ſpeedily to execute the ſame Ordinance; and appointed all the Magazines of the ſeveral Counties of *England*, and *Wales*, to

to ſuch Cuſtody, as their Lord Lieutenants, or their Deputy Lieutenants ſhould appoint; and that not only the Counties ſhould increaſe thoſe Magazines to what proportion ſoever they thought convenient, but that any private Perſons, that were well affected, ſhould ſupply themſelves with what Armes and Ammunition they pleaſed. By which means, beſides the King's Magazines, all which were in their poſſeſſion, they cauſed great quantitities of all ſorts of Armes to be provided, and diſpoſed to ſuch places, and Perſons, as they thought fitteſt to be truſted; eſpecially in thoſe factious Corporations, which had liſted moſt Volunteers for their Service.

THE King now ſaw the Storm coming apace upon him; that (not withſtanding his Proclamation publiſhed againſt the Ordinance of the Militia, in which he ſet down the Laws and Statutes, which were infringed thereby, and by which the execution of that Ordinance would be no leſs than High-Treaſon) the Votes, and Declaration of both Houſes "that thoſe Proclamations were illegal, and that thoſe Acts of "Parliaments could not control the Acts, and Orders of both Houſes "(which the Subjects were, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, "to obey) prevail'd ſo far, that obedience was given to them; that he was ſo far from being like to have *Hull* reſtored to him, that the Garriſon there daily increaſed, and forced the Country to ſubmit to ſuch Commands, as they pleaſed to lay on them; and that Sr *John Hotham* was more likely to be able to Take *York*, than his Majeſty to Recover *Hull*; he thought it, therefore, high time, by Their example, to put himſelf into a poſture of Defence; the danger being much more Imminent to his Majeſty, than to thoſe, who had begot that Ordinance. Hereupon, at a publick meeting of the Country, his Majeſty declared "that "he was reſolved, in regard of the Publick diſtempers, and the neigh-"bourhood of *Hull*, to have a Guard for his Perſon; but of ſuch Per-"ſons, and with ſuch Circumſtances, as ſhould adminiſter no occaſion "of Jealouſy to the moſt Suſpicious; and wiſhed the Gentlemen of "Quality, who attended, to conſider, and adviſe of the way: Who ſhortly after (notwithſtanding the oppoſition given by the Committee, which ſtill reſided there; and the factious Party of the County, which was inflamed, and govern'd by them) expreſſed a great alacrity to comply with his Majeſty's deſire, in whatſoever ſhould be propoſed to them; and a ſenſe, "that they thought a ſufficient Guard was very neceſſary "for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's Perſon. Hereupon, the King appointed ſuch Gentlemen as were willing, to liſt themſelves into a Troop of Horſe, and made the Prince of *Wales* their Captain; and made choice of One Regiment of the Train'd-bands, conſiſting of about ſix hundred, whom he cauſed, every *Saturday*, to be paid at his own charge; when he had little more in his Coffers, than would defray the weekly expence of his Table: and this Troop, with this Regiment, was the Guard of his Perſon; it being firſt declared by his Majeſty, "that no Perſon ſhould "be ſuffer'd, either in the Troop, or the Regiment, who did not, before "his Admiſſion into the Service, take the Oaths of Allegiance, and Su-"premacy; that ſo he might be free from the ſcandal of entertaining Papiſts for his ſecurity.

BUT this caution would not ſerve; the Fears and Jealouſies were capable of no other Remedies, than ſuch as were preſcribed by thoſe Phyſicians, who were practiced in the Diſeaſe. Aſſoon as the Intelligence was arrived at *London*, "that the King actually had a Guard

(tho' the Circumſtances were as well known that were uſed in the raiſing it) both Houſes publiſhed theſe three Votes, and diſperſed them:

1. "THAT it appear'd, that the King, ſeduced by wicked Counſel, "intended to make War againſt the Parliament; who, in all their Con- "ſultations and Actions, had propoſed no other end unto themſelves, "but the care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all Duty, and "Loyalty to his Perſon.

2. "THAT whenſoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, "it is a breach of the Truſt repoſed in him by his People; contrary to "his Oath; and tending to the Diſſolution of the Government.

3. "THAT whoſoever ſhould Serve him, or Aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, "are Traitors by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and have "been ſo adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, 2 *Rich.* II. and 1 *Hen.* IV. "and ought to ſuffer as Traitors.

THESE luſty Votes they ſent to the King to *York*, together with a ſhort Petition, in which they told him,

The two Houſes Petition the King to Diſſolve his Guards, May 23. 1642.

"THAT his Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament "did humbly repreſent unto his Majeſty, that notwithſtanding his fre- "quent profeſſions to his Parliament, and the Kingdom, that his deſire, "and intention was only the preſerving the true Proteſtant profeſſion, "the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of his People, and the Peace of the "Kingdom; nevertheleſs, they perceived with great grief, by his Speech "of the twelfth of *May*, and the Paper, printed in his Majeſty's name, "in the form of a Proclamation, bearing date the fourteenth of *May*, "and other Evidences, that, under colour of raiſing a Guard to ſecure "his Perſon, of which Guard (conſidering the fidelity, and care of his "Parliament) there could be no uſe, his Majeſty did command Troops, "both of Horſe and Foot, to aſſemble at *York*; the very beginnings "whereof were apprehended by the Inhabitants of that County to be "an Affrightment, and Diſturbance of his Leige People, as appear'd by "their Petition preſented to him; the continuing, and increaſing of "which Forces, was to his Parliament, and muſt needs be, a juſt cauſe "of great Jealouſy, and Danger to his whole Kingdom.

"THEREFORE, they did humbly beſeech his Majeſty to Disband all "ſuch Forces, as, by his Command, were aſſembled, and relying for his "Security (as his Predeceſſors had done) upon the Laws, and Affections "of his People, he would be pleaſed to deſiſt from any further deſigns of "that nature, contenting himſelf with his uſual, and ordinary Guards; "otherwiſe, they ſhould hold themſelves bound in duty towards God, "and the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, and the Fundamental "Laws, and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, to imploy their care, and ut- "moſt power to ſecure the Parliament, and to preſerve the Peace, and "Quiet of the Kingdom.

To this Petition, deliver'd publickly, and read with an equal confi- dence, by their Leiger Committee, his Majeſty Anſwer'd,

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

"THAT he could not but extremely wonder, that the cauſleſs Jea- "louſies concerning his Majeſty, raiſed and fomented by a Malignant "Party in the Kingdom, which deſired nothing more, than to ſnatch to "themſelves Particular advantages out of a general Combuſtion (which "means of advantage ſhould never be miniſter'd to them by His fault, "or ſeeking) ſhould not be only able to ſeduce a Weak Party in the King- "dom, but ſeem to find ſo much Countenance even from both Houſes, "as that his raiſing of a Guard, without further deſign than for the ſafety

"of

"of his Perſon, an Action ſo legal, in a Manner ſo peaceable, upon Cauſes
"ſo evident and neceſſary, ſhould not only be looked upon, and Peti-
"tion'd againſt by them, as a cauſe of Jealouſy; but declar'd to be raiſing
"of a War againſt them, contrary to his former profeſſions of his care
"of Religion, and Law: and he no leſs wonder'd, that That Action of
"his ſhould be ſaid to be apprehended by the Inhabitants of that County,
"as an Affrightment, and Diſturbance to his People, having been as well
"Received there, as it was every where to be Juſtify'd; and (he ſpake
"of the general, not of a few ſeduced Particulars) aſſiſted, and ſped by
"that County, with that loyal Affection and Alacrity, as was a moſt ex-
"cellent example, ſet to the reſt of the Kingdom, of their care of his
"ſafety upon all occaſions; and ſhould never be forgotten by Him, nor
"he hoped, by his Poſterity; but ſhould be ever paid to them, in that,
"which is the proper expreſſion of a Princes gratitude, a perpetual, vi-
"gilant care to govern them juſtly, and to preſerve the only Rule, by
"which they can be ſo govern'd, the Law of the Land: and, he ſaid, he
"was confident, that, if they were Themſelves Eye-witneſſes, they would
"ſo ſee the Contrary, as to give little preſent Thanks, and, hereafter,
"little Credit to their Informers; and, if they had no better information,
"and intelligence of the Inclinations, and Affections of the reſt of the
"Kingdom, certainly the minds of his People (which to ſome Ends, and
"Purpoſes, they did repreſent) were but ill repreſented unto Them.

"He asked them, when they had ſo many Months together not con-
"tented themſelves to rely for ſecurity, as their Predeceſſors had done,
"upon the Affection of the People, but by their own Single Authority
"had raiſed to themſelves a Guard (and that ſometimes of no ordinary
"Numbers, and in no ordinary Way) and yet all thoſe Pikes and Pro-
"teſtations, that Army, on One ſide, and that Navy, on the Other, had
"not perſwaded his Majeſty to command them to disband their Forces,
"and to content themſelves with their Ordinary, that was, No guard;
"or work in him an opinion that they appear'd to levy War againſt him,
"or had any further deſign; how it was poſſible, that the ſame Perſons
"ſhould be ſo apt to ſuſpect, and condemn his Majeſty, who had been
"ſo unapt, in the Same matter, upon much More ground, to tax or
"ſuſpect Them? This, he ſaid, was his Caſe, notwithſtanding the Care
"and Fidelity of his Parliament: his Fort was kept by arm'd men againſt
"him; his proper Goods firſt detained from him, and then, contrary to
"his command, by ſtrong hand offer'd to be carried away; in which, at
"once, all his Property, as a Private perſon; all his Authority, as a King,
"was wreſted from him: and yet for him to ſecure himſelf in a Legal
"way, that Sr *John Hotham* might not by the ſame Forces, or by more,
"raiſed by pretence of the ſame Authority (for he daily raiſed ſome,
"and it was no new thing for him to pretend orders, which he could
"not ſhew) continue the War that he had levied againſt his Majeſty;
"and as well impriſon his Perſon, as detain his Goods; and as well ſhut
"him up in *York*, as ſhut him out of *Hull*; was now ſaid to be eſteem'd
"a cauſe of great Jealouſy to the Parliament, a raiſing a War againſt
"them, and of danger to the whole Kingdom: whilſt theſe Injuſtices,
"and Indignities offer'd to him were countenanced by Them, who ought
"to be moſt forward in his Vindication, and their Puniſhment, in ob-
"ſervation of their Oaths, and Truſt repoſed in them by the People, and
"to avoid the Diſſolution of the preſent Government. Upon which Caſe,
"he ſaid, the whole world was to judge, whether his Majeſty had not

"reaſon, not wholely to rely upon the Care, and Fidelity of his Parlia-
"ment, being ſo ſtrangely blinded by malignant ſpirits, as not to per-
"ceive his Injuries; but to take ſome care of his own Perſon, and, in
"order to that, to make uſe of that Authority, which the Laws declar'd
"to be in his Majeſty: and, whether that Petition, with ſuch a threatning
"Concluſion, accompanied with more threatning Votes, gave him not
"cauſe, rather to increaſe, than to diminiſh his Guards; eſpecially, ſince
"he had ſeen, before the Petition, a printed Paper dated the ſeventeenth
"of *May*, underwritten by the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, com-
"manding in the name of both Lords and Commons, the Sheriffs of all
"Counties to raiſe the power of all thoſe Counties, to ſuppreſs ſuch of
"his Subjects, as, by any of his Majeſty's commands, ſhould be drawn to-
"gether, and put (as that Paper called it) in a poſture of War; charging
"all his Majeſty's Officers, and Subjects to aſſiſt them in it, at their Perils.
"For tho', he ſaid, he could not ſuſpect, that That Paper; or any bare
"Votes, not grounded upon Law or Reaſon; or Quotations of repeal'd
"Statutes, as thoſe were of the 2 *Rich.* II. and 1 *Hen.* IV. ſhould have
"any ill influence upon his good People, who knew their duties too well
"not to know that to take up Armes againſt thoſe, who, upon a Legal
"command of his Majeſty, came together to a moſt Legal end (that was,
"his Majeſty's ſecurity, and preſervation) were to levy War againſt his
"Majeſty; yet, if that Paper were really the Act of both Houſes, he
"could not but look upon it, as the higheſt of Scorns and Indignities;
"Firſt, to iſſue out Commands of Force againſt him; and, after thoſe
"had appear'd uſeleſs, to offer, by Petition, to perſwade him to that,
"which that Force ſhould have effected.

"HE ſaid, he concluded his Anſwer to their Petition with his Coun-
"ſel to them, that they would joyn with him in exacting ſatisfaction
"for that unparallel'd, and Yet unpuniſh'd Action of Sr *John Hotham*;
"and that they would command his Fort, and Goods to be return'd to
"his own hands: that they would lay down all pretences (under pre-
"tence of Neceſſity, or declaring what is Law) to make Laws without
"his Majeſty, and, by conſequence, but a Cipher of his Majeſty: that
"they would declare effectually againſt Tumults, and call in ſuch Pam-
"phlets (puniſhing the Authors, and publiſhers of them) as ſeditiouſly
"endeavour to diſable his Majeſty from protecting his People, by
"weakning, by falſe Aſperſions and new falſe Doctrines, His Authority
"with Them, and Their Confidence in Him: the particulars of which
"Tumults, and Pamphlets, he ſaid, he would long ſince have taken care,
"his Learned Council ſhould have been enabled to give in evidence, if,
"upon his former offer, his Majeſty had received any return of encou-
"ragement from them in it: and, he ſaid, if they did That, they would
"Then, and hardly till Then, perſwade the World, that they had diſ-
"charged their duty to God, the Truſt repoſed in them by the People,
"and the Fundamental Laws, and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom; and
"imployed their care, and utmoſt power, to ſecure the Parliament (for,
"he ſaid, He was ſtill a part of the Parliament, and ſhould be, till this
"well temper'd Monarchy was turn'd to a Democracy) and to preſerve
"the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom; which, together with the De-
"fence of the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and his own
"juſt Prerogative (as a part of, and a defence to thoſe Laws) had been
"the main End, which in his Conſultations, and Actions, he had pro-
"poſed to Himſelf.

IT

IT will be wonder'd at hereafter, that in a judging and diſcerning State, where Men had, or ſeem'd to have, their faculties of reaſon, and underſtanding, at the heigth; in a Kingdom Then unapt, and generally uninclined to War (how wantonly ſoever it hath Since ſeem'd to throw away it's Peace) thoſe Men, who had the skill and cunning, out of froward and peeviſh humours and indiſpoſitions to compound Fears and Jealouſies, and to animate and inflame thoſe Fears and Jealouſies into the moſt prodigious, and the boldeſt Rebellion, that any Age, or Country ever brought forth; who very well Saw, and Felt that the King had not only, to a degree, wound himſelf out of that Labyrinth, in which, four Months before, they had involved him, with their Priviledges, Fears, and Jealouſies; but had even ſo well informed the People, that they begun to queſtion both their Logick and their Law, and to ſuſpect, and cenſure the improvement, and gradation of their Fears, and the extent, and latitude of their Priviledges; and that they were not only Denied by the King, what they required, but that the King's Reaſons of His denial made very many conclude the Unreaſonableneſs of Their demands: I ſay, it may ſeem ſtrange, that theſe Men could entertain the hope, and confidence to obtrude ſuch a Declaration, and Vote, upon the People, "that the King did intend to make War againſt the Parliament; when they were ſo far from apprehending, that he would be able to get an Army to diſturb them, that they were moſt aſſured, he would not be able to get Bread to ſuſtain Himſelf three Months, without ſubmitting all his Counſels to Their conduct, and controll; and that the offering to impoſe it, did not awaken the People to an indignation, which might have confounded them: for, beſides their Preſumption in endeavouring to Search, what the Scripture it ſelf told them was Unſearchable, the Heart of the King; the very Law of the Land, whoſe defence they pretended, makes no concluſion of the Intention of the meaneſt Subject, in a matter of the higheſt, and tendereſt conſideration, even Treaſon it ſelf againſt the life of the King, without ſome overt, unlawful Act, from whence, and other circumſtances, the ill Intention may be Reaſonably made appear; and therefore, to declare that the King intended to make War againſt his Parliament, when he had neither Ship, Harbour, Armes nor Money, and knew not how to get any of them, and when he offer'd to Grant any thing to them, which they could pretend a juſtifiable reaſon for Asking, was an undertaking of that Nature, that even the Allmightineſs of a Parliament might have deſpair'd to ſucceed in.

BUT, notwithſtanding all this, they very well knew What they did, and underſtood what infinite advantage that Vote would (as it did) bring to them; and, that a Natural way would never bring them to their Unnatural end. The power and reputation of Parliament, they believed, would Implicitly prevail over many; and amaze and terrify others from diſputing, or cenſuring What they did, and upon what Grounds they did it. The difficulty was, to procure the judgment of Parliament; and to incline thoſe different conſtitutions, and different affections, to ſuch a Concurrence, as the judgment might not be diſcredited, by the Number of the Diſſenters; nor wounded, or prejudged by the Reaſons, and Arguments given againſt it: and then, their judgments of the Cure being to be grounded upon the nature, and information of the Diſeaſe, it was neceſſary to confine, and contract their fancies and opinions within ſome bounds, and limits: the myſtery of Rebellion challenging the ſame encouragement with other Sciences, to grow by; that there may be

certain Poſtulata, ſome Principles and Foundations, upon which the main building may ſubſiſt. So, in the caſe of the Militia, an Imminent danger muſt be firſt Suppoſed, by which the Kingdom is in apparent hazard, and then the King's refuſal to apply any remedy againſt that danger, before the two Houſes would pretend to the power of diſpoſing that Militia: it being too ridiculous to have pretended the natural and ordinary Juriſdiction over it: but, in caſe of danger, and danger ſo Imminent, that the Uſual recourſe would not ſerve the turn, and for the ſaving of a Kingdom, which muſt Otherwiſe be loſt, many Good men thought it was reaſonable to apply a very Extraordinary prevention, without imagining ſuch a ſuppoſition might poſſibly engage them in any Action, contrary to their own Inclinations; and, without doubt, very many who frankly Voted that Imminent neceſſity, were induced to it, as an Argument, that the King ſhould be therefore importuned to conſent to the Settlement; which would not have appeared ſo neceſſary a Requeſt, if the occaſion had not been Important; never ſuſpecting, that it would have been improved into an Argument to them, to adventure the doing it without the King's conſent. And it is not here unſeaſonable (how merry ſoever it may ſeem to be) as an inſtance of the Incogitancy, and Inadvertency of thoſe kind of Votes and Tranſactions, to remember that the firſt Reſolution of the Power of the Militia being grounded upon a Suppoſition of an Imminent neceſſity, the Ordinance firſt ſent up, from the Commons, to the Lords, for the execution of the Militia, expreſſed an *eminent* neceſſity; whereupon, ſome Lords, who underſtood the difference of the words, and that an Eminent neceſſity might be ſupplied by the ordinary proviſion, which, poſſibly, an *imminent* neceſſity might not ſafely attend, deſired a Conference with the Commons, for the Amendment; which, I remember, was at laſt, with great difficulty, conſented to: many (who, I preſume, are not yet grown up to conceive the difference) ſuppoſing it an unneceſſary contention for a Word, and ſo yielding to them, for ſaving of time, rather than diſpute a thing which to Them ſeem'd of no great moment.

THEY, who contrived this Scene, never doubted, but after a Reſolution what was to be done upon a Suppoſed neceſſity, they ſhould eaſily, when they found it Convenient, make that neceſſity Real. It was no hard matter to make the Fearful, apprehenſive of Dangers; and the Jealous, of Deſigns; and they wanted not Evidence of all kinds; of Letters from abroad, and Diſcoveries at home, to make thoſe apprehenſions formidable enough; and then, tho', Before the Reſolution, there was a great latitude in Law and Reaſon, what was Lawfully to be done, they had Now forejudged themſelves, and Reſolved of the Proper remedy, except they would argue againſt the Evidence; which Uſually would have been to diſcountenance, or undervalue ſome Perſon of notable reputation, or his Correſpondence; and allways, to have oppoſed That that was of ſuch an Allay, as, in truth, did operate upon the Major part. So, in the Caſe upon which we now diſcourſe, if they had, in the moſt advantageous Article of their fury, profeſſed the raiſing an Army againſt the King, there was yet that reverence to Majeſty, and that Spirit of Subjection and Allegiance in moſt Men, that they would have looked upon it with Oppoſition, and Horrour: but Defenſive Armes were more plauſible Divinity, and if the King Should commit ſuch an Outrage, as to levy War againſt his Parliament, to deſtroy the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom, Good men were perſwaded, that

ſuch a reſiſtance might be made, as might preſerve the Whole; and he that would have argued againſt this Theſis, beſides the Impertinency of arguing againſt a ſuppoſition, that was not like to be Real, and in which the Corrupt conſideration of Safety ſeem'd to bribe moſt Men, could never eſcape the cenſure of promoting Tyranny, and lawleſs Dominion. Then to incline Men to concur in the Declaration "of the "King's Intention to make War againſt the Parliament, they were perſwaded it might have a Good, and Could have no ill effect: the remedies, that were to be applied upon an Actual levying of War, were not juſtifiable upon the Intention; and the declaring this Intention, and the Dangers it carried with it to the King himſelf, and to all thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt him, would be a probable means of reforming ſuch Intention, and preventing the Execution. Inconvenience it could produce none (for the diſquieting, or diſpleaſing the King was not thought Inconvenient) if there were no progreſs in the ſuppoſed Intention; if there were, it were fit the whole Kingdom ſhould ſtand upon it's Guard, and not be Surpriſed to it's confuſion.

BY theſe falſe, and fallacious Mediums, the clearneſs of Men's underſtandings were dazled; and, upon the matter, all their opinions, and judgments for the Future, captivated and præengaged by their own Votes, and Determinations. For, how eaſy a matter is it to make it appear to that man, who conſented that the King Intended to make War againſt the Parliament, that when he ſhould Do it, he had broken his Oath, and diſſolved his Government; and, that whoſoever ſhould aſſiſt him were Traitors? I ſay, how eaſy was it to perſwade That man, that he was obliged to defend the Parliament; to endeavour to uphold That Government; and to reſiſt Thoſe Traitors? and, whoſoever conſiders that the nature of men, eſpecially of men in Authority, is inclined rather to Commit two errours, than to Retract one, will not marvel, that from this Root of unadvizedneſs, ſo many, and tall Branches of miſchief have proceeded. And therefore, it were to be wiſhed, that thoſe who have the honour to be truſted in Publick Conſultations, were indued with ſo much natural Logick, to diſcern the conſequences of every publick Act, and Concluſion; and with ſo much Conſcience and Courage, to watch the Firſt impreſſions upon their underſtanding and complyance: and that, neither out of the Impertinency of the thing, which men are all apt to conclude out of impatiency of diſpatch; or out of Stratagem to make men Odious (as in this Parliament many forbore to oppoſe unreaſonable reſolutions, out of an opinion that they would make the contrivers Odious) or upon any other (tho' ſeeming never ſo Politick) conſiderations, they conſent not to any Propoſitions, by which Truth or Juſtice are invaded. I am confident, with very good Warrant, that many men have, from their Souls, abhorred every Article of this Rebellion; and heartily deprecated the miſeries, and deſolation we have ſuffer'd by it, who have Themſelves, with great alacrity and induſtry, contributed to, if not Contrived, thoſe very Votes and Concluſions, from whence the Evils they abhor, have moſt naturally and regularly flowed, and been deduced, and which they could not reaſonably, upon their own conceſſions, contradict and oppoſe.

BUT to conclude, a man ſhall not unprofitably ſpend his contemplation, that, upon this occaſion, conſiders the method of God's Juſtice (a Method terribly remarkable in many Paſſages, and upon many Perſons, which we ſhall be compelled to remember in this diſcourſe) that the

the Same Principles, and the Same Application of thoſe principles, ſhould be uſed to the wreſting all Soveraign Power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before made uſe of for the extending it's Authority, and Power, beyond, it's bounds, to the prejudice of the Juſt rights of the Subject. A Suppoſed neceſſity was Then thought ground enough to create a Power, and a bare Averment of that neceſſity to beget a Practice to impoſe what Tax they thought convenient upon the Subject, by Writs of Ship-money never before known; and a Suppoſed neceſſity Now, and a bare Averment of that neceſſity, is as confidently, and more Fatally, concluded a good ground to exclude the Crown from the uſe of any power, by an Ordinance never before heard of; and the ſame Maxim of *Salus populi Suprema lex*, which had been uſed to the infringing the Liberty of the one, made uſe of for the deſtroying the Rights of the Other: only that of the Pſalmiſt is yet Inverted; for many of thoſe, who were the Principal makers of the firſt Pit, are ſo far from falling into it, that they have been the chiefeſt Diggers of the ſecond Ditch, in which ſo many have been confounded.

THO' they had yet no real apprehenſion, that the King would be able, in the leaſt degree, to raiſe a Force againſt them, yet they were heartily enraged to find that he lived more like a King, than they wiſhed he ſhould; that there was ſo great reſort to him from all parts; and that whereas little more than two Months before, his own Servants durſt hardly avow the waiting on him, Now the chief Gentlemen of all Counties Travelled to him, to tender their Service, which implied a Diſapprobation at leaſt, if not a Contempt of the two Houſes carriage towards him. Therefore, to prevent this miſchief, they eaſily found exception to, and information againſt, ſome Perſons, who had reſorted to *York*; whom they ſent the Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons to apprehend, and bring them before the Houſe as Delinquents, to Anſwer ſuch matters, as ſhould be objected againſt them. In this Number there was one *Beckwith*, a Gentleman of *York-ſhire*, who, as Sr *John Hotham* had ſent them word, had endeavour'd to corrupt ſome Officers of the Garriſon to deliver *Hull* up to the King; this they declar'd to be a very heinous crime, and little leſs than High-Treaſon, and therefore concluded him a Delinquent, and to be ſent for to attend them: it was thought ſtrangely ridiculous by Standers by, that Sr *John Hotham* ſhould be juſtify'd for keeping the Town againſt the King, and another Gentleman be Voted a Delinquent for deſigning to recover it to it's Allegiance; and that They, who, but few days before, when the King had ſent a Warrant to require Serjeant-Major *Skippon* to attend his Majeſty at *York*, Reſolved, and publiſhed their Reſolution in Print (as they did all things, which they conceived might diminiſh the Reputation of the King, or his Authority) "that ſuch "command from his Majeſty was againſt the Law of the Land, and the "Liberty of the Subject, and likewiſe (the Perſon being imployed by "Them to attend Their Service) againſt the Priviledge of Parliament; "and therefore, that their Serjeant-Major-General of the Forces of *Lon-*"*don* (that was his Style) ſhould continue to attend the Service of both "Houſes according to their former Commands; ſhould expect that their Warrant ſhould be ſubmitted to by thoſe, who were waiting on the King, whoſe known legal Authority, ſevered from any thing that might be underſtood to relate to the Parliament, or it's Priviledges, they had ſo flatly contradicted and contemned, that the ſame day on which they redeem'd their Officer *Skippon* from his Allegiance, and Duty of going

to

to the King, being informed, that the King had ſent a Writ to Adjourn the Term (Midſummer Term) to *York* from *Weſtminſter*, which, without all queſtion, was in his power Legally to do, they declared, "that "the King's removing of the Term to *York* from *Weſtminſter*, ſitting "the Parliament, was Illegal; and Order'd, "that the Lord Keeper ſhould not iſſue out any Writs, or Seal any Proclamation, to that pur- "poſe; which was by him obſerv'd accordingly, notwithſtanding the King's Command for the Adjournment.

WHEN their Officer came to *York* for the apprehenſion of the Delinquents, he found the ſame neglect There of the Parliament, as was found Above of the King; and was ſo ill intreated by thoſe, whom he looked upon as his Priſoners, that, if the King's extraordinary proviſion had not been interpoſed, the Meſſenger would ſcarce have return'd to have reported how uncurrent ſuch Warrants were like to be in *York*, and how perillous ſuch Voyages might prove to the Adventurers: But how amazed, or ſurpriſed ſoever they ſeem'd to be with this new contradiction, it was no more than they looked for; for their Dilemma was, if their Meſſenger return'd with his prize, all the reſort to, and all the glory of *York* was determined; for no Man would repair thither, from whence the bare Voting him a Delinquent would remove him with thoſe other Inconvenient circumſtances of Cenſure, and Impriſonment: if He return'd neglected and affronted, as they preſumed he would, they had a New reproach for the King, "of protecting Delinquents againſt the "Juſtice of Parliament; which would be a New breach of their Priviledges, as Heinous and Unpopular, as had yet been made, and for the vindication whereof their Proteſtation would no leſs oblige them, than it had done on the behalf of the five Members. And ſuch Votes they paſſed upon the return of their Officer; and had in readineſs prepared two voluminous Declarations to the People, which they publiſhed about the ſame time; the One fill'd with all the reiterated complaints, and invenom'd repetitions, of what Had been done, or been Thought to have been done amiſs in the whole Reign of the King, to render his Perſon odious, or unacceptable; the Other undervaluing his Royal Power, and declaring againſt it, to make his Authority deſpiſed, at leaſt not Fear'd.

THE firſt was of the nineteenth of *May*, in which they declar'd, *The Declaration or Remonſtrance of the Lords and Commons, May 19. 1642.*

"THAT the infinite Mercy, and Providence of the Allmighty God "had been abundantly manifeſted, ſince the beginning of this Parlia- "ment, in great variety of Protections, and Bleſſings; whereby he had "not only deliver'd them from many wicked Plots and Deſigns, which, "if they had taken effect, would have brought ruin and deſtruction upon "the Kingdom; but, out of thoſe attempts, had produced divers evi- "dent and remarkable advantages, to the furtherance of thoſe Services, "which they had been deſirous to perform to their Soveraign Lord the "King, and to the Church and State, in providing for the publick Peace, "and Proſperity of his Majeſty, and all his Realms; which, in the pre- "ſence of the ſame All-ſeeing Deity, they proteſted to have been, and "ſtill to be, the only End of all their Counſels and Endeavours; wherein "they had reſolved to continue freed, and enlarged from all Private "aimes, Perſonal reſpects, or paſſions whatſoever.

"IN which reſolution, they ſaid, they were nothing diſcouraged, "altho' the Heads of the Malignant Party diſappointed of their Prey, "the Religion and Liberty of the Kingdom, which they were ready to

"ſeiſe upon, and devour before the beginning of this Parliament, had "ſtill perſiſted by new Practices, both of force and ſubtilty, to recover "the ſame again; for which purpoſe they had made ſeveral Attempts "for bringing up the Army; they afterwards projected the falſe accu- "ſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the Houſe of "Commons, which being in it's ſelf of an odious nature, they had yet "ſo far prevail'd with his Majeſty, as to procure him to take it upon "himſelf; but when the unchangeable Duty and Faithfulneſs of the Par- "liament could not be wrought upon, by ſuch a Fact as that, to with- "draw any part of their Reverence and Obedience from his Majeſty, "they had, with much Art and Induſtry, adviſed his Majeſty to ſuffer "divers unjuſt Scandals, and Imputations upon the Parliament, to be "publiſhed in His Name, whereby they might make it odious to the "People, and, by Their help, deſtroy that, which hitherto had been the "only means of their own Preſervation.

"FOR this purpoſe, they had drawn his Majeſty into the Northern "Parts far from the Parliament; that ſo falſe Rumours might have time "to get Credit, and the juſt Defences of the Parliament find a more te- "dious, difficult, and diſadvantageous acceſs, after thoſe falſe Imputa- "tions, and Slanders had been firſt rooted in the apprehenſion of his Ma- "jeſty, and his Subjects; which the more ſpeedily to effect, they had "cauſed a Preſs to be tranſported to *York*, from whence ſeveral Papers, "and Writings of that kind were conveyed to all parts of the Kingdom, "without the Authority of the Great Seal, in an Unuſual and Illegal "manner, and without the Advice of his Majeſty's Privy Council; from "the greater and better part whereof having withdrawn himſelf, as "well as from his Great Council of Parliament, he was thereby expoſed "to the wicked and unfaithful Counſels of ſuch, as had made the Wiſdom "and Juſtice of the Parliament dangerous to themſelves; and that dan- "ger they labour'd to prevent by hiding their own Guilt under the "Name, and ſhadow of the King; infuſing into him their own Fears, "and, as much as in them lay, aſperſing his Royal Perſon and Honour "with their own Infamy; from both which it had allways been as much "the Care, as it was the Duty of the Parliament to preſerve his Majeſty, "and to fix the Guilt of all evil Actions and Counſels upon thoſe, who "had been the Authors of them.

"AMONG divers Writings of that kind, they ſaid, They the Lords "and Commons in Parliament, had taken into their conſiderations two "Printed Papers; the firſt containing a Declaration, which they had re- "ceived from his Majeſty in Anſwer to that which had been preſented "to his Majeſty from both Houſes at *New-Market*, the ninth of *March* "1641. the other, his Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes, "preſented to his Majeſty the 26th of *March* 1642. Both which were "filled with harſh Cenſures, and cauſleſs Charges upon the Parliament; "concerning which they held it neceſſary to give ſatisfaction to the "Kingdom; ſeeing they found it very difficult to ſatisfy his Majeſty, "whom, to their great grief, they had found to be ſo engaged to, and "poſſeſſed by thoſe miſapprehenſions, which evil Counſellors have "wrought in him, that their moſt humble and faithful Remonſtrances "had rather irritated and imbitter'd, than any thing allayed, or mitigated "the ſharp Expreſſions, which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to make in "Anſwer to them; for the manifeſtation whereof, and of their own Inno- "cency, they deſired that all his Majeſty's loving Subjects might take "notice of theſe Particulars:

THEY

"THEY knew no occaſion given by them, which might move his "Majeſty to tell them, that in their Declaration, preſented at *New-* "*Market*, there were ſome Expreſſions different from the uſual Lan- "guage to Princes: neither did they tell his Majeſty, either in Words or "in Effect, that if he did not joyn with them in an Act, which he con- "ceived might prove prejudicial and dangerous to Himſelf, and the "whole Kingdom, they would make a Law without him, and impoſe "it upon the People. That which they deſired, they ſaid, was, that in "regard of the Imminent Danger of the Kingdom, the Militia, for the "ſecurity of his Majeſty and his People, might be put under the Com- "mand of ſuch noble, and faithful Perſons, as they had all cauſe to "Confide in: and ſuch was the neceſſity of this preſervation, that they "declared, that if his Majeſty ſhould refuſe to joyn with them therein, "the two Houſes of Parliament, being the ſupreme Court and higheſt "Council of the Kingdom, were enabled, by their own Authority, to "provide for the repulſing of ſuch Imminent and Evident Danger, not "by any New Law of their own making, as had been untruly ſuggeſted "to his Majeſty, but by the moſt Ancient Law of the Kingdom, even "that which is fundamental and eſſential to the Conſtitution and Sub- "ſiſtence of it.

"ALTHO' they never deſired, they ſaid, to encourage his Majeſty to "ſuch Replies as might produce any conteſtation between him and his "Parliament, of which they never found better effect, than loſs of Time, "and hindrance of the Publick Affairs; yet they had been far from "telling him of how little value his Words would be with them, much "leſs when they were accompanied with Actions of Love, and Juſtice. "They ſaid, he had more reaſon to find fault with thoſe wicked Coun- "ſellors, who had ſo often bereaved Him of the Honour, and his Peo- "ple of the Fruit of many gracious Speeches which he had made to "them, ſuch as thoſe in the end of the laſt Parliament; that, on the "word of a King, and as he was a Gentleman, he would redreſs the "Grievances of his People, as well out of Parliament, as in it. They asked, "if the ſearching the Studies and Chambers, yea, the Pockets of ſome, "both of the Nobility and Commons, the very next day; the Commit- "ment of Mr *Bellaſis*, Sr *John Hotham*, and Mr *Crew*; the continued "Oppreſſions by Ship-money, Coat and Conduct-money; with the ma- "nifold Impriſonments, and other Vexations thereupon, and other en- "ſuing Violations of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom (all which "were the Effects of evil Counſel, and abundantly declar'd in their Re- "monſtrance of the State of the Kingdom) were Actions of Love and "Juſtice, ſuitable to ſuch Words as thoſe?

"AS gracious was his Majeſty's Speech in the beginning of this Par- "liament; that he was reſolved to put himſelf freely and clearly upon "the Love, and Affection of his Engliſh Subjects. They asked whether "his cauſleſs Complaints and Jealouſies, the unjuſt Imputations ſo often "caſt upon his Parliament, his denial of their neceſſary Defence by the "Ordinance of the Militia, his dangerous abſenting himſelf from his "Great Council, like to produce ſuch a miſchievous Diviſion in the "Kingdom, had not been more ſuitable to Other men's evil Counſels, "than to his own Words? Neither, they ſaid, had his latter Speeches "been better uſed, and preſerved by thoſe evil, and wicked Counſellors: "Could any Words be fuller of Love and Juſtice, than thoſe in his Anſwer "to the Meſſage ſent to the Houſe of Commons, the 31st of *Decemb.* 1641.

"We do engage unto you ſolemnly the Word of a King, that the ſecu-
"rity of all, and every one of you from Violence, is, and ever ſhall be,
"as much our Care, as the Preſervation of Us and our Children? And
"could any Actions be fuller of Injuſtice and Violence, than that of the
"Atturney General, in falſly accuſing the ſix Members of Parliament,
"and the other Proceedings thereupon, within three or four days after
"that Meſſage? For the full view whereof, they deſired the Declaration
"made of thoſe Proceedings might be peruſed; and by thoſe Inſtances
"(they could add many more) the World might judge who deſerved to
"be taxed with diſvaluing his Majeſty's Words, they who had, as much
"as in them lay, ſtain'd and ſullied them with ſuch foul Counſels; or
"the Parliament, who had ever manifeſted, with joy and delight, their
"humble Thankfulneſs for thoſe gracious Words, and Actions of Love
"and Juſtice which had been conformable thereunto.

"THE King, they ſaid, had been pleaſed to Diſavow the having, any
"ſuch evil Counſel or Counſellors as were mention'd in their Declara-
"tion, to his Knowledge; and they held it their Duty humbly to Avow
"there were ſuch; or elſe they muſt ſay, that all the ill things done of
"late in his Majeſty's name, had been done by Himſelf; wherein they
"ſhould neither follow the Direction of the Law, nor the affection of
"their own Hearts, which was, as much as might be, to clear his Ma-
"jeſty from all imputation of Miſgovernment, and to lay the fault upon
"his Miniſters. The falſe accuſing of ſix Members of Parliament; the
"juſtifying Mr Atturney in that falſe accuſation; the violent coming to
"the Houſe of Commons; the denial of the Militia; the ſharp Meſ-
"ſages to both Houſes, contrary to the cuſtoms of former Kings; the
"long and remote Abſence of his Majeſty from Parliament; the heavy
"and wrongful Taxes upon both Houſes; the cheriſhing and counte-
"nancing a diſcontented Party in the Kingdom againſt them, were cer-
"tainly the fruits of very evil Counſels, apt to put the Kingdom into
"a Combuſtion, to hinder the ſupplies of *Ireland*, and to countenance
"the Proceedings and pretenſions of the Rebels there: and the Authors
"of theſe evil Counſels, they conceived, muſt needs be known to his Ma-
"jeſty; and they hoped Their labouring with his Majeſty, to have thoſe
"diſcovered and brought to a juſt Cenſure, would not ſo much wound
"his Honour in the opinion of his good Subjects, as His labouring to pre-
"ſerve and conceal them.

"AND whereas his Majeſty had ſaid, He could wiſh that his own im-
"mediate Actions which he avow'd, and his own Honour might not
"be ſo roughly cenſured under the common Style of evil Counſellors;
"they ſaid, that They could alſo heartily wiſh that they had not cauſe
"to make that Style ſo common; but how often, and undutifully ſoe-
"ver, thoſe wicked Counſellors ſhould fix their Diſhonour upon the King
"by making his Majeſty the Author of thoſe evil Actions, which were
"the effects of their own evil Counſels, They his Majeſty's Loyal and
"Dutiful Subjects could uſe no other Style, according to that Maxim of
"the Law, *the King can do no wrong*; but if any Ill were committed
"in matter of State, the Council; if in matter of Juſtice, the Judges
"muſt anſwer for it.

"THEY ſaid, they had laid no Charge upon his Majeſty, which ſhould
"put him upon that Apology, concerning his faithful and zealous Af-
"fection of the Proteſtant Profeſſion: Neither did his Majeſty endea-
"vour to clear thoſe in greateſt Authority about him, by whom they

"had

"had ſaid that deſign had been potently carried on for divers years; and "they rather wiſhed that the Mercies of Heaven, than the Judgments, "might be manifeſted upon them; but that there had been ſuch, there "were ſuch plentiful and frequent Evidences, that they believed there "was none, either Proteſtant or Papiſt, who had had any reaſonable View "of the Paſſages of latter Times, but, either in Fear or Hope, did expect "a ſuddain iſſue of that Deſign.

"THEY ſaid, they had no way tranſgreſſed againſt the Act of Obli-"vion, by remembring the intended War againſt *Scotland*, as a Branch "of that Deſign to alter Religion by thoſe wicked Counſels, from which "God did then deliver them, which they ought never to forget.

"THAT the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed and cheriſhed by the "Popiſh, and Malignant Party in *England*, was not only affirm'd by the "Rebels, but, they ſaid, might be clear'd by many other Proofs: the "ſame Rebellious Principles of pretended Religion, the ſame politick "Ends were apparent in both, and their malicious Deſigns and Practices "were maſqued, and diſguiſed with the ſame falſe colour of their earneſt "Zeal to vindicate his Majeſty's Prerogative, from the ſuppoſed oppreſ-"ſion of the Parliament. How much thoſe treacherous Pretences had "been countenanced, by ſome evil Council about his Majeſty, might "appear in this, that the Proclamation, whereby they were declared "Traitors, was ſo long withheld, as to the ſecond of *January*, tho' the "Rebellion broke forth in *October* before, and then no more than forty "Copies appointed to be printed; with a ſpecial Command from his Ma-"jeſty not to exceed that Number; and that none of them ſhould be "publiſhed, till his Majeſty's pleaſure was further ſignify'd, as by the "Warrant appears, a true Copy whereof was annex'd to this Declara-"tion; ſo that a few only could take notice of it; which was made more "obſervable, by the late contrary Proceedings againſt the Scots, who "were in a very quick and ſharp manner Proclaimed; and thoſe Procla-"mations forthwith diſperſed, with as much diligence as might be, "throughout all the Kingdom, and order'd to be read in all Churches, "accompanied with Publick Prayers, and Execrations. Another Evi-"dence of favour and countenance to the Rebels in ſome of Power about "his Majeſty, was this, that they had put forth, in his Majeſty's Name, "a cauſleſs complaint againſt the Parliament, which ſpeaks the ſame "Language of the Parliament which the Rebels do, thereby to raiſe a "belief in men's minds, that his Majeſty's Affections were alienated, as "well as his Perſon was removed, from that his Great Council. All "which, they ſaid, did exceedingly retard the ſupplies of *Ireland*, and "more advance the Proceedings of the Rebels, than any Jealouſy or miſ-"apprehenſion begotten in his Subjects, by the Declaration of the Re-"bels, Injunction of *Roſetti*, or Information of *Triſtram Whetcomb*; ſo "that, conſidering the preſent State and Temper of both Kingdoms, his "Royal Preſence was far more neceſſary here, than it could be in *Ireland*, "for redemption or protection of his Subjects there.

"AND whether there were Cauſe of his Majeſty's great Indignation, "for being reproached to have intended Force or Threatning to the Par-"liament, they deſired them to conſider who ſhould read their Decla-"ration, in which there was no word tending to any ſuch reproach; and "certainly, they ſaid, they had been more tender of his Majeſty's Ho-"nour in that Point, than he, whoſoever he was, that did write that "Declaration; where, in his Majeſty's Name, he did call God to witneſs,

"he never had any ſuch Thought, or knew of any ſuch Reſolution of "bringing up the Army; which truly, they ſaid, would ſeem ſtrange "to thoſe, who ſhould read the Depoſition of Mr *Goring*, the Informa- "tion of Mr *Percy*, and divers other Examinations of Mr *Wilmot*, Mr "*Pollard*, and others; the other Examination of Captain *Leg*, Sr *Jacob* "*Aſhley*, and Sr *John Conyers*; and conſider the condition and nature of "the Petition, which was ſent unto Sr *Jacob Aſhley*, under the approbation "of C. R. which his Majeſty had now acknowledged to be his own "Hand; and, being full of Scandal to the Parliament, might have proved "dangerous to the whole Kingdom, if the Army ſhould have interpoſed "betwixt the King and them, as was deſired.

"THEY did not affirm that his Majeſty's Warrant was granted for "the Paſſage of Mr *Jermyn*, after the deſire of both Houſes for reſtraint "of his Servants; but only that he did paſs over, after that reſtraint, "by virtue of ſuch a Warrant. They knew the Warrant bore date the "day before their deſire; yet, they ſaid, it ſeem'd ſtrange to thoſe, who "knew how great reſpect and power Mr *Jermyn* had in Court, that he "ſhould begin his Journey in ſuch haſt, and in Apparel ſo unfit for Tra- "vel, as a black Sattin Suit, and white Boots, if his going away was "deſign'd the day before.

"THE Accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of "the Houſe of Commons, was called a Breach of Priviledge; and truly "ſo it was, and a very high one, far above any ſatisfaction that had been "yet given: for, they asked, how it could be ſaid to be largely ſatisfy'd, "ſo long as his Majeſty labour'd to preſerve Mr Atturney from puniſh- "ment, who was the viſible Actor in it? So long as his Majeſty had not "only juſtify'd him, but by his Letter declar'd, that it was his Duty to "accuſe them, and that he would have puniſhed him, if he had Not "done it? So long as thoſe Members had not the means of clearing "their Innocency, and the Authors of that malicious Charge were un- "diſcover'd, tho' both Houſes of Parliament had ſeveral times Petition'd "his Majeſty to diſcover them, and that, not only upon the grounds of "Common Juſtice, but by Act of Parliament, his Majeſty was bound to "do it? So long as the King refuſed to paſs a Bill for their diſcharge, "alledging that the Narrative in that Bill was againſt his Honour; "whereby he ſeem'd ſtill to avow the Matter of that falſe and ſcanda- "lous Accuſation, tho' he deſerted the Proſecution, offering to paſs a "Bill for their Acquittal; yet with intimation that they muſt deſert the "avowing their own Innocency, which would more wound them in "Honour, than ſecure them in Law? And in Vindication of that great "Priviledge of Parliament, they did not know that they had invaded "any Priviledge belonging to his Majeſty, as had been alledg'd in that "Declaration.

"BUT, they ſaid, they looked not upon that only in the notion of a "Breach of Priviledge, which might be, tho' the Accuſation were true "or falſe; but under the notion of a heinous Crime in the Atturney, "and all other Subjects, who had a hand in it; a Crime againſt the Law "of Nature, againſt the Rules of Juſtice; that Innocent men ſhould be "charged with ſo great an offence as Treaſon, in the face of the higheſt "Judicatory of the Kingdom, whereby their Lives and Eſtates, their "Blood and Honour were endanger'd, without Witneſs, without Evi- "dence, without all poſſibility of Reparation in a legal Courſe; yet a "Crime of ſuch a nature, that his Majeſty's Command can no more

"warrant,

"warrant, than it can any other Act of Injuſtice. Theſe things which "were evil in their own nature, ſuch as a falſe Teſtimony or falſe Ac- "cuſation, could not be the ſubject of any Command, or induce any "Obligation of Obedience upon any man, by any Authority whatſoever: "therefore the Atturney, in that caſe, was bound to have refuſed to "execute ſuch a Command, unleſs he had ſome ſuch Evidence or Teſti- "mony, as might have warranted him againſt the Parties, and be liable "to make ſatisfaction if it ſhould prove falſe; and it was ſufficiently "known to every man, and adjudg'd in Parliament, that the King could "be neither the Relator, Informer, or Witneſs. If it ſhould reſt as it "was without further ſatisfaction, no future Parliament could be ſafe, "but that the Members might be taken, and deſtroy'd, at pleaſure; yea "the very principles of Government, and Juſtice would be in danger "to be diſſolved.

"THEY ſaid, they did not conceive, that Numbers did make an Aſ- "ſembly unlawful, but when either the end, or manner of their carriage "ſhould be unlawful. Divers juſt Occaſions might draw the Citizens "to *Weſtminſter*; where many publick and private Petitions, and other "Cauſes were depending in Parliament; and why that ſhould be found "more faulty in the Citizens, than the reſort every day in the Term of "great Numbers to the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, they knew not: that "thoſe Citizens were notoriouſly provoked, and aſſaulted at *Weſtminſter* "by Colonel *Lunsford*, Captain *Hyde*, and others, and by ſome of the "Servants of the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, was ſufficiently proved; and that "afterwards they were more violently wounded, and moſt barbarouſly "mangled with Swords, by the Officers and Soldiers near *White-Hall*, "many of them being without Weapons, and giving no cauſe of diſtaſt, "was likewiſe proved by ſeveral Teſtimonies; but of any ſcandalous or "ſeditious miſdemeanours of Theirs, that might give his Majeſty good "cauſe to ſuppoſe his own Perſon, or thoſe of his Royal Conſort or "Children, to be in apparent danger, they had no proof ever offer'd to "either Houſe; and if there had been any complaint of that kind, it was "no doubt the Houſes would have been as forward to joyn in an Order, "for the ſuppreſſing of ſuch Tumults, as they were, not long before, "upon another occaſion, when they made an Order to that purpoſe; "whereas thoſe Officers and Soldiers, which committed that Violence "upon ſo many of the Citizens at *White-Hall*, were cheriſh'd and foſter'd "in his Majeſty's Houſe; and when, not long after, the Common Coun- "cil of *London* preſented a Petition to his Majeſty for reparation of "thoſe Injuries, his Majeſty's Anſwer was, without hearing the proof "of the Complaints, that if any Citizen were wounded or ill entreated, "his Majeſty was confidently aſſured, that it happen'd by their own evil, "and corrupt Demeanours.

"THEY ſaid, they hoped, it could not be thought contrary to the "Duty and Wiſdom of a Parliament, if many concurring, and frequently "reiterated, and renew'd Advertiſements from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and "other Parts; if the Sollicitations of the Pope's Nuncio, and their own "diſcontented Fugitives, did make them jealous, and watchful for the "ſafety of the State: and they had been very careful to make their ex- "preſſions thereof ſo eaſy, and ſo plain to the Capacity and Underſtand- "ing of the People, that nothing might juſtly ſtick with them, with "Reflection upon the Perſon of his Majeſty: wherein they appeal'd to "the judgment of any indifferent Perſon, who ſhould read and peruſe "their own words.

THEY

"THEY ſaid, they muſt maintain the ground of their Fears to be of "that moment, that they could not diſcharge the Truſt and Duty that "lay upon them, unleſs they did apply themſelves to the uſe of thoſe "means, to which the Law had enabled them in caſes of that nature, "for the neceſſary Defence of the Kingdom; and as his Majeſty did gra- "ciouſly declare, that the Law ſhould be the meaſure of his Power; ſo "did they moſt heartily profeſs, that they ſhould allways make it the "Rule of their Obedience. Then they obſerved, that there were cer- "tain Prudent Omiſſions in his Majeſty's Anſwer; and ſaid, that the "next Point of their Declaration, was, with much caution, artificially "paſſed over by him, who drew his Majeſty's Anſwer; it being indeed "the Foundation of all Their miſery, and his Majeſty's trouble, that he "was pleaſed to hear general Taxes upon his Parliament, without any "particular Charge, to which they might give ſatisfaction; and that he "had often conceived Diſpleaſure againſt particular Perſons, upon Miſ- "information; and altho' thoſe Informations had been clearly proved "to be falſe, yet he would never bring the Accuſers to queſtion; which "did lay an impoſſibility upon honeſt men of clearing themſelves, and "gave an encouragement to falſe, and unworthy Perſons to trouble him "with untrue and groundleſs Informations. Three particulars they had "mention'd in their Declaration, which the Penner of his Majeſty's An- "ſwer had good cauſe to omit: the Words ſuppoſed to have been ſpoken "at *Kenſington*; the pretended Articles againſt the Queen; and the "groundleſs Accuſation of the ſix Members of Parliament; there being "nothing to be ſaid in Defence, or Denial of any of them.

"CONCERNING his Majeſty's deſire to joyn with his Parliament, and "with his faithful Subjects, in defence of Religion, and the publick Good "of the Kingdom, they ſaid, they doubted not he would do it fully, "when evil Counſellors ſhould be removed from about him; and until "That ſhould be, as they had ſhew'd before of Words, ſo muſt they alſo "ſay of Laws, that They could not ſecure them: witneſs the Petition "of Right, which had been follow'd with ſuch an Inundation of illegal "Taxes, that they had juſt cauſe to think, that the payment of eight "hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, was an eaſy burthen to the "Common-wealth in exchange of them; and they could not but juſtly "think, that if there were a continuance of ſuch ill Counſellors, and Fa- "vour to them, they would, by ſome wicked Device or other, make the "Bill for the Triennial Parliament, and thoſe other excellent Laws men- "tion'd in his Majeſty's Declaration, of leſs value than Words. That "excellent Bill for the continuance of this Parliament, they ſaid, was ſo "neceſſary, that without it, they could not have raiſed ſo great Sums of "Money for the Service of his Majeſty and the Common-wealth, as they "had done, and without which the ruin and deſtruction of the King- "dom, muſt needs have follow'd: and, they were reſolved, the gracious "favour of his Majeſty, expreſſed in that Bill, and the advantage and ſe- "curity which thereby they had from being Diſſolved, ſhould not en- "courage them to do any thing, which otherwiſe had not been fit to "have been done. And they were ready to make it good before all the "world, that tho' his Majeſty had paſſed many Bills very advantageous "for the Subject, yet in none of them had they bereaved his Majeſty "of any juſt, neceſſary, or profitable Prerogative of the Crown.

"THEY ſaid, they ſo earneſtly deſired his Majeſty's Return to *Lon-* "*don*, for that upon It, they conceived, depended the very Safety, and

"Being

"Being of both his Kingdoms: and therefore they muſt proteſt, that as "for the time paſt, neither the Government of *London*, nor any Laws "of the Land, had loſt their Life and Force for his ſecurity, ſo for the "Future they ſhould be ready to Do, or Say any thing, that might ſtand "with the Duty, or Honour of a Parliament, which might raiſe a mu- "tual Confidence between his Majeſty and them, as They did wiſh, and "as the Affairs of the Kingdom did require.

"THUS far, they ſaid, the Anſwer to that, which was called his Ma- "jeſty's Declaration, had led them. Now they came to that, which was "entituled his Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes, pre- "ſented to him at *York* the 26th of *March* 1642. In the beginning "whereof, his Majeſty wiſhed, that their Priviledges on all parts were "ſo ſtated, that That way of Correſpondency might be preſerved with "that Freedom, which had been uſed of old. They ſaid, they knew no- "thing introduced by them, that gave any Impediment thereunto; nei- "ther had they affirm'd their Priviledges to be broken, when his Ma- "jeſty denied them any thing, or gave a Reaſon, why he could not grant "it; or that thoſe, who adviſed ſuch Denial, were Enemies to the Peace "of the Kingdom, and Favourers of the Iriſh Rebellion; in which "Aſperſion, that was turn'd to a general aſſertion, which, in their Votes, "was applied to a Particular caſe; wherefore they muſt maintain their "Votes, that to contradict That, which both Houſes, in the Queſtion "concerning the Militia, had declared to be Law, and Command it "ſhould not be obeyed, is a high breach of Priviledge, and that thoſe, "who adviſed his Majeſty to abſent himſelf from his Parliament, were "Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and juſtly to be ſuſpected to "be Favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. The reaſons of both were "Evident, becauſe, in the Firſt, there was as great a derogation from "the Truſt and Authority of Parliament; and, in the Second, as much "advantage to the proceedings, and hopes of the Rebels, as might be; "and they held it a very cauſleſs Imputation upon the Parliament, that "they had therein any way impeached, much leſs taken away the free- "dom of his Majeſty's Vote; which did not import a liberty in his Ma- "jeſty, to deny Any thing how neceſſary ſoever for the Preſervation "of the Kingdom, much leſs a Licence to evil Counſellors, to adviſe "any thing, tho' never ſo deſtructive to his Majeſty and his People.

"BY the Meſſage of the twentieth of *January*, his Majeſty had pro- "pounded to both Houſes of Parliament, that they would, with all "ſpeed, fall into a ſerious conſideration of all thoſe Particulars which "they thought neceſſary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of "his Majeſty's Juſt, and Regal Authority, and for the ſettling his Re- "venue, as for the preſent and future eſtabliſhing their Priviledges; the "free and quiet enjoying their Eſtates; the Liberties of their Perſons; "the ſecurity of the true Religion, profeſſed in the Church of *England*; "and the ſettling of Ceremonies, in ſuch a manner, as might take away "all juſt Offence, and digeſt it into one entire Body.

"To that point of upholding, and maintaining his Royal Authority, "they ſaid, nothing had been done to the prejudice of it, that ſhould "require any new Proviſion: To the other of ſettling the Revenue, "the Parliament had no way abridg'd, or diſorder'd his juſt revenue; "but it was true, that much Waſte, and Confuſion of his Majeſty's Eſtate, "had been made by thoſe evil and unfaithful Miniſters, whom he had "imploy'd in the managing of it; whereby his own ordinary Expences

"would have been diſappointed, and the ſafety of the Kingdom more
"endanger'd if the Parliament had not, in ſome meaſure, provided for
"his Houſhold, and for ſome of the Forts, more than they were bound
"to do; and they were ſtill willing to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon his
"Majeſty, as might make him live Royally, Plentifully, and Safely;
"but they could not, in wiſdom, and fidelity to the Common-wealth,
"do that, till he ſhould choſe ſuch Counſellors and Officers, as might
"order and diſpoſe it to the publick Good, and not apply it to the ruin,
"and deſtruction of his People, as heretofore it had been. But that,
"and the other matters concerning themſelves, being works of great im-
"portance, and full of intricacy, would require ſo long a time of Deli-
"beration, that the Kingdom might be ruin'd before they could effect
"them: Therefore they thought it neceſſary, firſt to be Suitors to his
"Majeſty, ſo to order the Militia, that, the Kingdom being ſecured,
"they might, with more eaſe and ſafety, apply themſelves to debate of
"that Meſſage, wherein they had been interrupted, by his Majeſty's de-
"nial of the Ordinance concerning the ſame; becauſe it would have
"been in vain for them to Labour in other things, and in the mean
"time, to leave themſelves naked to the malice of ſo many Enemies,
"both at home and abroad; yet they had not been alltogether negligent
"of thoſe things, which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to propound in
"that Meſſage: They had agreed upon a Book of Rates in a larger pro-
"portion, than had been granted to any of his Majeſty Predeceſſors,
"which was a conſiderable ſupport of his Majeſty's publick charge; and
"had likewiſe prepared divers Propoſitions, and Bills, for preſervation
"of their Religion and Liberties, which they intended ſhortly to preſent
"to his Majeſty; and to do whatſoever was fit for them, to make up
"that unpleaſant breach between his Majeſty and the Parliament.

"WHEREAS divers exceptions had been taken concerning the Mi-
"litia; firſt, that his Majeſty never denied the Thing, but accepted the
"Perſons (except for Corporations) only that he denied the Way; to
"which they Anſwer'd, That that Exception took off *London*, and all
"other great Towns and Cities, which make a great part of the King-
"dom; and for the way of Ordinance, it is ancient, more ſpeedy, more
"eaſily alterable, and in all theſe, and other reſpects, more proper, and
"more applicable to the preſent occaſion, than a Bill; which his Majeſty
"called, the good old way of impoſing upon the Subjects. It ſhould
"ſeem, that neither his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors, nor their An-
"ceſtors, had heretofore been of that opinion; 39 *Ed.* III. they ſaid, they
"found this Record, The Chancellor made Declaration of the Challenge
"of the Parliament; the King deſires to know the griefs of his Subjects,
"and to redreſs Enormities. The laſt day of the Parliament, the King
"demanded of the whole Eſtates, whether they would have ſuch things
"as they agreed on, by way of Ordinance or Statute? who Anſwer'd by
"way of Ordinance, for that they might amend the ſame at their plea-
"ſures; and ſo it was.

"BUT his Majeſty objected further, that there was ſomewhat in the
"Preface, to which he could not conſent with juſtice to his Honour and
"Innocence; and that thereby he was Excluded from any power in the
"diſpoſing of it. Theſe objections, they ſaid, might ſeem ſomewhat,
"but indeed would appear nothing, when it ſhould be conſider'd, that
"nothing in the Preamble laid any charge upon his Majeſty, or in the
"body of the Ordinance, that excludes his Royal Authority in the

"diſpoſing,

"diſpoſing, or execution of it: But only it was provided, that it ſhould "be ſignify'd by both Houſes of Parliament, as that Channel, through "which it would be beſt derived, and moſt certainly to thoſe ends for "which it was intended; and let all the world judge whether they had "not reaſon to inſiſt upon it, that the ſtrength of the Kingdom ſhould "rather be order'd according to the Advice, or Direction of the great "Council of the Land, intruſted by the King, and by the Kingdom, than "that the ſafety of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, ſhould be left "at the devotion of a few unknown Counſellors, many of them not in-"truſted at all by the King in any publick way, nor at all Confided in by "the Kingdom.

"THEY wiſhed the Danger were not Imminent, or not ſtill conti-"nuing, but could not conceive, that the long time ſpent in that de-"bate was evidence ſufficient, that there was no ſuch neceſſity or dan-"ger, but a Bill might eaſily have been prepared; for, when many cauſes "do concur to the danger of a State, the interruption of any one might "hinder the execution of the reſt, and yet the deſign be ſtill kept on "foot, for better opportunities. Who knew, whether the ill ſucceſs of "the Rebels in *Ireland* had not hinder'd the Inſurrection of the Papiſts "here? Whether the preſervation of the ſix Members of the Parliament, "falſly accuſed, had not prevented that Plot of the breaking the neck "of this Parliament, of which they were informed from *France*, not "long before they were accuſed; Yet ſince his Majeſty had been pleaſed "to expreſs his pleaſure rather for a Bill, than an Ordinance, and that "he ſent in one for that purpoſe, they readily entertain'd it; and, with "ſome ſmall and neceſſary alterations, ſpeedily paſſed the ſame. But "contrary to the cuſtom of Parliament, and their expectation, grounded "upon his Majeſty's own Invitation of them to that way, and other rea-"ſons manifeſted in their Declaration concerning the Militia, of the fifth "of *May*, inſtead of the Royal Aſſent, they met with an abſolute Refuſal.

"FOR their Votes of the fifteenth and ſixteenth of *March*, they ſaid, "if the Matter of thoſe Votes were according to Law, they hoped his "Majeſty would allow the Subjects to be bound by them, becauſe he "had ſaid, he would make the Law the Rule of his power; and if the "Queſtion were, whether that were Law, which the Lords and Com-"mons had once declar'd to be ſo, who ſhould be the judge? Not his "Majeſty; for the King judgeth not of Matters of Law, but by his "Courts; and his Courts, tho' ſitting by His Authority, expected not "his Aſſent in Matters of Law: nor any other Courts; for they could "not judge in that caſe, becauſe they were Inferiour, no Appeal lying to "them from Parliament, the judgment whereof is, in the eye of the "Law, the King's judgment in his higheſt Court, tho' the King in his "Perſon be neither preſent, nor aſſenting thereunto.

"*The Votes at which his Majeſty took exception were theſe*:

1. "THAT the King's Abſence ſo far remote from his Parliament, "was not only an Obſtruction, but might prove a Deſtruction to the "Affairs of *Ireland*.

2. "THAT when the Lords and Commons ſhall declare what the Law "of the Land is, to have this not only queſtion'd and controverted, but "contradicted, and a Command that it ſhould Not be obeyed, was a "high Breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.

3. "THAT those Persons, who advised his Majesty to absent himself from the Parliament, are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and justly may be suspected to be favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

"THAT the Kingdom had been of late, and still was, in so Imminent danger, both from Enemies abroad, and from a Popish and Discontented Party at home, that there was an urgent, and inevitable necessity of putting his Majesty's Subjects into a posture of Defence, for the safeguard both of his Majesty and his People.

"THAT the Lords and Commons, fully apprehending this Danger, and being sensible of their own Duty, to provide a suitable Prevention, had, in several Petitions, addressed themselves to his Majesty for the ordering, and disposing the Militia of the Kingdom in such a way, as was agreed upon, by the wisdom of both Houses, to be most effectual, and proper for the present Exigence of the Kingdom, yet could not obtain it; but his Majesty did, several times, refuse to give his Royal Assent thereunto.

"THAT, in this case of extreme Danger and his Majesty's Refusal, the Ordinance of Parliament, agreed upon by both Houses, for the Militia, doth oblige the People, and ought to be obeyed, by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

"BY all which, they said, it did appear, that there had been no colour of that Tax, that they went about to introduce a new Law, much less to exercise an Arbitrary power, but indeed to prevent it: for this Law was as old as the Kingdom; that the Kingdom must not be without a means to preserve it self: which that it might be done without confusion, this Nation had intrusted certain Hands with Power to provide, in an orderly and regular way, for the Good and Safety of the Whole; which Power, by the Constitution of the Kingdom, was in his Majesty, and in his Parliament together: yet since the Prince, being but one Person, is more subject to accidents of Nature and Chance, whereby the Common-wealth may be deprived of the Fruit of that Trust, which was in part reposed in him; in cases of such Necessity, that the Kingdom may not be inforced presently to return to it's first Principles, and every man left to do what is right in his own Eyes, without either Guide or Rule; the Wisdom of this State hath intrusted the Houses of Parliament with a power to supply, what should be wanting on the part of the Prince, as is evident by the constant Custom, and Practice thereof, in cases of Nonage, natural Disability, and Captivity; and the like reason doth, and must hold for the exercise of the same Power in such cases, where the Royal Trust cannot be, or is not discharged, and that the Kingdom runs an Evident, and Imminent Danger thereby; which Danger having been declar'd by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, there needs not the Authority of any Person or Court to affirm, nor is it in the power of any Person or Court to revoke, that Judgment.

"THEY said, they knew, the King had ways enough, in his ordinary Courts of Justice, to punish such seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, as were any ways prejudicial to his Rights, Honour, and Authority; and if any of them had been so insolently violated and vilify'd, his Majesty's own Council and Officers had been to blame, and not the Parliament. They never had restrain'd any proceedings of that kind in other Courts, nor refused any fit complaint to Them. The Protestation protested,

"had

"had been referred by the Commons House to a Committee, and, the "Author being not produced, the Printer committed to Prison, and the "Book Voted by that Committee to be burnt; but Sr *Edward Deering*, "who was to make that Report of the Votes of that Committee, neglect-"ed to make it. The Apprentices Protestation was never complained of; "but the other seditious Pamphlet, *To your Tents O Israel*, was once "question'd, and the full prosecution of it was not interrupted by any "fault of either House, whose forwardness to do his Majesty all right "therein might plainly appear, in that a Committee of Lords and Com-"mons was purposely appointed, to take such Informations as the King's "Council should present concerning seditious Words, Practices or Tu-"mults, Pamphlets or Sermons, tending to the derogation of his Ma-"jesty's Rights or Prerogative, and his Council had been enjoyn'd by "that Committee, to enquire and present them; who several times met "thereupon, and received this Answer and Declaration from the King's "Council, that they knew of no such thing as yet.

"THEY said, if his Majesty had used the service of such a One in "penning that Answer, who understood the Laws and Government of "this Kingdom, he would not have thought it Legally in his power to "deny his Parliament a Guard, when they stood in need of it; since "every ordinary Court hath it: neither would his Majesty, if he had "been well informed of the Laws, have refused such a Guard as they "desired, it being in the power of Inferiour Courts to command their "own Guard; neither would he have imposed upon them such a Guard, "under a Commander which they could not have Confided in; which "is clearly against the Priviledges of Parliament, and of which they "found very dangerous effects; and therefore desired to have it dis-"charged: But such a Guard, and so Commanded, as the Houses of Par-"liament desired, they could never obtain of his Majesty; and the "placing a Guard about them, contrary to their desire, was not to grant "a Guard to them, but in effect to set one Upon them: all which con-"sider'd, they believed, in the judgment of any Indifferent Persons, it "would not be thought strange, if there were a more than ordinary re-"sort of People to *Westminster*, of such as came willingly, of their own "accord, to be Witnesses, and Helpers of the safety of Them, whom all "his Majesty's good Subjects are bound to defend from Violence, and "Danger; or that such a Concourse as that (they carrying themselves "quietly and peaceably, as they did) ought in his Majesty's apprehen-"sion, or could, in the interpretation of the Law, be held Tumultuary "and Seditious.

"THEY said when his Majesty, in that Question of Violation of the "Laws, had expressed the observation of them indefinitely, without any "limitation of Time, altho' they never said, or thought any thing, that "might look like a Reproach to his Majesty, yet they had reason to re-"member that it had been otherwise, lest they should seem to desert "their former Complaints, and Proceedings thereupon, as his Majesty "did seem but little to like or approve them; for tho' he did acknow-"ledge here that great Mischief, that grew by that Arbitrary Power "then complain'd of; yet such were continually preferred and counte-"nanced, as were Friends, or Favourers, or Related to chief Authors "and Actors of that Arbitrary Power, and, of those false colours, and "suggestions of Imminent danger and necessity, whereby they did make "it plausible unto his Majesty: and, on the other side, such as did appear

"againſt them were daily diſcountenanced, and diſgraced: which whilſt "it ſhould be ſo, they had no reaſon to believe the diſeaſe to be yet killed, "and dead at Root, and therefore no Reaſon to bury it in Oblivion; "and, whilſt they beheld the Spawns of thoſe miſchievous Principles "cheriſhed, and foſter'd in that new generation of Counſellors, Friends "and Abettors of the former, or at leaſt Concurring with them in their "Malignancy againſt the proceeding of this Parliament, they could not "think themſelves ſecure from the like, or a worſe danger.

"THEY obſerved, the Penner of his Majeſty's Anſwer beſtowed here "an admonition upon the Parliament, bidding them take heed They "fell not upon the ſame errour, upon the ſame ſuggeſtions; but, they "ſaid, he might well have ſpared that, till he could have ſhewed wherein "they had exerciſed any power, otherwiſe than by the Rule of the Law; "or could have found a more Authentick, or a Higher Judge in matters "of Law, than the high Court of Parliament.

"IT was declared, in his Majeſty's Name, that he reſolv'd to keep "the Rule Himſelf, and, to his power, to require the ſame of all others. "They ſaid, they muſt needs acknowledge, that ſuch a reſolution was "like to bring much happineſs, and bleſſing to his Majeſty, and all his "Kingdoms; yet, with humility, they muſt confeſs, they had not the "Fruit of it in that Caſe of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other five Mem- "bers, accuſed contrary to Law, both Common and the Statute Law; "and yet remained unſatisfy'd: Which Caſe had been remember'd, in "their Declaration, as a ſtrange and unheard of Violation of their Laws: "But the Penner of that Anſwer thought fit to paſs it over, hoping that "many would read his Majeſty's Anſwer, which had been ſo carefully "diſperſed, who would not read their Declaration.

"WHEREAS, after their ample thanks, and acknowledgment of his "Majeſty's favour in paſſing many good Bills, they had ſaid, that truth "and neceſſity inforced them to add this, that in, or about the time of "paſſing thoſe Bills, ſome Deſign or other had been on foot, which, if "it had taken effect, would not only have deprived them of the Fruit of "thoſe Bills, but would have reduced them to a worſe condition of con- "fuſion, than that wherein the Parliament found them: it was now "told them, that the King muſt be moſt ſenſible of what they had caſt "upon him, for the requital of thoſe good Bills; whereas, out of their "uſual tenderneſs of his Majeſty's honour, they did not mention Him "at all; but ſo injurious, they ſaid, were thoſe wicked Counſellors to "the Name, and Honour of their Maſter and Soveraign, that, as much "as they could, they laid their own Infamy and Guilt upon His Shoulders.

"HERE, they obſerv'd, God alſo was called to witneſs his Majeſty's "upright intentions at the paſſing of thoſe Laws; which, they ſaid, "they would not queſtion, neither did they give any occaſion for ſuch "a ſolemn Aſſeveration, as that was; the Devil was likewiſe defied to "prove there was any deſign, with his Majeſty's knowledge or privity. "That might well have been ſpared; for they ſpake nothing of his Ma- "jeſty: but ſince they were ſo far taxed, as to have it affirmed, that they "had laid a falſe, and notorious Imputation upon his Majeſty, they "thought it neceſſary, for the juſt defence of their own Innocency, to "cauſe the Oaths and Examinations, which had been taken, concerning "the Deſign, to be publiſhed in a full Narration, for ſatisfaction of all "his Majeſty's Subjects; out of which they would now offer ſome few "Particulars, by which the world might judge, whether they could

"proceed

"proceed with more tenderneſs towards his Majeſty, than they had done.
"Mr *Goring* confeſſed, that the King firſt asked him, whether he were
"engaged in any Cabal concerning the Army? and commanded him to
"joyn with Mr *Percy*, and Mr *Jermyn*, and ſome others whom they
"ſhould find at Mr *Percy*'s Chamber; where they took the Oath of Se-
"crecy, and then debated of a deſign propoſed by Mr *Jermyn*, to ſecure
"the Tower, and to conſider of bringing up the Army to *London*: and
"Captain *Leg* confeſſed, he had received the draught of a Petition, in
"the King's preſence; and his Majeſty acknowledgeth, it was from his
"own Hand: and whoſoever reads the Sum of that Petition, as it was
"proved by the Teſtimony of Sr *Jacob Aſhley*, Sr *John Conyers*, and
"Captain *Leg*, will eaſily perceive ſome Points in it, apt to beget in
"them ſome Diſcontents againſt the Parliament. And could any man
"believe there was no Deſign in the Accuſation of the Lord *Kimbolton*,
"and the reſt, in which his Majeſty doth avow himſelf to be both a Com-
"mander, and an Actor? Theſe things being ſo, it would eaſily appear
"to be as much againſt the Rules of Prudence, that the Penner of that
"Anſwer ſhould entangle his Majeſty in that unneceſſary Apology, as
"it was againſt the Rules of Juſtice, that any Reparation from Them
"ſhould be either yielded, or demanded.

"It was profeſſed, in his Majeſty's Name, that he is truly ſenſible
"of the Burthens of his People; which made them hope, that he would
"take that courſe, which would be moſt effectual to eaſe them of thoſe
"burthens, that was, to joyn with his Parliament in preſerving the Peace
"of the Kingdom, which, by his Abſence from them, had been much
"endanger'd; and which, by hindering the voluntary Adventures for
"the recovery of *Ireland*, and diſabling the Subjects to diſcharge the
"great Tax impoſed on them, was like to make the War much more
"heavy to the Kingdom. And for his Majeſty's Wants, the Parliament
"had been no cauſe of them; They had not diminiſhed his juſt Revenue,
"but had much eaſed his Publick Charge, and ſomewhat his Private;
"and they ſhould be ready, in a Parliamentary way, to ſettle his Re-
"venue in ſuch an Honourable proportion, as might be anſwerable to
"both, when he ſhould put himſelf into ſuch a poſture of Government,
"that his Subjects might be ſecure to enjoy his juſt Protection for their
"Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

"They ſaid, they never refuſed his Majeſty's gracious Offer, of a free
"and general Pardon, only they ſaid, it could be no ſecurity to their
"preſent Fears and Jealouſies: and they gave a Reaſon for it; that thoſe
"Fears did not ariſe out of any Guilt of their own Actions, but out of
"the evil Deſigns and Attempts of others; and they left the world to
"judge, whether They therein had deſerved ſo heavy a Tax and Excla-
"mation? (That it was a ſtrange world, when Princes proffer'd Favours
"were counted Reproaches: ſuch were the words of his Majeſty's An-
"ſwer) who did eſteem that Offer as an Act of Princely Grace and Boun-
"ty, which, ſince the Parliament begun, they had humbly deſired they
"might obtain, and did ſtill hold it very neceſſary, and advantageous for
"the generality of the Subject, upon whom the Taxes and Subſidies lie
"heavieſt: but, they ſaid, they ſaw, upon every Occaſion, how unhap-
"py they were in his Majeſty's miſapprehenſions of their Words, and
"Actions.

"They ſaid, they were fully of the King's mind, as it was there de-
"clared, that he might reſt ſo ſecure of the Affections of his Subjects,

"that

"that he ſhould not ſtand in need of Forreign Force to preſerve him
"from Oppreſſion; and were confident, that he ſhould never want an
"abundant evidence of the good Wiſhes, and Aſſiſtance of his Whole
"Kingdom; eſpecially if he would be pleaſed to hold to that gracious
"Reſolution of building upon that ſure Foundation, the Law of the
"Land; but why his Majeſty ſhould take it ill, that they, having de-
"ceived Informations ſo deeply concerning the ſafety of the Kingdom,
"ſhould think them fit to be conſider'd of, they could not conceive; for
"altho the Name of the Perſon was unknown, yet that which was more
"ſubſtantial to the probability of the report was known, that is, that he
"was ſervant to the Lord *Digby*, who, in his preſumptuous Letter to
"the Queen's Majeſty, and other Letters to Sr *Lewis Dives*, had in-
"mated ſome wicked Propoſition, ſuitable to that Information; but that
"this ſhould require Reparation, they held it as far from Juſtice, as it
"was from Truth that they had mixed any Malice with thoſe Rumours,
"thereby to feed the Fears and Jealouſies of the People.

"IT was affirmed, that his Majeſty was driven From them, but not
"By them; yet perchance, they ſaid, hereafter, if there ſhould be op-
"portunity of gaining more credit, there would not be wanting who
"would ſuggeſt unto his Majeſty, that it was done By them: and if his
"Majeſty were driven from them, they hoped it was not by his own
"Fears, but by the Fears of the Lord *Digby*, and his Retinue of Cava-
"liers; and thoſe no Fears of any Tumultuary violence, but of their
"juſt puniſhment for their manifold inſolence, and intended violence
"againſt the Parliament: And this was expreſſed by the Lord *Digby*
"himſelf, when he told thoſe Cavaliers, that the principal cauſe of his
"Majeſty's going out of Town, was to ſave Them from being trampled
"in the Dirt: but of his Majeſty's Perſon, there was no cauſe of fear;
"in the greateſt heat of the Peoples Indignation, after the Accuſation,
"and his Majeſty's violent coming to the Houſe, there was no ſhew of
"any evil Intention againſt his Regal Perſon; of which there could be
"no better Evidence than this, that he came the next day without a
"Guard into the City, where he heard nothing but Prayers and Petitions,
"no Threatnings, or irreverent Speeches, that might give him any juſt
"occaſions of fear, that They had heard of, or that his Majeſty expreſſed;
"for he ſtaid near a week after at *White-Hall*, in a ſecure and peaceable
"condition: whereby they were induced to believe, that there was no
"difficulty, or doubt at all, but his Majeſty's reſidence near *London*
"might be as ſafe, as in any part of the Kingdom. They ſaid, they were
"moſt aſſured of the faithfulneſs of the City, and Suburbs; and for Them-
"ſelves, they ſhould quicken the Vigour of the Laws, and Induſtry of
"the Magiſtrate, the Authority of Parliament, for the ſuppreſſing of all
"Tumultuary inſolency whatſoever, and, for the vindicating of his Ho-
"nour from all inſupportable and inſolent Scandals, if any ſuch ſhall be
"found to be raiſed upon him, as were mention'd in that Anſwer: and
"therefore they thought it altogether unneceſſary, and exceeding in-
"convenient, to Adjourn the Parliament to any other place.

"WHERE the deſire of a good underſtanding betwixt the King and
"Parliament, was on both ſides ſo earneſt, as was there profeſſed by his
"Majeſty to be in Him, and they had ſufficiently teſtify'd to be in
"Themſelves, it ſeem'd ſtrange they ſhould be, they ſaid, ſo long
"aſunder; it could be nothing elſe but evil and malicious Counſel, in
"miſrepreſenting their Carriage to his Majeſty, and in diſpoſing his

"favour to Them. And as it ſhould be far from them to take any ad-
"vantage of his Majeſty's ſuppoſed ſtreights, as to deſire, much leſs to
"Compel him to that, which his Honour or Intereſt might render un-
"pleaſant, or grievous to him; ſo, they hoped, his Majeſty would not
"make his own Underſtanding or Reaſon the Rule of his Government;
"but would ſuffer himſelf to be aſſiſted with a wiſe and prudent Council,
"that might deal faithfully betwixt Him and his People: and that he
"would remember, that His Reſolutions did concern Kingdoms; and
"therefore ought not to be molded by his own, much leſs by any Pri-
"vate Perſon, which was not alike proportionable to ſo great a Truſt:
"And therefore they ſtill deſired and hoped, that his Majeſty would not
"be guided by his own underſtanding, or think thoſe courſes, Streights
"and Neceſſities, to which he ſhould be adviſed by the Wiſdom of both
"Houſes of Parliament, which are the Eyes in the Politick Body, where
"by his Majeſty was, by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, to diſcern
"the differences of thoſe things, which concern the Publick Peace and
"Safety thereof.

"THEY ſaid, they had given his Majeſty no cauſe to ſay, that they
"did meanly value the diſcharge of his publick duty; whatſoever Acts
"of Grace or Juſtice had been done, they proceeded from his Majeſty
"by the Advice and Counſel of his Parliament, yet they had and ſhould
"allways Anſwer them with conſtant gratitude, and obedience, and af-
"fection; and altho' many things had been done, ſince this Parliament,
"of another nature, yet they ſhould not ceaſe to deſire the continued
"Protection of Allmighty God upon his Majeſty, and moſt humbly Pe-
"tition him to caſt from him all thoſe evil, and contrary Counſels, which
"had, in many Particulars formerly mention'd, much detracted from
"the Honour of his Government, the Happineſs of his own Eſtate, and
"Proſperity of his People.

"AND having paſſed ſo many Dangers from abroad, ſo many Con-
"ſpiracies at home, and brought on the publick Work ſo far, through
"the greateſt difficulties that ever ſtood in oppoſition to a Parliament,
"to ſuch a degree of ſucceſs, that nothing ſeem'd to be left in the way
"able to hinder the full Accompliſhment of their Deſires, and Endea-
"vours for the publick Good, unleſs God in his Juſtice did ſend a grievous
"curſe upon them, as to turn the ſtrength of the Kingdom againſt it ſelf,
"and to effect that by their own Folly and Credulity, which the Power
"and Subtilty of their Enemies could not attain, that was, to divide the
"People from the Parliament, and to make them ſerviceable to the Ends,
"and Aimes of thoſe who would deſtroy them: Therefore they deſired
"the Kingdom to take notice of that laſt moſt deſperate, and miſchievous
"Plot of the Malignant Party, that was acted and proſecuted in many
"parts of the Kingdom, under plauſible notions of ſtirring them up to
"a care of preſerving the King's Prerogative; maintaining the Diſcipline
"of the Church; upholding and continuing the Reverence, and Solem-
"nity of God's Service; and encouraging of Learning: And, upon thoſe
"grounds, divers mutinous Petitions had been framed in *London*, *Kent*,
"and other Counties; and ſundry of his Majeſty's Subjects, had been
"ſollicited to declare themſelves for the King againſt the Parliament;
"and many falſe and foul Aſperſions had been caſt upon their Proceed-
"ings, as if they had been not only negligent, but averſe in thoſe Points;
"whereas they deſired nothing more, than to maintain the purity and
"power of Religion, and to honour the King in all his juſt Prerogatives;

"and for encouragement and advancement of Piety and Learning, they "had very earneſtly endeavoured, and ſtill did, to the utmoſt of their "power, that all Pariſhes might have Learned, Pious, and Sufficient "Preachers, and all ſuch Preachers, competent Livings.

"MANY other Bills and Propoſitions, they ſaid, were in preparation, "for the King's profit and honour, the Peoples ſafety and proſperity; in "the proceedings whereof, they were much hinder'd by his Majeſty's "Abſence from the Parliament; which was alltogether contrary to the "Uſe of his Predeceſſors, and the Priviledge of Parliament, whereby "their Time was conſumed by a multitude of unneceſſary Meſſages, and "their Innocency wounded by cauſleſs and ſharp Invectives; yet they "doubted not but they ſhould overcome all this at laſt, if the People "ſuffer not themſelves to be deluded with falſe and ſpecious ſhews, and "ſo drawn to betray Them to their own undoing, who had ever been "willing to hazard the undoing of themſelves, that They might not be "betrayed, by their neglect of the Truſt repoſed in them: But if it were "not poſſible they ſhould prevail herein, yet they would not fail, through "God's Grace, ſtill to perſiſt in their Duties, and to look beyond their "own Lives, Eſtates, and Advantages, as thoſe who think nothing worth "the enjoying without the Liberty, Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom; "nor any thing too good to be hazarded, in diſcharge of their Con-"ſciences, for the obtaining of it: And ſhould allways repoſe them-"ſelves upon the Protection of Allmighty God, which, they were confi-"dent, ſhould never be wanting to them (while they fought His Glory) "as they had found it, hitherto, wonderfully going along with them, in "all their Proceedings.

WITH this Declaration they publiſh'd the Examinations of Mr *Goring*, Mr *Percy*'s Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*; which were the great Evidence they had of the Plot of bringing up the Army, to awe the Parliament; and ſeveral other Letters and Depoſitions, or rather ſuch parts of Depoſitions, as contributed moſt to their purpoſe. For the truth is, as they never publiſhd, ſo much as to the Houſes which were to Judge, many Depoſitions of Witneſſes, whoſe Teſtimonies, in a manner, vindicated the King from thoſe Aſperſions, which they had a mind ſhould ſtick upon him (for many ſuch there were) ſo of thoſe which they did publiſh, they left out many parts, which, being added, would either have obſcured, or contradicted, or diſcredited much of that, out of which they made the People believe much to the King's diſ-ſervice. And yet with all thoſe ill Arts and Omiſſions, I preſume many, who without paſſion do now read thoſe Depoſitions (for they are in all hands to be read) do much marvel how ſuch concluſions could reſult to his Majeſty's diſadvantage, out of the worſt part of all that Evidence; which could not, naturally, carry that ſenſe to which it was wreſted.

ABOUT this time (which I ſhall mention before the other Declaration, becauſe it interven'd) there happen'd an Accident that gave them much trouble, and the more, becauſe unlooked for, by the Lord Keeper's quitting them and reſorting to *York*, by which the King got the poſſeſ-ſion of his own Great Seal; which by all Parties was, at that time, thought a moſt conſiderable advantage. The King was very much unſatisfy'd with the Lord Keeper *Littleton*; who did not appear ſo uſeful for his Service as he expected, and, from the time of the Accuſing the Mem-bers, had loſt all his Vigour, and inſtead of making any oppoſitions to any of their extravagant Debates, he had ſilently ſuffer'd all things to

be

be carried; and had not only declined the performing the Office the King had enjoyn'd him, with reference to the Earls of *Ellesmere* and *Holland* (before mention'd) but very much complied with, and courted that Party of both Houſes, which frequently reſorted to him; and of late in a queſtion, which had been put in the Houſe of Peers, in the point of the Militia, he had given his Vote both againſt the King and the Law, to the infinite offence and ſcandal of all thoſe who adhered to the King.

He was a man of great reputation in the profeſſion of the Law; for Learning, and all other advantages, which attend the moſt Eminent Men; he was of a very good extraction in *Shrop-ſhire*, and inherited a fair Fortune, and Inheritance from his Father; he was a handſome, and a proper Man, of a very graceful Preſence, and notorious for Courage, which, in his Youth, he had manifeſted with his Sword; he had taken great pains in the hardeſt, and moſt knotty part of the Law, as well as that which was more cuſtomary, and was not only very ready and expert in the Books, but exceedingly verſed in Records, in ſtudying and examining whereof, he had kept M. *Selden* company, with whom he had great friendſhip, and who had much aſſiſted him; ſo that he was looked upon the beſt Antiquary of the profeſſion, who gave himſelf up to Practice; and, upon the meer ſtrength of his own abilities, he had raiſed himſelf into the firſt rank of the Practicers in the Common Law Courts, and was choſen Recorder of *London* before he was called to the Bench, and grew preſently into the higheſt Practice in all the other Courts, as well as thoſe of the Law. When the King looked more narrowly into his buſineſs, and found that he ſhould have much to do in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, he removed an old, uſeleſs, illiterate Perſon, who had been put into that Office by the favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and made *Littleton* his Sollicitor General, much to his Honour, but not to his Profit; the obligation of Attendance upon that Office, depriving him of much benefit he uſed to acquire by his Practice, before he had that relation. Upon the death of my Lord *Coventry*, *Finch* being made Keeper, He was made Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, Then the beſt Office of the Law, and that which he was wont to ſay, in his higheſt Ambition, in his own private wiſhes, he had moſt deſired; and it was indeed the Sphere in which he moved moſt gracefully, and with moſt advantage, being a maſter of all that Learning and Knowledge, which that Place required, and an excellent Judge, of great Gravity, and above all ſuſpicion of Corruption.

Whilst he held this place, he was by the favour of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, who had a great eſteem of him, recommended to the King to be called to the Council Table, where he kept up his good Name; and, upon the Lord *Finch*'s leaving the Kingdom, in the beginning of the Parliament, he was thought, in many reſpects, to be the fitteſt to be entruſted in that Office; and, upon the deſire of the Earl of *Strafford* after he was in the Tower, was created a Baron, out of expectation that, by his Authority and Knowledge of the Law, he would have been of great uſe in reſtraining thoſe extraordinary, and unwarrantable Proceedings; but, from the time he had the Great Seal, he ſeem'd to be out of his Element, and in ſome perplexity and irreſolution in the Chancery it ſelf, tho' he had great experience in the practice, and proceedings of that Court; and made not that diſpatch, that was expected, at the Council Table; and in the Parliament he did not preſerve any dignity; and appear'd ſo totally diſpirited, that few

men ſhewed any reſpect to him, but they who moſt oppoſed the King, who indeed did exceedingly apply themſelves to him, and were with equal kindneſs received by him. This wonderful alteration in him, his Friends believed to have proceeded from a great ſickneſs, which had ſeiſed upon him quickly after he was created a Baron, inſomuch as every Man believed he would die; and by this means, he did not attend the Houſe in ſome Months; and ſo perform'd none of thoſe Offices toward the Earl of *Strafford*, the expectation whereof had been the ſole Motive to that promotion: From that time he never did appear the ſame Man; but ſure there were Other cauſes for it, and he was poſſeſſed with ſome melancholy apprehenſions, which he could not maſter, and had no Friend to whom he durſt entirely communicate them.

Mr *Hyde*, one of thoſe who was moſt truſted by the King in the Houſe of Commons, and had allways had a great reſpect for the Keeper, was as much troubled at his behaviour, as any man; and uſing frequently to go to him, went upon that occaſion; and with great freedom and plainneſs, told him, "how much he had loſt the eſteem of all Good men, "and that the King could not but be exceedingly diſſatisfy'd with him; and diſcourſed over the matter of that Vote. Tho' He did not know, that the King did at that time put ſo great a ſecret Truſt in Mr *Hyde*, yet he knew very well, that the King had a very good opinion of him, and had heard his Majeſty often, from the beginning of the Parliament, when the diſcourſe happen'd to be of the Lawyers of the Houſe, take an occaſion from thence to mention Mr *Hyde*, as a man of whom he heard very well; which the Keeper had many times taken notice of to him: and then he knew the Friendſhip that was between the Lord *Falkland* and Mr *Hyde*, and had heard the many Jealouſies which were contracted, upon the great communication he had with the two new Counſellors; and ſo no doubt believed, that he knew much of the King's mind. So that aſſoon as he had enter'd upon this diſcourſe, which he heard with all attention (they being by themſelves in his Study, at *Exeter* Houſe) He roſe from his Chair, and went to the Door; and finding ſome Perſons in the next Room, he bad them to withdraw; and locking both the Door of that Room, and of his Study, he ſat down himſelf, and making Mr *Hyde* ſit down too, he begun "with giving him many "thanks for his friendſhip to him, which, he ſaid, he had ever eſteem'd, "and he could not more manifeſt the eſteem he had of It and Him, than "by uſing that freedom again with him, which he meant to do. Then "he lamented his own condition; and that he had been prefer'd from "the Common Pleas, where he knew both the Buſineſs and the Perſons "he had to deal with, to the other high Office he now held, which "obliged him to converſe and tranſact with another ſort of Men, who "were not known to him, and in affairs, which he underſtood not, and "had not one Friend among them, with whom he could confer upon "any doubt, which occurred to him.

He ſpoke then of the unhappy ſtate and condition of the King's buſineſs; how much he had been, and was ſtill, betrayed by Perſons who were about him; and with all poſſible indignation againſt the proceedings of the Parliament; and ſaid, "they would never do This, if they "were not reſolved to do More: that he knew the King too well, and "obſerved the carriage of particular Men too much, and the whole cur-"rent of publick Tranſactions theſe laſt five or ſix Months, not to fore-"ſee that it could not be long before there would be a War between the

"King and the two Houſes; and of the importance, in that Seaſon, that "the Great Seal ſhould be with the King. Then he fell into many expreſſions of his Duty, and Affection to the King's Perſon, as well as to his high Degree: and "that no Man ſhould be more ready, to periſh "with, and for his Majeſty, than He would be; that the proſpect he had "of this neceſſity, had made him carry himſelf towards that Party with "ſo much complyance, that he might be gracious with them, at leaſt, "that they might have no Diſtruſt of him; which, he knew, many had "endeavoured to infuſe into them; and that there had been a conſultation within few days, whether, in regard he might be ſent for by the "King, or that the Seal might be taken from him, it would not be beſt "to appoint the Seal to be kept in ſome ſuch ſecure place, as that there "might be no danger of loſing it; and that the Keeper ſhould allways "receive it, for the execution of his Office; they having no purpoſe to "diſoblige Him. And the knowledge he had of this conſultation, and "fear he had of the execution of it, had been the reaſon, why in the "late debate upon the Militia, he had given his Vote in ſuch a manner, "as, he knew, would make very ill impreſſions with the King, and many others who did not know him very well; but that, if he had not, "in that Point, ſubmitted to their opinion, the Seal had been taken from "him that Night; whereas by this complyance in that Vote, which "could only prejudice Himſelf, and not the King, he had gotten ſo much "into their confidence, that he ſhould be able to preſerve the Seal in his "own hands, till the King required it; and then he would be as ready "to attend his Majeſty with it.

Mr *Hyde* was very well pleaſed with this diſcourſe; and asked him, "whether he would give him leave, when there ſhould be a fit occaſion, "to aſſure the King, that he would perform this Service, when the King "ſhould require it? He deſired, "that he would do ſo, and paſs his Word "for the performance of it, aſſoon as his Majeſty pleaſed; and ſo they "parted.

IT was within very few days after, that the King, exceedingly diſpléaſed and provoked with the Keepers behaviour, ſent an Order to the Lord *Falkland*, "to require the Seal from him; in which the King was very poſitive, tho' he was not reſolved to what hand to commit it. His Majeſty wiſhed them (for he allways included the other Two in ſuch references) to conſider, "whether he ſhould give it to the Lord Chief "Juſtice *Banks* (againſt whom he made ſome objection himſelf) "or "into the hands of Mr *Selden*; and to ſend their opinions to him. The Order was poſitive for requiring it from the preſent Officer, but they knew not who to adviſe for a Succeſſor. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks* appeared to be as much afraid, as the other; and not thought equal to that Charge, in a time of ſo much diſorder; tho' otherwiſe he was a Man of great abilities, and unblemiſhed integrity; they did not doubt of Mr *Selden*'s Affection to the King, but withal they knew him ſo well, that they concluded he would abſolutely refuſe the place, if it were offer'd to him. He was in years, and of a tender conſtitution; he had for many years enjoyed his eaſe, which he loved; was rich; and would not have made a Journey to *York*, or have layn out of his own bed, for any Preferment; which he had never affected.

BEING all Three of one mind, that it would not be fit to offer it to the one or the other; hereupon Mr *Hyde* told them the [illegible] he had with the Keeper, and the [illegible] and was very confident,

confident, that he would very punctually perform it; and therefore proposed, that "they might, with their Opinions of the other Persons, like "wise advise his Majesty to suspend his resolution concerning the Lord "Keeper, and rather to write kindly to him, to bring the Seal to his "Majesty, instead of sending for the Seal it self, and cast him off; and offer'd to venture his own credit with the King, that the Keeper would comply with his Majesty's commands. Neither of them were of his opinion; and had both no esteem of the Keeper, nor believed, that he would go to his Majesty, if he were sent for, but that he would find some trick to excuse himself; and therefore were not willing, that Mr *Hyde* should venture his Reputation upon it. He desired them then "to consider how absolutely necessary it was, that the King should first "resolve into what hand to put the Seal before he removed it; for that "it could not be unimployed one hour, but that the whole Justice of the "Kingdom would be out of order, and draw a greater and a juster cla-"mour, than had been yet: That there was as much care to be taken, "that it should not be in the power of any man to refuse it; which "would be yet more prejudicial to his Majesty. He desired them above "all, to weigh well, that the business consisted only in having the Great "Seal in the place, where his Majesty resolved to be; and if the Keeper "would keep his promise, and desired to serve the King, it would be un-"questionably the best way, that He and the Seal were both there: if, "on the other side, he were not an honest Man, and cared not for offend-"ing the King, he would then refuse to deliver it, and inform the Lords "of it; who would justify him for his disobedience, and reward and "cherish him; and he must then hereafter serve Their turn; the mis-"chief whereof would be greater, than could be easily imagined: and "his Majesty's own Great Seal should be every day used against him, "nor would it be possible in many Months to procure a New one to "be made.

THESE objections appear'd of weight to them; and they resolved to give an account of the whole to the King, and to expect his Order: and both the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr *Hyde*, writ to his Majesty, and sent their Letters away that very Night. The King was satisfy'd with the Reasons, and was very glad that Mr *Hyde* was so confident of the Keeper; tho', he said, "he remain'd still in doubt; and resolved that he would, such a day of the Week following, send for the Keeper and the Seal; and that it should be, as had been advised, upon a *Saturday* afternoon, assoon as the House of Lords should rise; because then no notice could be taken of it till *Monday*. Mr *Hyde*, who had continued to see the Keeper frequently, and was confirm'd in his confidence of his integrity, went now to him; and finding him firm to his resolution, and of opinion, in regard of the high proceedings of the Houses, that it should not be long defer'd; he told him, "that he might expect a Messenger the next Week, and "that he should once more see him, when he would tell him the Day; "and that he would then go himself away before him to *York*; with which he was much pleased, and it was agree'd between the Three, that it was now time, that he should be gone (the King having sent for him some time before) after a day or two; in which time the Declaration of the nineteenth of *May* would be passed.

ON the *Saturday* following, between two and three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Mr *Elliot*, a Groom of the Bed Chamber to the Prince, came to the Keeper, and found him alone in the Room where he used to

fit,

ſit, and deliver'd him a Letter from the King in his own hand; wherein he required him, with many expreſſions of kindneſs and eſteem, "to "make haſt to him; and if his indiſpoſition (for he was often troubled with gravel and ſharpneſs of Urine) would not ſuffer him to make ſuch "haſt upon the Journey, as the occaſion required, that he ſhould deliver "the Seal to the Perſon, who gave him the Letter; who, being a ſtrong "young Man, would make ſuch haſt as was neceſſary; and that he might "make his own Journey, by thoſe degrees which his Health required. The Keeper was ſurpriſed with the Meſſenger, whom he did not like; and more when he found that he knew the contents of the Letter, which, he hoped, would not have been communicated to any Man, who ſhould be ſent: He Anſwer'd him with much reſervation, and when the other with bluntneſs, as he was no polite Man, demanded the Seal of him, which he had not thought of putting out of his own hands; he Anſwer'd him, "that he would not deliver it into any hands, but the King's; but preſently recollecting himſelf, and looking over his Letter again, he quickly conſider'd, that it would be hazardous to carry the Seal himſelf ſuch a Journey; and that if by any purſuit of him, which he could not but ſuſpect, he ſhould be ſeiſed upon, the King would be very unhappily diſappointed of the Seal, which he had reaſon ſo much to depend upon; and that his misfortune would be wholely imputed to his own fault and infidelity (which without doubt he abhorred with his heart) and the only way to prevent that miſchief, or to appear innocent under it, was to deliver the Seal to the Perſon truſted by the King himſelf to receive it; and ſo, without telling him any thing of his own purpoſe, he delivered the Seal into his hands; who forthwith put himſelf on his horſe, and with wonderful expedition preſented the Great Seal into his Majeſty's own hands, who was infinitely pleaſed with It, and with the Meſſenger.

THE Keeper, that Evening, pretended to be indiſpoſed, and that he would take his reſt early, and therefore that no body ſhould be admitted to ſpeak with him: and then he called Serjeant *Lee* to him, who was the Serjeant who waited upon the Seal, and in whom he had great confidence, as he well might; and told him freely, "that he was "reſolved, the next morning, to go to the King, who had ſent for him; "that he knew well, how much malice he ſhould contract by it from "the Parliament, which would uſe all the means they could to appre-"hend him; and he himſelf knew not how he ſhould perform the Jour-"ney, therefore he put himſelf entirely into his hands; that he ſhould "cauſe his Horſes to be ready againſt the next morning, and only his "own Groom to attend them, and he to guide the beſt way, and that he "would not impart it to any other Perſon. The honeſt Serjeant was very glad of the reſolution, and chearfully undertook all things for the Journey; and ſo ſending the Horſes out of the Town, the Keeper put himſelf in his Coach very early the next morning, and aſſoon as they were out of the Town, He and the Serjeant, and one Groom, took their Horſes, and made ſo great a journey that day, it being about the beginning of *June*, that before the end of the third day, he kiſſed the King's hand at *York*.

HE had purpoſely procured the Houſe of Peers to be Adjourn'd to a later hour, in the morning for *Monday*, than it uſed to be. *Sunday* paſſed without any Man's taking notice of the Keepers being abſent; and many, who knew that he was not at his Houſe, thought he had been

been gone to *Cranford*, to his Country Houſe, whither he frequently went on *Saturday* nights, and was early enough at the Parliament on *Monday* mornings; and ſo the Lords the more willingly conſented to the later Adjournments for thoſe days. But on *Monday* morning, when it was known when, and in what manner he had left his Houſe, the confuſion in both Houſes was very great; and they who had thought that their intereſt was ſo great in him, that they knew all his thoughts, and had valued themſelves, and were valued by others, upon that account, hung down their heads, and were even diſtracted with ſhame: However they could not but conclude, that he was out of their reach before the Lords met; yet to ſhew their indignation againſt him, and it may be in hope that his infirmities would detain him long in the Journey (as no body indeed thought that he could have perform'd it, with that expedition) they iſſued out ſuch a Warrant for the apprehending him, as had been in the caſe of the fouleſt Felon or Murtherer; and printed it, and cauſed it to be diſperſed, by Expreſſes, over all the Kingdom with great haſt. All which circumſtances both before, and after the Keepers Journey to *York*, are the more particularly, and at large ſet down, out of juſtice to the Memory of that noble Perſon; whoſe Honour ſuffer'd then much in the opinion of many, by the confident report of the perſon, who was ſent for, and received the Seal, and who was a loud and bold Talker, and deſired to have it believed, that his manhood had raviſhed the Great Seal from the Keeper, even in ſpight of his teeth; which, how impoſſible ſoever in it ſelf, found too much credit; and is therefore cleared by this very true, and punctual Relation, which in truth is but due to him.

BUT the trouble and diſtraction, which at this time poſſeſſed them, was viſibly very great; and their dejection ſuch, that the ſame day the Earl of *Northumberland* (who had been of another temper) moved, "that a Committee might be appointed, to conſider how there might be "an Accommodation between the King and his People, for the Good, "Happineſs, and Safety of both King and Kingdom; which Committee was appointed accordingly.

THIS temper of Accommodation troubled them not long, new warmth and vigour being quickly infuſed into them by the unbroken, and undaunted Spirits of the Houſe of Commons; which, to ſhew how little they valued the power or Authority of the King, tho' ſupported by having now his Great Seal by him, on the 26th of *May* agreed on a new Remonſtrance to the People; in which, the Lords concurring, they informed them,

The Two Houſes Remonſtrance, May 26. 1642.

"THAT altho' the great Affairs of the Kingdom, and the miſerable "bleeding condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland* afforded them little lei- "ſure, to ſpend their time in Declarations, and in Anſwers, and Replies, "yet the Malignant Party about his Majeſty taking all occaſions to mul- "tiply Calumnies upon the Houſes of Parliament, and to publiſh ſharp "invectives, under his Majeſty's Name, againſt them, and their proceed- "ings (a new Engine they had invented to heighten the diſtraction "of this Kingdom, and to beget, and increaſe diſtruſt, and diſaffection "between the King, and his Parliament, and the People) they could not "be ſo much wanting to their own innocency, or to the duty of their "Truſt, as not to clear themſelves from thoſe falſe aſperſions, and (which "was their chiefeſt care) to diſabuſe the Peoples minds, and open their "Eyes, that, under the falſe ſhews, and pretexts of the Law of the Land,

"and

"and of their own Rights, and Liberties, they may not be carried into "the Road way, that leadeth to the utter ruin, and ſubverſion thereof. "A late occaſion that thoſe wicked Spirits of diviſion had taken to de- "fame, and indeed to arraign the proceedings of both Houſes of Parlia- "ment, had been from their Votes of the 28th of *April*. And their De- "claration concerning the buſineſs of *Hull*, which becauſe they put forth, "before they could ſend their Anſwer concerning that matter unto his "Majeſty, thoſe miſchievous inſtrumenrs of diſſention, between the King, "and the Parliament, and the People, whoſe chief Labour, and Study, "was to miſrepreſent their Actions to his Majeſty, and to the Kingdom, "would needs interpret this as an Appeal to the People, and a declining "of all intercourſe between his Majeſty, and them; as if they thought "it to no purpoſe, to endeavour any more, to give his Majeſty ſatiſ- "faction; and, without expecting any longer their Anſwer, under the "Name of a Meſſage from his Majeſty to both Houſes, they themſelves "had indeed made an Appeal to the People, as the Meſſage it ſelf did in "a manner grant it to be, offering to joyn iſſue with them in that way, "and in the nature thereof did clearly ſhew it ſelf to be no other; there- "fore They would likewiſe addreſs their Anſwer to the Kingdom, not by "way of Appeal (as they were charged) but to prevent them from being "their own Executioners, and from being perſwaded under falſe colours "of defending the Law, and their own Liberties, to deſtroy both with "their own hands, by taking their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, out of "Their hands, whom they had choſen, and entruſted therewith, and re- "ſigning them up unto ſome evil Counſellors, about his Majeſty, who "could lay no other foundation of their own greatneſs, but upon the ruin "of this, and, in It, of all Parliaments; and in Them, of the true Religion, "and the Freedom of this Nation. And theſe, they ſaid, were the Men "that would perſwade the people, that both Houſes of Parliament, con- "taining all the Peers, and repreſenting all the Commons of *England*, "would deſtroy the Laws of the Land, and Liberties of the People; "wherein, beſides the Truſt of the whole, they themſelves in their own "particulars, had ſo great an Intereſt of Honour, and Eſtate, that they "hoped it would gain little credit with any, that had the leaſt uſe of "Reaſon, that ſuch, as muſt have ſo great a ſhare in the miſery, ſhould "take ſo much pains in the procuring thereof; and ſpend ſo much "time, and run ſo many hazards to make themſelves Slaves, and to "deſtroy the property of their Eſtates. But that they might give par- "ticular ſatisfaction to the ſeveral Imputations caſt upon them, they "would take them in order, as they were laid upon them in that Meſ- "ſage.

"FIRST they were charged for the avowing that Act of Sr *John Hotham*; which was termed unparallel'd, and an high, and unheard of "affront unto his Majeſty, and as if they needed not to have done it; "he being able, as was alledg'd, to produce no ſuch Command of the "Houſes of Parliament. They ſaid, altho' Sr *John Hotham* had not an "Order, that did expreſs every Circumſtance of that caſe, yet he might "have produced an Order of both Houſes, which did comprehend this "caſe, not only in the clear Intention, but in the very Words thereof; "which they knowing in their conſciences to be ſo, and to be moſt ne- "ceſſary for the ſafety of the Kingdom, they could not, but in honour "and juſtice, avow that Act of His; which, they were confident, would "appear to all the world to be ſo far from being an Affront to the King,

"that it would be found to have been an Act of great Loyalty to his "Majeſty, and to his Kingdom.

"THE next Charge upon them was, that inſtead of giving his Ma- "jeſty ſatisfaction, they publiſhed a Declaration concerning that buſi- "neſs, as an Appeal to the People, and as if their intercourſe with his "Majeſty, and for his ſatisfaction, were now to no more purpoſe; which "courſe was alledg'd to be very unagreeable to the Modeſty and Duty "of former times, and not warrantable by any Precedents, but what "Themſelves had made. They ſaid, if the Penner of that Meſſage had "expected awhile, or had not expected that two Houſes of Parliament "(eſpecially burthen'd, as they were at that time, with ſo many preſ- "ſing and urgent affairs) ſhould have moved as faſt as himſelf, he would "not have ſaid, that Declaration was inſtead of an Anſwer to his Ma- "jeſty; which they did diſpatch with all the ſpeed, and diligence they "could, and had ſent it to his Majeſty by a Committee of both Houſes; "whereby it appeared, that they did it not upon that ground, that they "thought it was no more to any purpoſe, to endeavour to give his Ma- "jeſty ſatisfaction.

"AND as for the Duty and Modeſty of former times, from which "they were ſaid to have varied, and to want the Warrant of any Prece- "dents therein, but what Themſelves had made: If they had made any "Precedents this Parliament, they had made them for Poſterity, upon "the ſame, or better grounds of Reaſon and Law, than thoſe were upon, "which their Predeceſſors firſt made for Them: And as ſome Precedents "ought not to be rules for them to follow, ſo none could be limits to "bound their proceedings: which might, and muſt vary, according to "the different condition of Times. And for that Particular, of ſetting "forth Declarations for the ſatisfaction of the People, who had choſen, "and entruſted them with all that was deareſt to them: If there were "no example for it, it was becauſe there were never any Monſters be- "fore, that ever attempted to diſaffect the People from a Parliament, "or could ever harbour a thought that it might be effected. Were there "ever ſuch practices to poyſon the People with an ill apprehenſion of "the Parliament? Were there ever ſuch imputations and ſcandals laid "upon the Proceedings of both Houſes? Were there ever ſo many, and "ſo great breaches of Priviledge of Parliament? Were there ever ſo "many, and ſo deſperate deſigns of force and violence againſt the Parlia- "ment, and the Members thereof? If they had Done more, than ever "their Anceſtors had Done, they ſaid, they had Suffered more, than "ever They had Suffered; and yet, in point of Modeſty and Duty, they "would not yield to the beſt of former times; and they would put that "in iſſue, whether the higheſt, and moſt unwarrantable Precedents of "any of his Majeſty's Predeceſſors, did not fall ſhort, and much below, "what had been done to them this Parliament? And on the other ſide, "whether, if they ſhould make the higheſt Precedents of other Parlia- "ments their Patterns, there would be cauſe to complain of want of "modeſty, and duty in Them; when they had not ſo much as ſuffered "ſuch things to enter into their Thoughts, which all the world knew "They put in Act?

"ANOTHER Charge which was laid very high upon them, and which "were indeed a very great Crime if they were found guilty thereof, was, "that by avowing that Act of Sr *John Hotham*, they did, in conſequence, "confound and deſtroy the title, and intereſt of all his Majeſty's good

"Subjects

"Subjects to their Lands and Goods; and that, upon this ground; that "his Majesty had the same Title to his Town of *Hull*, which any of his "Subjects had to their Houses or Lands, and the same to his Magazine "and Munition there, that any Man had to his Money, Plate, or Jewels: "And therefore, that they ought not to have been disposed of, without, "or against his Consent, no more than the House, Land, Money, Plate, "or Jewels of any Subject ought to be, without, or against his Will.

"HERE, they said, that was laid down for a Principle, which would "indeed pull up the very foundation of the liberty, property, and in- "terest of every Subject in particular, and of all the Subjects in general, "if they should admit it for a truth, that his Majesty had the same right "and title to his Towns, and to his Magazines (bought with the publick "Moneys, as they conceived that at *Hull* to have been) that every "particular Man hath to his House, Lands, and Goods. For his Ma- "jesty's Towns were no more his own, than his Kingdom was his own; "and his Kingdom was no more his own, than his People are his own; "and if the King had a property in all his Towns, what would become "of the Subjects propriety in their Houses therein? and if He had a pro- "priety in his Kingdom, what would become of the Subjects property "in their Lands throughout the Kingdom? or of their Liberties, if his "Majesty had the same right in their Persons, that every Subject hath "in his Lands, and Goods? and what would become of all the Subjects "interests in the Towns, and Forts of the Kingdom, and in the King- "dom it self, if his Majesty might sell, or give them away, or dispose "of them at his pleasure, as a particular Man might do with his Lands, "and with his Goods? This erroneous Maxim being infused into Princes, "that their Kingdoms are their own, and that they may do with them "what they will, as if their Kingdoms were for Them, and not They for "their Kingdoms, was, they said, the Root of all the Subjects misery, "and of the invading of their just Rights, and Liberties; whereas, in- "deed, they are only entrusted with their Kingdoms, and with their "Towns, and with their People, and with the publick Treasure of the "Common-wealth, and whatsoever is bought therewith; and, by the "known Law of this Kingdom, the very Jewels of the Crown are not "the King's proper Goods, but are only entrusted to him, for the use and "ornament thereof: As the Towns, Forts, Treasure, Magazines, Offices, "and the People of the Kingdom, and the whole Kingdom it self is en- "trusted unto him, for the good, and safety, and best advantage thereof; "and as this Trust is for the use of the Kingdom, so ought it to be ma- "naged by the advice of the Houses of Parliament, whom the Kingdom "hath trusted for that purpose; it being their duty to see it discharged "according to the condition and true intent thereof; and as much as in "them lies, by all possible means, to prevent the contrary; which, if it "had been their chief care, and only aime, in the disposing of the Town "and Magazine of *Hull* in such manner as they had done, they hoped it "would appear clearly to all the world, that they had discharged their "own Trust, and not invaded that of his Majesty, much less his Pro- "perty; which in that case, they could not do.

"BUT admitting his Majesty had indeed a Property in the Town "and Magazine of *Hull*; who doubted but that a Parliament may dispose "of any thing, wherein his Majesty, or any Subject hath a right, in such "a way, as that the Kingdom may not be exposed to Hazard, or Danger "thereby? Which was Their case, in the disposing of the Town and

"Magazine of *Hull*. And whereas his Majeſty did allow this, and a "greater power to a Parliament, but in that ſenſe only, as he himſelf "was a Part thereof; they appeal'd to every man's conſcience, that had "obſerved their proceedings, whether they disjoyn'd his Majeſty from "his Parliament, who had in all humble ways ſought his concurrence "with them, as in that particular about *Hull*, and for the removal of "the Magazine there, ſo alſo in all other things; or whether thoſe evil "Counſels about him, had not ſeparated him from his Parliament; not "only in diſtance of place, but alſo in the diſcharge of the joint Truſt "with them, for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom in that, and ſome "other Particulars.

"THEY had given no occaſion to his Majeſty, they ſaid, to declare "with ſo much earneſtneſs his reſolution, that he would not ſuffer ei- "ther, or both Houſes by their Votes, without, or againſt his Conſent, "to enjoyn any thing that was forbidden by the Law, or to forbid any "thing that was enjoyn'd by the Law; for their Votes had done no ſuch "thing: And as they ſhould be very tender of the Law (which they did "acknowledge to be the ſafeguard, and cuſtody of all publick and private "Intereſts) ſo they would never allow a few private Perſons about the "King, nor his Majeſty himſelf in his own Perſon, and out of his Courts, "to be judge of the Law, and that contrary to the judgment of the higheſt "Court of Judicature. In like manner, that his Majeſty had not refuſed "to conſent to any thing, that might be for the Peace and Happineſs of "the Kingdom, they could not admit it in any other ſenſe, but as his "Majeſty taketh the meaſure of what will be for the Peace and Happi- "neſs of his Kingdom, from ſome few ill affected Perſons about him, "contrary to the Advice, and Judgment of his great Council of Parlia- "ment. And becauſe the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament had, "through the ſuggeſtion of evil Counſellors, been ſo much undervalued "of late, and ſo abſolutely rejected and refuſed, they ſaid, they held it "fit to declare unto the Kingdom, whoſe Honour and Intereſt was ſo "much concern'd in it, what was the Priviledge of the Great Council of "Parliament herein; and what was the Obligation that lay upon the "Kings of this Realm, to paſs ſuch Bills, as are offer'd to them by both "Houſes of Parliament, in the Name, and for the Good of the whole "Kingdom, whereunto they ſtand engaged both in conſcience, and juſtice, "to give their Royal Aſſent: In Conſcience, in regard of the Oath, that "is, or ought to be taken by the Kings of this Realm at their Corona- "tion, as well to confirm by their Royal Aſſent ſuch good Laws, as the "People ſhall chooſe, and to remedy by Law ſuch inconveniences, as "the Kingdom may ſuffer; as to keep, and protect the Laws allready "in being; as may appear both by the Form of the Oath upon Record, "and in Books of good Authority, and by the Statute of the 25 of *Ed-* "*ward* the III. entituled, the Statute of Proviſors of Benefices; the Form "of which Oath, and the Clauſe of the Statute that concerneth it, are as "followeth:

Rot. Parliament. H. IV. N. 17.

Forma juramenti ſoliti, & conſueti præſtari per Reges Angliæ in eorum Coronatione.

Servabis Eccleſiæ Dei, Cleroque, & Populo, pacem ex integro, & concordiam in Deo, ſecundum vires tuas?

Reſpondebit, ſervabo.

Facies

Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam, & rectam juſtitiam, & diſcretionem in miſericordia & veritate, ſecundum vires tuas?

Reſpondebit, Faciam.

Concedis juſtas Leges, & conſuetudines eſſe tenendas; & promittis per te eas eſſe protegendas, & ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas Vulgus elegerit, ſecundum vires tuas?

Reſpondebit, Concedo & Promitto.

Adjicianturque prædictis Interrogationibus quæ juſta fuerint, prænunciatiſque omnibus, confirmet Rex ſe omnia ſervaturum, ſacramento ſuper Altare præſtito, coram cunctis.

A Clauſe in the preamble of a Statute made the 25 Edw. III. *entituled, the Statute of Proviſors of Benefices.*

WHEREUPON the ſaid Commons have prayed our ſaid Lord the King; That ſith the Right of the Crown of *England*, and the Law of the ſaid Realm is ſuch, that upon the miſchiefs and damages, which happen to this Realm, he ought, and is bound by his Oath, with the accord of his People in his Parliament, thereof to make Remedy and Law, and in removing the miſchiefs, and damages which thereof enſue, that it may pleaſe him thereupon to ordain Remedy.

OUR Lord the King ſeeing the miſchiefs and damages before mention'd, and having regard to the Statute made in the time of his ſaid Grandfather, and to the Cauſes contained in the ſame, which Statute holdeth allways his force, and was never defeated, repealed, or annulled in any point, and by ſo much he is bound by his Oath to cauſe the ſame to be kept as the Law of his Realm, tho' that, by ſufferance and negligence, it hath been ſithence attempted to the contrary: Alſo having regard to the grievous complaints made to him by his People, in divers his Parliaments holden heretofore, willing to ordain remedy for the great damages, and miſchiefs which have happen'd, and daily do happen, to the Church of *England* by the ſaid Cauſe:

"HERE, they ſaid, the Lords, and Commons claim it directly as the "Right of the Crown of *England*, and of the Law of the Land, and that "the King is bound by his Oath, with the accord of his People in Par-"liament, to make remedy, and Law, upon the miſchiefs and damages, "which happen to this Realm; and the King doth not deny it, altho' "he take occaſion from a Statute formerly made by his Grandfather, "which was laid as part of the grounds of this Petition, to fix his An-"ſwer upon another branch of his Oath, and pretermits that which is "claimed by the Lords and Commons; which he would not have done, "if it might have been excepted againſt.

"IN Juſtice, they ſaid, they are obliged thereunto, in reſpect of the "Truſt repoſed in them; which is as well to preſerve the Kingdom by "the making new Laws, where there ſhall be need, as by obſerving of "Laws allready made; a Kingdom being, many times, as much expoſed "to ruin, for the want of a new Law, as by the violation of thoſe that "are in being: and this is ſo clear a Right, that, no doubt, his Majeſty "would acknowledge it to be as due to his People, as his Protection. "But how far forth he was obliged to follow the judgment of his Parlia-

"ment therein, that is the Queſtion. And certainly, beſides the words "in the King's Oath, referring unto ſuch Laws as the People ſhall chooſe, "as in ſuch things which concern the publick Weal and Good of the "Kingdom, They are the moſt proper judges, who are ſent from the "whole Kingdom for that very purpoſe; ſo they did not find, that ſince "Laws have paſſed by way of Bills (which are read thrice in both Houſes, "and Committed; and every part, and circumſtance of them fully "weighed, and debated upon the Commitment, and afterwards paſſed "in both Houſes) that ever the Kings of this Realm did deny them, "otherwiſe than is expreſſed in that uſual Anſwer, *Le Roy Aviſera*; "which ſignifies rather a ſuſpenſion, than a refuſal of the Royal Aſſent. "And in thoſe other Laws, which are framed by way of Petitions of "Right, the Houſes of Parliament have taken themſelves to be ſo far "Judges of the Right claimed by them, that when the King's Anſwer "hath not, in every point, been fully according to their deſires, they "have ſtill inſiſted upon their claim, and never reſted ſatisfy'd, till ſuch "time as they had an Anſwer according to their demand; as had been "done in the late Petition of Right, and in former times upon the like "occaſion. And if the Parliament be judge between the King and his "People in the queſtion of Right (as by the manner in the claime in "Petitions of Right, and by judgments in Parliament, in caſes of illegal "impoſitions and taxes, and the like, it appears to be) why ſhould they "not be ſo alſo, in the queſtion of the Common Good, and Neceſſity of "the Kingdom; wherein the Kingdom hath as clear a Right alſo to have "the benefit, and remedy of Law, as in any thing whatſoever? And "yet they did not deny, but that in private Bills, and alſo in publick "Acts of Grace, as Pardons, and the like Grants of Favour, his Majeſty "might have a greater latitude of Granting, or Denying, as he ſhould "think fit.

"All this conſider'd, they ſaid, they could not but wonder, that the "Contriver of that Meſſage ſhould conceive, the People of this Land to "be ſo void of Common ſenſe, as to enter into ſo deep a miſtruſt of thoſe, "whom they have, and his Majeſty ought to repoſe ſo great a Truſt in, "as to deſpair of any ſecurity in their private Eſtates, by Deſcents, Pur-"chaſes, Aſſurances, or Conveyances; unleſs his Majeſty ſhould, by His "Vote, prevent the prejudice, they might receive therein by the Votes "of both Houſes of Parliament; as if They, who are eſpecially choſen, "and entruſted for that purpoſe, and who Themſelves muſt needs have "ſo great a ſhare in all Grievances of the Subject, had wholely caſt off "all care of the Subjects Good, and his Majeſty had ſolely taken it up; "and as if it could be imagined, that They ſhould, by their Votes, over-"throw the Rights of Deſcents, Purchaſes, or of any Conveyance or "Aſſurance, in whoſe judgment the whole Kingdom hath placed all "their particular intereſts, if any of them ſhould be called in queſtion, "in any of thoſe caſes; and that (as not knowing where to place them, "with greater ſecurity) without any Appeal from Them to any other "Perſon, or Court whatſoever.

"But indeed they were very much to ſeek, how the Caſe of *Hull* "could concern Deſcents and Purchaſes, or Conveyances and Aſſurances; "unleſs it were in procuring more ſecurity to Men in their Private in-"tereſts, by the preſervation of the Whole from confuſion, and de-"ſtruction; and much leſs did they underſtand, how the Soveraign Power "was reſiſted, and deſpiſed therein. Certainly no command from his "Majeſty,

"Majeſty, and his high Court of Parliament (where the Soveraign Power
"reſides) was diſobeyed by Sr *John Hotham*; nor yet was his Majeſty's
"Authority derived out of any other Court, nor by any legal Commiſ-
"ſion, or by any other way, wherein the Law had appointed his Ma-
"jeſty's commands to be derived to his Subjects; and of what validity
"his Verbal Commands are, without any ſuch Stamp of his Authority
"upon them, and againſt the Order of both Houſes of Parliament, and
"whether the not ſubmitting thereunto, be a reſiſting and deſpiſing of
"the Soveraign Authority, they would leave to all Men to judge, that
"do at all underſtand the Government of this Kingdom.

"THEY acknowledged that his Majeſty had made many expreſſions
"of his Zeal, and Intentions againſt the deſperate deſigns of the Papiſts;
"but yet it was alſo as true, that the Counſels, which had prevailed of
"late with him, had been little ſuitable to thoſe Expreſſions, and In-
"tentions. For what did more advance the open, and bloody deſign
"of the Papiſts in *Ireland* (whereon the ſecret Plots of the Papiſts here
"did, in all likelyhood, depend) than his Majeſty's abſenting himſelf, in
"that manner that he did, from his Parliament; and ſetting forth ſuch
"ſharp Invectives againſt them, notwithſtanding all the humble Peti-
"tions, and other means, which his Parliament had addreſſed unto him,
"for his return, and for his ſatisfaction concerning their proceedings?
"And what was more likely to give a riſe to the deſigns of the Papiſts
"(whereof there were ſo many in the North, near to the Town of *Hull*)
"and of other malignant, and ill affected Perſons (which were ready to
"joyn with them) or to the attempts of Forreigners from abroad, than
"the continuing of that great Magazine at *Hull*, at this time, and con-
"trary to the deſire and advice of both Houſes of Parliament? So that
"they had too much cauſe to believe, that the Papiſts had ſtill ſome way
"and means, whereby they had influence upon his Majeſty's Counſels
"for their own advantage.

"FOR the Malignant Party, they ſaid, his Majeſty needed not a de-
"finition of the Law, nor yet a more full Character of them from both
"Houſes of Parliament, for to find them out, if he would pleaſe only to
"apply the Character, that Himſelf had made of them, to thoſe, unto
"whom it doth properly and truly belong. Who are ſo much diſaf-
"fected to the Peace of the Kingdom, as they that endeavour to diſaffect
"his Majeſty from the Houſes of Parliament, and perſwade him to be
"at ſuch a diſtance from them, both in place and affection? Who are
"more diſaffected to the Government of the Kingdom, than ſuch as lead
"his Majeſty away from hearkning to his Parliament; which, by the con-
"ſtitution of the Kingdom, is his greateſt and beſt Council; and perſwade
"him to follow the malicious Counſels of ſome private Men, in oppoſing
"and contradicting the wholeſome advices, and juſt proceedings of that
"his moſt faithful Council, and higheſt Court? Who are they, that not
"only neglect and deſpiſe, but labour to undermine the Law under co-
"lour of maintaining it, but they that endeavour to deſtroy the Foun-
"tain, and Conſervatory of the Law, which is the Parliament? And
"Who are they that ſet up other Rules for themſelves to walk by, than
"ſuch as were according to Law, but they that will make other Judges
"of the Law than the Law hath appointed; and ſo diſpence with their
"obedience to that, which the Law calleth Authority, and to Their de-
"terminations and reſolutions, to whom the judgment doth appertain
"by Law? For, when private Perſons ſhall make the Law to be their

"Rule

"Rule according to their own underſtanding, contrary to the judgment "of thoſe, that are the competent judges thereof, they ſet up unto them- "ſelves other Rules than the Law doth acknowledge. Who thoſe Per- "ſons were, none knew better than his Majeſty himſelf: And if he would "pleaſe to take all poſſible caution of them, as deſtructive to the Com- "mon-wealth and Himſelf, and would remove them from about him, "it would be the moſt effectual means to compoſe all the diſtractions, "and to cure the diſtempers of the Kingdom.

"FOR the Lord *Digby*'s Letter, they ſaid, they did not make mention "of it as a ground to hinder his Majeſty from viſiting his own Fort; but "they appeal'd to the judgment of any indifferent Man, that ſhould read "that Letter, and compare it with the poſture that his Majeſty then did, "and ſtill doth, ſtand in towards the Parliament, and with the circum- "ſtances of that late Action of his Majeſty's going to *Hull*, whether the "adviſers of that Journey intended only a Viſit of that Fort, and Ma- "gazine?

"AS to the ways and overtures of Accommodation, and the Meſſage "of the twentieth of *January* laſt, ſo often preſſed, but ſtill in vain, as "was alledged: Their Anſwer was, That altho' ſo often as that Meſſage "of the twentieth of *January* had been preſſed, ſo often had their Privi- "ledges been clearly infringed, that a way and method of proceedings "ſhould be preſcribed to them, as well for the ſettling of his Majeſty's "Revenue, as for the preſenting of their own Deſires (a thing which in "former Parliaments had allways been excepted againſt, as a breach of "Priviledge) yet, in reſpect to the matter contain'd in that Meſſage, and "out of their earneſt deſire to beget a good underſtanding between his "Majeſty and them, they ſwallowed down all matters of Circumſtance; "and had e're that time preſented the chief of their deſires to his Ma- "jeſty, had they not been interrupted with continual Denials even of "thoſe things that were neceſſary for their preſent ſecurity, and ſub- "ſiſtence; and had not thoſe Denials been follow'd with perpetual In- "vectives againſt Them, and their Proceedings; and had not thoſe In- "vectives been heaped upon them ſo thick one after another (who were "in a manner allready taken up wholely with the preſſing Affairs of this "Kingdom, and of the Kingdom of *Ireland*) that as they had little en- "couragement from thence, to hope for any good Anſwers to their De- "ſires, ſo they had not ſo much time left them to perfect them in ſuch "a manner, as to offer them to his Majeſty.

"THEY confeſſed it to be a reſolution moſt worthy of a Prince, and "of his Majeſty, to ſhut his ears againſt any, that would incline him to "a Civil War; and to abhor the very apprehenſion of it. But they could "not believe that mind to have been in Them, that came with his Ma- "jeſty to the Houſe of Commons; or in Them that accompanied his "Majeſty to *Hampton*-Court, and appeared in a Warlike manner at "*Kingſton* upon *Thames*; or in divers of Them who follow'd his Ma- "jeſty lately to *Hull*; or in Them, who after drew their Swords in *York*, "demanding, *who would be for the King*? nor in Them that adviſed his "Majeſty to declare Sr *John Hotham* a Traytor, before the Meſſage was "ſent concerning that buſineſs to the Parliament, or to make propoſitions "to the Gentlemen of the County of *York* to aſſiſt his Majeſty to pro- "ceed againſt him in a way of Force, before he had, or poſſibly could re- "ceive an Anſwer from the Parliament, to whom he had ſent to demand "Juſtice of them againſt Sr *John Hotham* for that Fact: and if thoſe

"Malignant

"Malignant Spirits ſhould ever force them to defend their Religion, the "Kingdom, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Rights, and Liber- "ties of the Subjects, with their Swords; the Blood, and Deſtruction "that ſhould enſue thereupon, muſt be wholely caſt upon Their Account: "God, and their own Conſciences told them, that They were cl... "they doubted not, but God, and the whole World would c... "therein.

"FOR Captain *Leg*, they had not ſaid that he was accuſed; or that "there was any Charge againſt him, for the bringing up of the Army; "but that he was employed in that Buſineſs. And for that concerning "the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, mention'd by his Majeſty, which was ſaid to "have been asked long ſince, and that it was not eaſy to be Anſwer'd: "They conceived it was a Queſtion of more difficulty, and harder to be "Anſwer'd, why, when his Majeſty held it neceſſary, upon the ſame "grounds that firſt moved from the Houſes of Parliament, that a Gover- "nour ſhould be placed in that Town, Sr *John Hotham*, a Gentleman of "known Fortune and Integrity, and a Perſon of whom both Houſes of "Parliament had expreſſed their confidence, ſhould be refuſed by his "Majeſty; and the Earl of *New-Caſtle* (who, by the way, was ſo far "named in the buſineſs of bringing up the Army, that alth' there was "not ground enough for a Judicial Proceeding, yet there was ground "of Suſpicion; at leaſt his Reputation was not left ſo unblemiſhed there- "by, as that he ſhould be thought the fitteſt Man in *England* for that "Employment of *Hull*) ſhould be ſent down, in a private way, from his "Majeſty to take upon him that Government? And why he ſhould diſ- "guiſe himſelf under another name, when he came thither, as he did? "But whoſoever ſhould conſider, together with thoſe circumſtances, "that of the Time when Sr *John Hotham* was appointed, by both Houſes "of Parliament, to take upon him that Employment, which was pre- "ſently after his Majeſty's coming to the Houſe of Commons, and upon "the retiring himſelf to *Hampton*-Court, and the Lord *Digby*'s aſſembling "of Cavaliers at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, would find reaſon enough, why "that Town of *Hull* ſhould be committed rather to Sr *John Hotham*, "by the Authority of both Houſes of Parliament, than to the Earl of "*New-Caſtle*, ſent from his Majeſty in that manner that he was. And "for the Power, that Sr *John Hotham* had from the two Houſes of Par- "liament, the better it was known and underſtood, they were confident "the more it would be approved and juſtified; And as they did not con- "ceive, that his Majeſty's refuſal to have that Magazine removed, could "give any advantage againſt him to have it taken from him; and as no "ſuch thing was done, ſo they could not conceive, for what other Rea- "ſon any ſhould counſel his Majeſty, not to ſuffer it to be removed, "upon the deſire of both Houſes of Parliament; except it were, that "they had an intention to make uſe of it againſt Them.

"THEY ſaid, they did not except againſt thoſe that preſented a Pe- "tition to his Majeſty at *York*, for the continuance of the Magazine at "*Hull*, in reſpect of their Condition, or in reſpect of their Number; "becauſe they were Mean perſons, or becauſe they were Few; but be- "cauſe they being but a few, and there being ſo many more in the "County of as good quality as themſelves (who had, by their Petition "to his Majeſty, diſavow'd that Act of theirs) that they ſhould take upon "them the Style of all the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County; "and, under that Title, ſhould preſume to interpoſe their Advice con-

"trary to the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament: And, if it could be "made to appear, that any of thoſe Petitions, that are ſaid to have been "preſented to the Houſes of Parliament, and to have been of a ſtrange "nature, were of ſuch a nature as that, They were confident, that they "were never received with their Conſent, and Approbation.

"WHETHER there was an Intention to deprive Sr *John Hotham* of "his Life, if his Majeſty had been admitted into *Hull*; and whether "the Information were ſuch, as that he had ground to believe it, they "would not bring into queſtion; for That was not, nor ought to have "been, the ground for doing what he did: Neither was the Number of "his Majeſty's Attendants, for being more or fewer, much conſiderable "in this caſe; for altho' it were true, that if his Majeſty had entred "with twenty Horſe only, he might happily have found means for to "have forced the entrance of the reſt of his Train; who, being once in "the Town, would not have been long without Armes; yet That was "not the Ground, upon which Sr *John Hotham* was to proceed; but "upon the Admittance of the King into the Town at all, ſo as to deliver "up the Town and Magazine unto him, and to whomſoever he ſhould "give the Command thereof, without the Knowledge and Conſent of "both Houſes of Parliament, by whom he was entruſted to the con-"trary: and his Majeſty having declared, that to be his intention con-"cerning the Town, in a Meſſage that he ſent to the Parliament, not "long before he went to *Hull*; ſaying, that he did not doubt, but that "Town ſhould be deliver'd up to him, whenſoever he pleaſed, as ſup-"poſing it to be kept againſt him; and in like manner concerning his "Magazine, in his Meſſage of the 24.th of *April*, wherein it is expreſſed, "that his Majeſty went thither, with a purpoſe to take into his hands "the Magazine, and to diſpoſe of it in ſuch manner, as he ſhould think "fit: Upon thoſe terms, Sr *John Hotham* could not have admitted his "Majeſty, and have made good his Truſt to the Parliament, tho' his Ma-"jeſty would have enter'd alone, without any Attendants at all of his "own, or of the Prince or Duke, his Sons; which they did not wiſh to "be leſs, than they were, in their Number, but could heartily wiſh that "they were generally better in their Condition.

"IN the cloſe of that Meſſage, his Majeſty ſtated the Caſe of *Hull*; "and thereupon inferred, that the Act of Sr *John Hotham* was levying "War againſt the King; and, conſequently, that it was no leſs than High-"Treaſon, by the letter of the Statute of the 25 *Edw.* III. *ch.* 2. unleſs "the Senſe of that Statute were very far differing from the Letter "thereof.

"IN the ſtating of that Caſe, they ſaid, divers Particulars might be "obſerved, wherein it was not rightly ſtated: As,

1. "THAT his Majeſty's going to *Hull*, was only an endeavour to "Viſit a Town, and Fort of his: whereas it was indeed to Poſſeſs him-"ſelf of the Town, and Magazine there, and to diſpoſe of them, as he "himſelf ſhould think good, without, and contrary to the Advice, and "Orders of both Houſes of Parliament; as did clearly appear by his "Majeſty's own Declaration of his Intentions therein, by his Meſſages "to both Houſes, immediately before, and after that Journey. Nor could "they believe, that any Man, who ſhould conſider the circumſtances of "that Journey to *Hull*, could think, that his Majeſty would have gone "thither at that time, and in that poſture, that he was pleaſed to put "himſelf in towards the Parliament, if he had intended only a Viſit of "the Town and Magazine.

2. "IT

2. IT was ſaid to be his Majeſty's own Town, and his own Magazine, "which being underſtood in that ſenſe, as was before expreſſed, as if "his Majeſty had a private Intereſt of Propriety therein, they could not "admit it to be ſo.

3. "WHICH was the main Point of all, Sr *John Hotham* was ſaid to "have ſhut the Gates againſt his Majeſty, and to have made reſiſtance "with Armed Men, in defiance of his Majeſty; whereas it was indeed "in obedience to his Majeſty, and his Authority, and for His Service, "and the Service of the Kingdom; for which uſe only, all that Intereſt "is, that the King hath in the Town; and it is no further his to diſpoſe "of, than he uſeth it for that end: and Sr *John Hotham* being com-"manded to keep the Town and Magazine, for his Majeſty and the King-"dom, and not to deliver them up, but by his Majeſty's Authority ſigni-"fied by both Houſes of Parliament, all that was to be underſtood by "thoſe expreſſions, of his denying, and oppoſing his Majeſty's entrance, "and telling him in plain terms, that he ſhould not come in, was only "this, that he humbly defired his Majeſty to forbear his entrance, till "he might acquaint the Parliament; and that his Authority might come "ſignified to him by both Houſes of Parliament, according to the Truſt "repoſed in him. And certainly, if the Letter of the Statute of the "25 *Edw.* III. *ch.* 2. be thought to import this, That no War can be le-"vied againſt the King, but what is directed, and intended againſt his "Perſon, or that every levying of Forces for the defence of the King's "Authority, and of his Kingdom, againſt the Perſonal Commands of "the King oppoſed thereunto, tho' accompanied with his Preſence, is "levying War againſt the King, it is very far from the Senſe of that Sta-"tute; and ſo much the Statute it ſelf ſpeaks (beſides the Authority of "Book-Caſes; Precedents of divers Traytors condemn'd upon that inter-"pretation thereof) For if the Clauſe of levying of War had been meant "only againſt the King's Perſon, what need had there been thereof after "the other branch of Treaſon, in the ſame Statute, of compaſſing the "King's Death, which would neceſſarily have implied this? And becauſe "the former Clauſe doth imply this, it ſeems not at all to be intended in "this latter branch; but only the levying of War againſt the King, that "is, againſt his Laws and Authority: And the levying of War againſt "his Laws and Authority, tho' not againſt his Perſon, is levying War "againſt the King; but the levying of Force againſt his Perſonal Com-"mands, tho' accompanied with his Preſence, and not againſt his Laws "and Authority, but in the maintenance thereof, is no levying of War "againſt the King, but for him.

"HERE was then, they ſaid, their Caſe: In a time of ſo many ſuc-"ceſſive Plots, and Deſigns of Force againſt the Parliament, and the "Kingdom; in a time of probable Invaſion from abroad, and that to "begin at *Hull*, and to take the opportunity of ſeiſing upon ſo great a "Magazine there; in a time of ſo great diſtance and alienation of his "Majeſty's Affection from his Parliament (and in Them from his King-"dom, which they repreſent) by the wicked ſuggeſtions of a few Ma-"lignant Perſons, by whoſe miſchievous Counſels he was wholely led "away from his Parliament, and their faithful Advices and Counſels: "in ſuch a time, the Lords and Commons in Parliament command S^r "*John Hotham*, to draw in ſome of the Train'd-bands of the parts ad-"jacent to the Town of *Hull*, for the ſecuring that Town and Magazine "for the Service of his Majeſty, and of the Kingdom: of the ſafety

"whereof there is a higher Truſt repoſed in Them, than any where elſe;
"and They are the proper Judges of the danger thereof.

"THIS Town and Magazine being entruſted to Sr *John Hotham*, with
"expreſs Order not to deliver them up, but by the King's Authority
"ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament; his Majeſty, contrary to the
"Advice and Directions of both Houſes of Parliament, without the Au-
"thority of any Court, or any Legal way, wherein the Law appoints
"the King to ſpeak and command, accompanied with the ſame evil
"Counſel about him that he had before, by a Verbal command requires
"Sr *John Hotham* to admit him into the Town, that he might diſpoſe
"of It, and of the Magazine there, according to his own, or rather ac-
"cording to the pleaſure of thoſe evil Counſellors, who are ſtill in ſo
"much credit about him; in like manner as the Lord *Digby* had con-
"tinual recourſe unto, and countenance from, the Queen's Majeſty in
"*Holland*; by which means he had opportunity ſtill to communicate his
"Trayterous conceptions, and ſuggeſtions to both their Majeſties; ſuch
"as thoſe were concerning his Majeſty's retiring to a Place of Strength,
"and Declaring himſelf, and his own advancing his Majeſty's Service
"in ſuch a way beyond the Seas, and after that reſorting to his Ma-
"jeſty in ſuch a place of Strength; and divers other things of that nature,
"contained in his Letter to the Queen's Majeſty, and to Sr *Lewis Dives*;
"a Perſon, that had not the leaſt part in this late buſineſs of *Hull*, and
"was preſently diſpatched away into *Holland*, ſoon after his Majeſties
"return from *Hull*; for what Purpoſe, they left the world to judge.

"UPON the refuſal of Sr *John Hotham* to admit his Majeſty into *Hull*,
"preſently, without any due proceſs of Law, before his Majeſty had
"ſent up the narration of his Fact to the Parliament, he was proclaim'd
"Traytor; and yet it was ſaid, that therein was no violation of the Sub-
"jects Rights, nor any breach of the Law, nor of the Priviledge of Par-
"liament, tho' Sr *John Hotham* be a Member of the Houſe of Com-
"mons; and that his Majeſty muſt have better reaſon, than bare Votes,
"to believe the contrary; altho' the Votes of the Lords and Commons
"in Parliament, being the Great Council of the Kingdom, are the rea-
"ſon of the King, and of the Kingdom: yet theſe Votes, they ſaid, did
"not want clear, and apparent reaſon for them; for if the ſolemn pro-
"claiming him a Traytor ſignify any thing, it puts a Man, and all thoſe
"that any way aid, aſſiſt, or adhere unto him, in the ſame condition of
"Traytors; and draws upon him all the conſequences of Treaſon: And
"if that might be done by Law, without due proceſs of Law, the Sub-
"ject hath a very poor defence of the Law; and a very ſmall, if any pro-
"portion of Liberty thereby. And it is as little ſatisfaction to a Man,
"that ſhall be expoſed to ſuch Penalties, by that Declaration of him to
"be Traytor, to ſay, he ſhall have a Legal Tryal afterwards, as it is to
"condemn a Man firſt, and try him afterwards. And if there could be
"a neceſſity for any ſuch proclaiming a Man a Traytor without due
"proceſs of Law, yet there was none in this caſe; for his Majeſty might
"as well have expected the judgment of Parliament (which was the
"right way) as he had leiſure to ſend to them to demand juſtice againſt
"Sr *John Hotham*. And the breach of Priviledge of Parliament was as
"clear in this Caſe, as the ſubverſion of the Subjects Common right:
"For, tho' the Priviledges of Parliament, do not extend to thoſe Caſes,
"mention'd in the Declaration, of Treaſon, Felony, and Breach of Peace,
"ſo as to exempt the Members of Parliament from puniſhment, nor

"from

"from all manner of Proceſs and Tryal, as it doth in other Caſes; yet "it doth Priviledge them in the Way, and Method of their Tryal and "Puniſhment; and that the Parliament ſhould have the Cauſe firſt brought "before them, that they may judge of the Fact, and of the grounds of "the Accuſation, and how far forth the manner of their Tryal may con- "cern, or not concern the Priviledge of Parliament. Otherwiſe it would "be in the power, not only of his Majeſty, but of every Private man, "under pretenſions of Treaſons, or thoſe other Crimes, to take any Man "from his Service in Parliament; and ſo as many one after another as "he pleaſeth; and, conſequently, to make a Parliament what he will, "when he will; which would be a breach of ſo Eſſential a Priviledge of "Parliament, as that the very Being thereof depends upon it. And "therefore they no ways doubted but every One, that had taken the Pro- "teſtation, would, according to his Solemn Vow, and Oath, defend it "with his Life, and Fortune, Neither did the ſitting of a Parliament "ſuſpend all, or any Law, in maintaining that Law which upholds the "Priviledge of Parliament; which upholds the Parliament; which up- "holds the Kingdom. And they were ſo far from believing, that his "Majeſty was the only Perſon againſt whom Treaſon could Not be com- "mitted, that, in ſome ſenſe, they acknowledged he was the only Per- "ſon againſt whom it Could be committed; that is, as he is King: and "that Treaſon, which is againſt the Kingdom, is more againſt the King, "than that which is againſt his Perſon; becauſe he is King: For that "very Treaſon is not Treaſon, as it is againſt him as a Man, but as a "man that is a King; and as he hath relation to the Kingdom, and "ſtands as a Perſon entruſted with the Kingdom, and diſcharging that "Truſt.

"Now, they ſaid, the Caſe was truly ſtated, and all the world might "judge where the Fault was; altho' they muſt avow, that there could "be no competent Judge of this, or any the like Caſe, but a Parliament. "And they were as confident, that his Majeſty ſhould never have cauſe "to reſort to any other Court, or Courſe, for the vindication of his juſt "Priviledges, and for the recovery and maintenance of his known, and "undoubted Rights, if there ſhould be any Invaſion, or Violation there- "of, than to his high Court of Parliament: And, in caſe thoſe wicked "Counſellors about him, ſhould drive him into any other Courſe from, "and againſt his Parliament, whatever his Majeſty's expreſſions, and "intentions were, they ſhould appeal to all men's Conſciences; and de- "ſire, that they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and think with "themſelves, whether ſuch Perſons, as had of late, and ſtill did reſort "unto his Majeſty, and had his ear, and favour moſt, either had been, "or were more Zealous Aſſertors of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion (altho' "they believed they were more earneſt in the Proteſtant Profeſſion, than "in the Proteſtant Religion) or the Law of the Land, the Liberty of "the Subject, and the Priviledges of the Parliament, than the Members "of both Houſes of Parliament; who were inſinuated to be the De- "ſerters, if not the Deſtroyers of them: And whether if they could "maſter this Parliament by force, they would not hold up the ſame power "to deprive us of all Parliaments; which are the Ground, and Pillar of "the Subjects Liberty, and that which only maketh *England* a free Mo- "narchy.

"FOR the Order of Aſſiſtance to the Committee of both Houſes; as "they had no Directions or Inſtructions, but what had the Laws for

"their Limits, and the Safety of the Land for their Ends, ſo they doubted "not but all perſons mention'd in that Order, and all his Majeſty's good "Subjects, would yield obedience to his Majeſty's Authority, ſignified "therein by both Houſes of Parliament. And that all Men might the "better know their duty in matters of that nature, and upon how ſure "a ground They go, that follow the judgment of Parliament for their "Guide, they wiſhed them judiciouſly to conſider the true meaning, "and ground of that Statute made in the eleventh Year of King *H.* VII. "*ch.* I. which was printed at large in the end of his Majeſty's Meſſage of "the fourth of *May*: That Statute provides, that none who ſhall attend upon "upon the King and do him true Service, ſhould be attainted, or for- "feit any thing. What was the Scope of that Statute? To provide that "Men ſhould not ſuffer as Traytors, for ſerving the King in his Wars "according to the duty of their Allegiance? If this had been all, it had "been a very needleſs, and ridiculous Statute. Was it then intended "(as They ſeem'd to take the meaning of it to be, that cauſed it to be "printed after his Majeſty's Meſſage) that They ſhould be free from all "Crime and Penalty, that ſhould follow the King, and ſerve him in "War in any caſe whatſoever; whether it were for, or againſt the King- "dom, and the Laws thereof? That could not be; for that could not "ſtand with the duty of their Allegiance; which, in the beginning of "the Statute, was expreſſed to be to ſerve the King for the time being "in his Wars, for the defence of Him, and the Land; and therefore if "it be againſt the Land (as it cannot be underſtood to be otherwiſe, if "it be againſt the Parliament, the Repreſentative body of the Kingdom) "it is a declining from the duty of Allegiance; which this Statute ſup- "poſeth may be done, tho' Men ſhould follow the King's Perſon in the "War: Otherwiſe there had been no need of ſuch a Proviſo in the end "of the Statute, that none ſhould take the benefit thereby, that ſhould "decline from their Allegiance. That therefore which is the principal "Verb in this Statute is, The ſerving of the King for the time being; "which could not be meant of *Perkin Warbeck*, or any that ſhould call "himſelf King; but ſuch a One, as whatever his Title might prove, ei- "ther in Himſelf, or in his Anceſtors, ſhould be received, and acknow- "ledged for ſuch by the Kingdom; the Conſent whereof cannot be diſ- "cern'd but by Parliament; the Act whereof is the Act of the whole "Kingdom, by the Perſonal Suffrage of the Peers, and the delegate Con- "ſent of all the Commons of *England*.

"AND *Henry* the VII. a wiſe King, conſidering that what was the "caſe of *Rich.* III. his Predeceſſor, might, by chance of battle, be his own; "and that he might at once, by ſuch a Statute as this, ſatisfy ſuch, as had "ſerved his Predeceſſor in his Wars, and alſo ſecure thoſe, which ſhould "ſerve Him, who might otherwiſe fear to ſerve him in the Wars; leſt, "by chance of Battle, That might happen to him alſo (if a Duke of *York* "had ſet up a Title againſt him) which had happen'd to his Predeceſſor, "he procured this Statute to be made, That no Man ſhould be accounted "a Traytor for ſerving the King, in his Wars, for the time being, that "is, which was for the preſent allowed, and received by the Parliament "in behalf of the Kingdom: And, as it is truely ſuggeſted, in the pream- "ble of the Statute, it is not agreeable to Reaſon or Conſcience, that it "ſhould be otherwiſe; ſeeing Men ſhould be put upon an Impoſſibility "of knowing their Duty, if the judgment of the higheſt Court ſhould "not be a Rule, and Guide to them. And if the judgment thereof ſhould

"be

"be followed, where the Queſtion is, who is King? much more, what "is the beſt Service of the King, and Kingdom? And therefore thoſe, "who ſhould guide themſelves by the judgment of Parliament ought, "whatever happen, to be ſecure and free from all Account and Penal-"ties, upon the Grounds and Equity of this very Statute.

"THEY ſaid, they would conclude, that altho' thoſe wicked Coun-"ſellors about his Majeſty, had preſumed, under his Majeſty's Name, to "put that diſhonour, and affront upon both Houſes of Parliament; and "to make Them the countenancers of Treaſon, enough to have diſſolved "all the bands, and ſinews of confidence between his Majeſty, and his "Parliament (of whom the Maxim of the Law is, that a diſhonourable "thing ought not to be imagined of them) yet they doubted not, but it "ſhould, in the end, appear to all the world, that their endeavours had "been moſt hearty and ſincere, for the maintenance of the true Pro-"teſtant Religion; the King's juſt Prerogative; the Laws, and Liber-"ties of the Land; and the Priviledges of Parliament: in which endea-"vours, by the Grace of God, they would ſtill perſiſt, tho' they ſhould "periſh in the work; which if it ſhould be, it was much to be fear'd, "that Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Parliaments, would not be long "lived after them.

THIS Declaration wrought more upon the minds of Men, than all they had done? for the buſineſs at *Hull* was, by very many, thought to be done before projected; and the Argument of the Militia to be enter'd upon at firſt in paſſion, and afterwards purſued with that vehemence, inſenſibly, by being engaged; and that both extravagances had ſo much weighed down the King's Treſpaſſes, in coming to the Houſe and accuſing the Members, that a reaſonable agreement would have been the ſooner conſented to on all hands. But when, by this Declaration, they ſaw Foundations laid, upon which not only what had been allready done, would be well juſtified, but whatſoever they ſhould, hereafter, find convenient to ſecond what was allready done; and that not only the King, but the Regal Power was either ſuppreſſed, or depoſited in other hands; the irregularity, and monſtrouſneſs of which Principles found little oppoſition or reſiſtance, even for the Irregularity, and Monſtrouſneſs: Very many thought it as unſafe to be preſent at thoſe Conſultations, as to conſent to the Concluſions; and ſo great Numbers of the Members of both Houſes, abſenting themſelves; and many eſpecially of the Houſe of Peers, reſorted to his Majeſty at *York*. So that, in the Debates of the higheſt conſequence, there was not uſually preſent, in the Houſe of Commons, the fifth part of their juſt Numbers; and, very often, not above a Dozen or Thirteen, in the Houſe of Peers. In the mean time the King had a full Court, and received all Comers with great clemency, and grace; calling allways all the Peers to Counſel, and communicating with them all ſuch Declarations, as he thought fit to publiſh in Anſwer to thoſe of the Parliament; and all Meſſages, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to be done for the improvement of his condition: And, having now the Great Seal with him, iſſued ſuch Proclamations, as were ſeaſonable for the preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom. Firſt he publiſhed a Declaration in Anſwer to that of the nineteenth of *May*, in which his Majeſty ſaid,

"THAT if he could be weary of taking any pains for the ſatisfaction "of his People, and to undeceive them of thoſe ſpecious, miſchievous "infuſions, which were dayly inſtilled into them to ſhake, and corrupt "their

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Declaration of the 19 of May.

"their Loyalty, and Affection to his Majeſty and his Government, after
"ſo full, and ample Declaration of himſelf and Intentions, and ſo fair
"and ſatisfactory Anſwers to all ſuch matters as had been objected to
"him, by a Major part preſent of both Houſes of Parliament, He might
"well give over that labour of his Pen; and ſit ſtill, till it ſhould pleaſe
"God to enlighten the affections, and underſtandings of his good Sub-
"jects on his behalf (which he doubted not, but that, in His good Time
"he would do) that they might ſee His ſufferings were Their ſufferings:
"but ſince, inſtead of applying themſelves to the method, propoſed by
"his Majeſty, of making ſuch ſolid particular Propoſitions, as might
"eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between them, or of following the ad-
"vice of his Council of *Scotland* (with whom they communicated their
"affairs) in forbearing all means that might make the breach wider, and
"the wound deeper; they had choſen to purſue his Majeſty with new
"Reproaches, or rather to continue and improve the old, by adding, and
"varying little Circumſtances and Language, in matters formerly urged
"by them, and fully Anſwer'd by his Majeſty, He had prevailed with
"himſelf, upon very mature and particular conſideration of it, to An-
"ſwer the late printed Book entituled a Declaration, or Remonſtrance of
"the Lords and Commons, which was order'd, the nineteenth of *May*
"laſt, to be printed and publiſhed; hoping then, that they would put
"his Majeſty to no more of that trouble, but that That ſhould have been
"the laſt of ſuch a Nature, they would have communicated to his Peo-
"ple; and that they would not, as they had done ſince, have thought
"fit to aſſault him with a newer Declaration, indeed of a very New na-
"ture, and Learning; which ſhould have another Anſwer: and he
"doubted not, but that his good Subjects would, in ſhort time, be ſo well
"inſtructed in the differences, and miſtakings between them, that they
"would plainly diſcern, without reſigning their reaſon and underſtanding
"to His Prerogative, or the Infallibility of a now Major part of both
"Houſes of Parliament (infected by a few Malignant Spirits) where the
"Fault was.

"His Majeſty ſaid, tho' he ſhould, with all humility and alacrity, be
"allways forward to acknowledge the infinite Mercy, and Providence of
"Allmighty God, vouchſafed, ſo many ſeveral ways, to Himſelf and this
"Nation; yet ſince God himſelf doth not allow, that we ſhould fancy,
"and create dangers to our ſelves, that we might manifeſt, and publiſh
"his Mercy in our Deliverance; He muſt profeſs, that he did not know
"thoſe Deliverances, mention'd in the beginning of that Declaration,
"from ſo many wicked Plots and Deſigns, ſince the beginning of this
"Parliament; which, if they had taken effect, would have brought ruin
"and deſtruction upon this Kingdom. His Majeſty well knew the great
"labour and skill, which had been uſed to amuſe, and affright his good
"Subjects with fears, and apprehenſions of Plots and Conſpiracies; the
"ſeveral Pamphlets publiſhed, and Letters ſcatter'd up and down, full
"of ſuch ridiculous, contemptible animadverſions to that purpoſe, as
"(tho they found, for what end God knows, very unuſual countenance)
"no Sober man would be moved with them. But, he muſt confeſs, he
"had never been able to inform himſelf of any ſuch pernicious, form'd
"deſign againſt the Peace of the Kingdom, ſince the beginning of this
"Parliament, as was mention'd in that Declaration; or which might
"be any Warrant to thoſe great Fears, both Houſes of Parliament ſeem'd
"to be tranſported with; but he had great reaſon to believe, the more

"miſchief

"miſchief and danger had been raiſed and begotten, to the diſturbance "of the Kingdom, than cured and prevented, by thoſe Fears, and Jea- "louſies. And therefore, however the rumour, and diſcourſe of Plots "and Conſpiracies, might have been neceſſary to the deſigns of particu- "lar Men, they ſhould do well not to pay any falſe Devotions to All- "mighty God, who diſcerns whether our dangers are real, or pretended.

"FOR the bringing up of the Army to *London*, as his Majeſty had "heretofore, by no other direction than the teſtimony of a good Con- "ſcience, called God to Witneſs that he never had, or knew of any ſuch "Reſolution; ſo he ſaid, upon the view of the Depoſitions now publiſhed "with that Declaration, it was not evident to his Majeſty, that there "was ever ſuch a Deſign; unleſs every looſe Diſcourſe, or Argument, "be evidence enough of a Deſign: And it was apparent, that what had "been ſaid of it, was near three Months before the Diſcovery to both "Houſes of Parliament; ſo that if there were any danger threatn'd that "way, it vaniſhed without any reſiſtance or prevention by the Wiſdom, "Power, or Authority of Them.

"IT ſeem'd the intention of that Declaration, whatſoever other End "it had, was to Anſwer a Declaration, they had received from his Ma- "jeſty, in Anſwer to that which was preſented to his Majeſty at *New-* "*Market*, the ninth of *March* laſt; and likewiſe his Anſwer to the Pe- "tition of both Houſes, preſented to him at *York*, the 26th of *March*: "But, before it fell upon any Particular of his Majeſty's Declaration or "Anſwer, it complain'd that the Heads of the Malignant Party had, "with much Art and Induſtry, adviſed him to ſuffer divers unjuſt Scan- "dals, and Imputations upon the Parliament, to be publiſhed in His "Name, whereby they might make it odious to the People, and, by "their help, deſtroy it: but not inſtancing in any one Scandal, or Im- "putation, ſo publiſhed by his Majeſty, he was, he ſaid, ſtill to ſeek for "the Heads of that Malignant Party. But his good Subjects would "eaſily underſtand, that if he were guilty of that aſperſion, he muſt not "only be active in raiſing the Scandal, but paſſive in the miſchief be- "gotten by that Scandal, his Majeſty being an Eſſential part of the Par- "liament; and he hoped the juſt Defence of Himſelf and his Authority, "and the neceſſary Vindication of his Innocence and Juſtice, from the "imputations laid on him, by a Major part then preſent of either or "both Houſes, ſhould no more be called a Scandal upon the Parliament, "than the Opinion of ſuch a part be reputed an Act of Parliament: And "he hoped his good Subjects would not be long miſled, by that com- "mon expreſſion in all the Declarations, wherein they uſurp the word "Parliament, and apply it to countenance any Reſolution or Vote ſome "few had a mind to make, by calling it the Reſolution of Parliament; "which could never be without his Majeſty's Conſent; neither could "the Vote of either or both Houſes make a greater alteration in the Laws "of the Kingdom (ſo ſolemnly made by the advice of their Predeceſſors, "with the Concurrence of his Majeſty and his Anceſtors) either by "commanding, or inhibiting any thing (beſides the known rule of the "Law) than his ſingle Direction or Mandate could do, to which he did "not aſcribe that Authority.

"BUT that Declaration informed the People, that the Malignant "Party had drawn his Majeſty into the Northern Parts, far from his "Parliament. It might, his Majeſty ſaid, more truly and properly have "ſaid, that it had Driven, than Drawn him thither; for, he confeſſed,

"his Journey thither (for which he had no other reaſon to be ſorry,
"than with reference to the Cauſe of it) was only forced upon him, by
"the true Malignant Party, which contrived and countenanced thoſe
"barbarous Tumults, and other ſeditious Circumſtances, of which he
"had ſo often complain'd, and hereafter ſhould ſay more; and which
"indeed threaten'd ſo much danger to his Perſon, and laid ſo much Scan-
"dal upon the Priviledge, and Dignity of Parliament, that he wonder'd
"it could be mention'd without bluſhes, or indignation. But of that,
"anon. But why the Malignant Party ſhould be charged with the cauſing
"a Preſs to be tranſported to *York*, his Majeſty ſaid, he could not imagine;
"neither had any Papers or Writings iſſued from thence, to His know-
"ledge, but what had been extorted from him by ſuch Provocations,
"as had not been before offer'd to a King. And, no doubt, it would ap-
"pear a moſt trivial, and fond Exception, when all Preſſes were open
"to vent whatſoever they thought fit to ſay to the People (a thing un-
"warranted by former cuſtom) that his Majeſty ſhould not make uſe
"of all Lawful means, to publiſh his juſt, and neceſſary Anſwers there-
"unto. As for the Authority of the Great Seal (tho' he did not know
"that it had been neceſſary to things of that nature) the ſame ſhould
"be more frequently uſed hereafter, as occaſion ſhould require; to which
"he made no doubt, but the greater, and better part of his Privy Council
"would concur; and whoſe advice he was reſolved to follow, as far as
"it ſhould be agreable to the Good, and Welfare of the Kingdom.

"BEFORE that Declaration vouchſafed to inſiſt upon any Particulars,
"it was pleaſed to cenſure both his Majeſty's Declaration and Anſwer
"to be filled with harſh Cenſures, and cauſleſs Charges upon the Parlia-
"ment (ſtill miſapplying the word Parliamennt to the Vote of both
"Houſes) concerning which they reſolve to give ſatisfaction to the King-
"dom, ſince they found it very difficult to ſatisfy his Majeſty. If, as in
"the uſage of the word Parliament, they had left his Majeſty out of their
"thoughts; ſo by the word Kingdom, they intended to exclude all his
"People who were not within their Walls (for that was grown another
"Phraſe of the time, the Vote of the Major part of both Houſes, and
"ſometimes of one, was now called the Reſolution of the whole King-
"dom) his Majeſty believed, it might not be hard to give ſatisfaction
"to Themſelves; otherwiſe he was confident (and, he ſaid his confidence
"proceeded from the uprightneſs of his own Conſcience) they would
"never be able to to ſever the Affections of his Majeſty, and his King-
"dom, that what could not be ſatisfaction to the One, ſhould be to the
"Other: Neither would the Style of Humble, and Faithful, and telling
"his Majeſty, that they will make him a Great and Glorious King, in
"their Petitions and Remonſtrances, to deceive his good Subjects, that
"they would paſs over the Reproaches, Threats, and Menaces they were
"ſtuffed with, which ſurely could not be more gently reprehended by
"his Majeſty, than by ſaying, their Expreſſions were different from the
"uſual Language to Princes, which that Declaration told him, he had
"no occaſion to ſay. But he believed, whoſoever looked over that De-
"claration, preſented to him at *New-market*, to which his was an An-
"ſwer, would find the Language throughout it to be ſo Unuſual, that,
"before this Parliament, it could never be paralleld; whilſt, under pre-
"tence of juſtifying their Fears, they gave ſo much countenance to the
"diſcourſe of the Rebels of *Ireland*, as if they had a mind his good Sub-
"jects ſhould give credit to it. Otherwiſe, being warranted by the ſame
"evidence,

"evidence, which they have ſince publiſhed, they would have as well "declared, That thoſe Rebels publickly threaten the rooting out the "Name of the Engliſh, and that they will have a King of their own, and "no longer be govern'd by his Majeſty, as that they ſay, That they do "nothing, but by his Majeſty's Authority; and that they call them-"ſelves the Queen's Army. And therefore he had great reaſon to com-"plain of the abſence of Juſtice, and Integrity in that Declaration; be-"ſides the unfitneſs of other Expreſſions.

"NEITHER did his Majeſty miſtake the Subſtance, or Logick of their "Meſſage to him, at *Theobalds*, concerning the Militia; which was no "other, and was ſtated to be no other, even by that Declaration that re-"proved him, than a plain Threat, That if his Majeſty refuſed to joyn "with them, they would make a Law without him: Nor had the Practice "ſince that time been other; which would never be juſtified to the moſt "ordinary if not partial underſtandings, by the meer averring it to be "according to the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, without giving "any directions, that the moſt Cunning and Learned Men in the Laws, "might be able to find thoſe Foundations. And he would appeal unto "all the world, whether they might not, with as much Juſtice, and by "as much Law, have ſeiſed upon the Eſtate of every Member of both "Houſes, who diſſented from that pretended Ordinance (which much "the Major part of the Houſe of Peers did, two or three ſeveral times) "as they had invaded that Power of His over the Militia, becauſe he, "upon reaſons they had not ſo much as pretended to Anſwer, refuſed "to Conſent to that Propoſition.

"AND if no better Effects, than loſs of Time, and hinderance of the "publick Affairs, had been found by his Anſwers and Replies, all good "Men might judge by whoſe Default, and whoſe want of Duty, ſuch "Effects had been; for as his End, indeed his only End, in thoſe An-"ſwers and Replies, had been the ſettlement and compoſure of publick "Affairs; ſo, he was aſſured, and moſt Men did believe, that if that due "regard and reverence had been given to his Words, and that conſent "and obedience to his Counſels, which he expected, there had been, be-"fore that time, a chearful calm upon the face of the whole Kingdom; "every Man enjoying his own, with all poſſible peace and ſecurity that "can be imagined; which ſurely thoſe Men did not deſire, who (after "all thoſe Acts of Juſtice, and Favour paſſed by him, this Parliament; "all thoſe Sufferings, and Affronts, endured and undergon by him) "thought fit ſtill to reproach him with Ship-money, Coate and Conduct-"money, and other things ſo abundantly declared, as that Declaration "it ſelf confeſſed, in the general Remonſtrance of the State of the King-"dom, publiſhed in *November* laſt? which his Majeſty wonder'd to find "now avow'd to be the Remonſtrance of both Houſes; and which, he "was ſure, was preſented to him only by the Houſe of Commons; and "did never, and, he was confident, in that time could never have paſſed "the Houſe of Peers; the Concurrence, and Authority of which, was "not then thought neceſſary. Should his Majeſty believe thoſe Re-"proaches to be the Voice of the Kingdom of *England*, That all his "loving Subjects eaſed, refreſhed, ſtrengthen'd, and abundahtly ſatisfied "with his Acts of Grace and Favour towards them, were willing to be "involved in thoſe unthankful Expreſſions? He would appeal to the "Thanks, and Acknowledgments publiſhed in the Petitions of moſt of "the Counties of *England*; to the Teſtimony, and Thanks, he had

"received from both Houses of Parliament; how seasonable, how agree-
"able that usage was to his Majesty's Merit, or their former Expres-
"sions.

"His Majesty said, he had not at all swerved, or departed from his "Resolutions, or Words, in the beginning of this Parliament. He had "said, he was resolved to put himself freely, and clearly upon the Love "and Affection of his English Subjects; and he said so still, as far as con-"cerns *England*. And he called Almighty God to Witness, all his Com-"plaints and Jealousies, which had never been causeless, nor of his Houses "of Parliament (but of some few Schismatical, Factious, and Ambi-"tious Spirits; and upon grounds, as he feared, a short time would justify "to the world) his Denial of the Militia, his absenting himself from "*London*, had been the effects of an upright, and faithful Affection to "his English Subjects; that he might be able, through all the inconve-"niences he might be compelled to wrestle with, at last to preserve, and "restore their Religion, Laws, and Liberties unto them.

"Since the Proceeding against the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five "Members, was still looked upon, and so often pressed, as so great an "advantage against his Majesty, that no Retractation made by him, nor "no Action, since that time committed against Him, and the Law of "the Land, under the pretence of Vindication of Priviledge, could sa-"tisfy the Contrivers of that Declaration, but that they would have his "good Subjects believe, The Accusation of those six Members must be "a Plot for the breaking the Neck of the Parliament (a strange Arro-"gance if any of those Members had the Penning of that Declaration) "and that it was so often urged against him, as if by that single, casual "Mistake of his, in Form only, he had forfeited all Duty, Credit, and "Allegiance from his People, he said, he would, without endeavouring "to excuse that, which in truth was an Errour (his going to the House "of Commons) give his People, a full, and clear narration of the matter "of Fact; assuring himself, that his good Subjects would not find his "carriage, in that business, such as had been reported.

"His Majesty said, that when he resolved, upon such grounds, as, "when they should be published, would satisfy the world, that it was "fit for his own Safety, and Honour, and the Peace of the Kingdom, "to proceed against those Persons; tho' he well knew, there was no de-"gree of Priviledge in that Case, yet, to shew his desire of Correspon-"dence with the two Houses of Parliament, he chose rather than to ap-"prehend their Persons by the ordinary Ministers of Justice (which, ac-"cording to the opinion, and practice of former times, he might have "done) to command his Attorney General, to acquaint his House of "Peers with his intention, and the general matters of his charge (which "was yet more particular, than a meer accusation) and to proceed ac-"cordingly; and at the same time sent a sworn Servant, a Serjeant at "Armes, to the House of Commons, to acquaint them, that his Majesty "did accuse, and intended to prosecute the five Members of that House "for High-Treason; and did require, that their Persons might be se-"cured in Custody. This he did, not only to shew that he intended not "to violate, or invade their Priviledges, but to use more Ceremony to-"wards them, than he then conceived in justice might be required of "him; and expected at least such an Answer, as might inform him, if "he were out of the way; but he received none at all, only, in the In-"stant, without offering any thing of their Priviledges to his consideration,

"an

"an Order was made, and the same night published in Print, That if
"any Person whatsoever, should offer to arrest the Person of any Mem-
"ber of that House, without first acquainting that House therewith, and
"receiving further Order from that House, that it should be Lawful for
"such Member, or any Person, to resist them, and to stand upon his,
"or their Guard of Defence; and to make Resistance, according to the
"protestation taken to Defend the Privileges of Parliament. And this
"was the first time that he heard the Protestation might be wrested to
"such a sense, or that in any Case, tho' of the most undoubted and un-
"questionable Privilege, it might be Lawful for any Person to resist,
"and use violence against a publick Minister of Justice, armed with Law-
"ful Authority; tho' his Majesty well knew, that even such a Minister
"might be punished for executing such Authority.

"Upon Viewing that Order, his Majesty confessed, he was some-
"what amazed, having never seen, or heard of the like: tho' he had
"known Members of either House committed, without so much For-
"mality as he had used, and upon Crimes of a far inferiour nature to
"those he had suggested; and having no course proposed him for his
"Proceeding, he was, upon the matter, only told, that against those
"Persons he was not to proceed at all; that they were above His reach,
"or the reach of the Law. It was not easy for him to resolve what to
"do: If he imployed his Ministers of Justice in the usual way for their
"apprehension, who without doubt would not have refused to have
"executed his Lawful Commands, he saw what opposition, and resistance,
"was like to be made; which, very probably, might have cost some Blood:
"If he sate still, and desisted upon that Terrour, he should, at the best,
"have confessed his own want of Power, and the weakness of the Law.
"In that streight, he put on a sudden Resolution, to try whether his
"own Presence, and a clear discovery of his Intention, which happily
"might not have been so well understood, could remove those Doubts,
"and prevent those Inconveniences, which seem'd to have been threaten'd;
"and thereupon, he resolved to go, in his own Person, to the House of
"Commons; which he discovered not, till the very minute of his going;
"when he sent out Orders, that his Servants, and such Gentlemen as
"were then in his Court, should attend him to *Westminster*; but giving
"them express Command, as he had expressed in his Answer to the Ordi-
"nance, that no Accidents, or Provocation, should draw them to any
"such Action, as might imply a purpose of Force in his Majesty: And
"Himself, requiring those of his Train not to come within the Door,
"went into the House of Commons; the bare doing of which, he did
"not then conceive, would have been thought more a breach of Privi-
"ledge, than if he had gone to the House of Peers, and sent for them to
"come to him; which was the usual custom.

"He used the best Expressions he could, to assure them how far he
"was from any intention of violating their Priviledges; that he intended
"to proceed legally, and speedily against the Persons he had accused;
"and desired therefore, if they were in the House, that they might be
"delivered to him; or if absent, that such course might be taken for
"their forthcoming, as might satisfy his just Demands; and so he de-
"parted, having no other purpose of Force, if they had been in the House,
"than he had before protested before God in his Answer to the Ordi-
"nance. They had an account now, of His part of that story fully; his
"People might judge so of it. What followed on Their part, (tho'

"that Declaration ſaid, it could not withdraw any part of their reverence "and obedience from his Majeſty; it might be any part of Theirs it did "not) he ſhould have too much cauſe hereafter to inform the World.

"HIS Majeſty ſaid, there would be no end of this diſcourſe, and of up- "braiding him with evil Counſellors, if, upon his conſtant denial of know- "ing any, they would not vouchſafe to inform him of them; and after "eight Months amuſing the Kingdom with the expectation of the diſ- "covery of a Malignant Party, and of evil Counſellors, they would not "at laſt name any, nor deſcribe them. Let the Actions or Lives of Men "be examined, Who had contrived, counſelled, actually conſented to "grieve, and burthen his People; and if ſuch were now about his Ma- "jeſty, or any againſt whom any notorious, malicious crime could be "proved, if He ſhelter'd and protected any ſuch, let his Injuſtice be "publiſhed to the world: but till that were done Particularly and Ma- "nifeſtly (for he ſhould never conclude any Man upon a bare, general "Vote of the Major part of either, or both Houſes, till it were evident, "that that Major part was without Paſſion or Affection) he muſt look "upon the charge that Declaration put upon him, of cheriſhing and coun- "tenancing a diſcontented party of the Kingdom againſt them, as a hea- "vier and unjuſter Tax upon his Juſtice and Honour, than any He had, "or could lay, upon the framers of that Declaration. And now, to "countenance thoſe unhandſome Expreſſions, whereby they uſually had "implied his Majeſty's connivance at, or want of Zeal againſt, the Re- "bellion of *Ireland* (ſo odious to all good Men) they had found a new "way of exprobration: That the Proclamation againſt thoſe bloody "Traytors came not out, till the beginning of *January*, tho' that Rebel- "lion broke out in *October*; and then, by ſpecial command from his "Majeſty, but forty copies were appointed to be printed. His Majeſty "ſaid it was well known where he was at that time, when that Rebel- "lion broke forth; in *Scotland*: That He immediately, from thence, "recommended the care of that Buſineſs to both Houſes of Parliament "here, after he had provided for all fitting Supplies from his Kingdom of "*Scotland*: That after his return hither, he obſerved all thoſe Forms "for that Service, which he was adviſed to by his Council of *Ireland*, or "both Houſes of Parliament here; and if no Proclamation iſſued out "ſooner (of which, for the preſent, he was not certain; but thought "that others, by his directions, were iſſued before that time) it was, be- "cauſe the Lords Juſtices of the Kingdom deſired them no ſooner; and "when they did, the Number they deſired was but Twenty; which they "adviſed might be ſigned by his Majeſty; which he, for expedition of "the Service, commanded to be printed; a Circumſtance not required "by them: thereupon he ſigned more of them, than his Juſtices deſired; "all which was very well known to ſome Members of one, or both "Houſes of Parliament: who had the more to Anſwer, if they forbore "to expreſs it at the paſſing of that Declaration; and if they did expreſs "it, he had the greater reaſon to complain, that ſo envious an Aſperſion "ſhould be caſt on his Majeſty to his People, when they knew well how "to Anſwer their own Objection.

"WHAT that Complaint was againſt the Parliament, put forth in "His Name, which was ſuch an Evidence and Countenance to the Re- "bels, and ſpoke the ſame Language of the Parliament which the Rebels "did; he ſaid he could not underſtand. All his Anſwers and Declara- "tions had been, and were, own'd by himſelf; and had been atteſted

"under

"under his own Hand; if any other had been published in his Name,
"and without his Authority, it would be easy for both Houses of Par-
"liament to discover and apprehend the Authors: And he wished, that
"whosoever was trusted with the Drawing, and Penning that Declara-
"tion, had no more Authority or Cunning to impose upon, or deceive
"a Major part of those Votes, by which it passed, than any Man had to
"prevail with his Majesty to publish in his Name any thing, but the
"sense, and resolution of his own Heart; or that the contriver of that
"Declaration could, with as good a conscience, call God to Witness, that
"all his Counsels and Endeavours had been free from all private Aimes,
"personal Respects or Passions whatsoever, as his Majesty had done, and
"did, That he never had, or knew of any such Resolution of bringing up
"the Army to *London*.

"And since that new Device was found out, instead of Answering
"his reasons, or satisfying his just demands, to blast his Declarations and
"Answers, as if they were not his own; a bold, senseless Imputation:
"He said he was sure, that every Answer, and Declaration, published
"by his Majesty, was much more his own, than any one of those bold,
"threatning, and reproachful Petitions, and Remonstrances, were the
"Acts of either, or both Houses. And if the Penner of that Declara-
"tion had been careful of the Trust reposed in him, he would never have
"denied (and thereupon found fault with his Majesty's just indignation)
"in the Text or Margent, that his Majesty had never been charged with
"the intention of any Force; and that in their whole Declaration, there
"was no one word tending to any such reproach; the contrary whereof
"was so evident, that his Majesty was, in express terms, charged in that
"Declaration, that he had sent them gracious Messages, when, with His
"privity, bringing up the Army was in agitation; and, even in that De-
"claration, they sought to make the People believe some such thing to
"be proved, in the depositions therewith published; wherein, his Ma-
"jesty doubted not, they would as much fail, as they did in their censure
"of that Petition, shewed formerly to his Majesty by Captain *Leg*, and
"subscribed by him C. R. which, notwithstanding his Majesty's full, and
"particular narration of the substance of that Petition, the circumstances
"of his seeing and approving it, that Declaration was pleased to say, was
"full of Scandal to the Parliament, and might have proved dangerous
"to the whole Kingdom. If they had that dangerous Petition in their
"hands, his Majesty said, he had no reason to believe any tenderness to-
"wards Him had kept them from communicating it; if they had it not,
"his Majesty ought to have been believed: But that all good People
"might compute their other pretended dangers by their clear under-
"standing of that, the noise whereof had not been inferiour to any of
"the rest, his Majesty said, he had received a true Copy of the very
"Petition he had signed with C. R. which should, in fit time, be published;
"and which, he hoped, would open the eyes of his good People.

"Concerning his Warrant for Mr. *Jermyn*'s Passage, his Answer
"was true, and full; but for his black Satin Suit, and white Boots, he
"could give no Account.

"His Majesty had complained in His Declaration, and, as often as he
"should have occasion to mention his return, and residence near *London*,
"he should complain, of the barbarous and seditious Tumults at *White-*
"*Hall*, and *Westminster*; which indeed had been so full of Scandal to
"his Government, and danger to his Person, that he should never think

"of

"of his return thither, till he had Juſtice for what was paſt, and Secu-
"rity for the time to come: And if there were ſo great a neceſſity, or
"deſire of his return, as was pretended, in all this time, upon ſo often
"preſſing his deſires, and upon cauſes ſo notorious, he ſhould at leaſt
"have procured ſome Order for the future. But that Declaration told
"his Majeſty he was, upon the matter, miſtaken; the reſort of the Ci-
"tizens to *Weſtminſter* was as lawful, as the reſort of great Numbers
"every day in the Term to the Ordinary Courts of Juſtice; They knew
"no Tumults. Strange! was the diſorderly appearance of ſo many
"thouſand People, with Staves and Swords, crying through the Streets,
"*Weſtminſter*-Hall, the Paſſage between both Houſes (inſomuch as the
"Members could hardly paſs to and fro) *No Biſhops, down with the*
"*Biſhops*, No Tumults? What Member was there of either Houſe, that
"ſaw not thoſe Numbers, and heard not thoſe Cries? And yet lawful
"Aſſemblies! Were not ſeveral Members of either Houſe, aſſaulted,
"threatn'd, and evilly entreated? And yet no Tumults! Why made
"the Houſe of Peers a Declaration, and ſent it down to the Houſe of
"Commons for the ſuppreſſing of Tumults, if there were no Tumults?
"And if there were any, why was not ſuch a Declaration conſented to,
"and publiſhed? When the Attempts were ſo viſible, and threats ſo
"loud to pull down the Abby at *Weſtminſter*, had not his Majeſty juſt
"cauſe to apprehend, that ſuch People might continue their work to
"*White-Hall*? Yet no Tumults! What a ſtrange time are We in, that
"a few impudent, malicious (to give them no worſe term) Men ſhould
"caſt ſuch a Miſt of errour before the eyes of both Houſes of Parlia-
"ment, as that they either could not, or would not, ſee how manifeſtly
"they injured themſelves, by maintaining thoſe viſible untruths. His
"Majeſty ſaid, he would ſay no more: by the help of God and the Law,
"he would have Juſtice for thoſe Tumults.

"FROM excepting, how weightily every Man might judge, to what
"his Majeſty had ſaid, that Declaration proceeded to cenſure him for
"what he had Not ſaid; for the prudent Omiſſions in his Anſwers: His
"Majeſty had forborne to ſay any thing of the words ſpoken at *Kenſing-*
"*ton*; or the Articles againſt his deareſt Conſort, and the Accuſation of
"the ſix Members: Of the laſt, his Majeſty ſaid, he had ſpoken often;
"and, he thought, enough of the other two; but having never accuſed
"any (tho' God knew what truth there might be in either) he had no
"reaſon to give any particular Anſwer.

"HE ſaid, de did not reckon himſelf bereaved of any part of his Pre-
"rogative; which he was pleaſed freely, for a time, to part with by Bill;
"yet he muſt ſay, he expreſſed a great Truſt in his two Houſes of Par-
"liament; when he deveſted himſelf of the power of diſſolving this Par-
"liament; which was a juſt, neceſſary, and proper Prerogative. But he
"was glad to hear their reſolution, that it ſhould not encourage them to
"do any thing, which otherwiſe had not been fit to have been done: If
"it did, it would be ſuch a breach of Truſt, as God would require an
"Account for at their hands.

"FOR the Militia, he had ſaid ſo much of it before, and the Point
"was ſo well underſtood by all Men, that he would waſte time no more
"in that Diſpute. He never had ſaid, there was no ſuch thing as an Or-
"dinance, tho' he knew that they had been long diſuſed, but that there
"was never any Ordinance or could be any, without the King's conſent;
"and that was true: And the unneceſſary Precedent, cited in that De-

"claration,

"claration, did not offer to prove the contrary. But enough of that;
"God and the Law muſt determine that buſineſs.

"NEITHER had that Declaration, given his Majeſty any ſatisfaction
"concerning the Votes of the fifteenth and ſixteenth of *March* laſt;
"which he muſt declare, and appeal to all the world in the Point, to
"be the greateſt violation of his Majeſty's Priviledge, the Law of the
"Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Right of Parliament, that
"could be imagined. One of thoſe Votes was, and there would need no
"other to deſtroy the King and People, That when the Lords and Com-
"mons (it is well the Commons are admitted to their part in Judicature)
"ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, the ſame muſt be aſſented
"to, and obeyed: that is the ſenſe in few words. Where is every Man's
"Property; every Man's Liberty? If the Major part of both Houſes de-
"clare, that the Law is, that the younger Brother ſhall inherit; what
"is become of all the Families, and Eſtates in the Kingdom; If they
"declare, that by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, ſuch a raſh Action,
"ſuch an unadviſed Word, ought to be puniſhed by perpetual Impriſon-
"ment, is not the Liberty of the Subject, *durante beneplacito*, remedi-
"leſs? That Declaration confeſſes, they pretend not to a power of
"making new Laws; that without his Majeſty, they could not do That:
"They needed no ſuch power, if their Declaration could ſuſpend this
"Statute from being obeyed, or executed. If they had power to declare
"the Lord *Digby*'s waiting upon his Majeſty, at *Hampton*-Court, and
"thence viſiting ſome Officers at *Kingſton*, with a Coach and ſix Horſes,
"to be levying of War, and High-Treaſon; and Sr *John Hotham*'s de-
"fying his Majeſty to his face, keeping his Majeſty's Town, Fort, and
"Goods againſt him, by force of Armes, to be an Act of Affection, and
"Loyalty; What needed a power of making new Laws? Or would
"there be ſuch a thing as Law left?

"HE deſired his good Subjects to mark the reaſon, and conſequence
"of thoſe Votes; the progreſs they had allready made, and how infinite
"the progreſs might be. Firſt, they Voted the Kingdom was in Immi-
"nent danger (it was now above three Months ſince they diſcerned it)
"from Enemies abroad, and from a Popiſh, and diſaffected party at
"home; that is matter of Fact; the Law follows: This Vote had given
"them Authority by Law, the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, to
"order and diſpoſe of the Militia of the Kingdom; and, with this Power,
"and to prevent that danger, to enter into his Majeſty's Towns, ſeiſe
"upon his Magazine, and, by Force, keep both from him. Was not
"that his Majeſty's Caſe? Firſt, they Vote he had an Intention to levy
"War againſt his Parliament; that is matter of Fact; Then they declare
"ſuch as ſhall aſſiſt him, to be guilty of High-Treaſon; that is the Law,
"and proved by two Statutes Themſelves knew to be repealed. No mat-
"ter for that, They declare it. Upon this ground they exerciſe the Mi-
"litia; and ſo actually do that upon his Majeſty, which they had Voted
"He intended to do upon Them. Who could not ſee the confuſion,
"that muſt follow upon ſuch Power of Declaring? If they ſhould now
"Vote that his Majeſty did not write this Declaration, but that ſuch a
"One did it, which was ſtill matter of Fact; and then Declare, that, for
"ſo doing, he was an Enemy to the Common-wealth; what was become
"of the Law that man was born to? And if all their Zeal for the de-
"fence of the Law, were but to defend that which They Declared to be
"Law; their own Votes; it would not be in their power to ſatisfy any

"Men of their good Intentions to the publick Peace, but ſuch who were "willing to relinquiſh their Title to *Magna Charta*, and hold their Lives, "and Fortunes, by a Vote of the Major part of both Houſes. In a word, "his Majeſty denied not, but they might have power to declare in a par- "ticular, doubtful Caſe, regularly brought before them, what Law is: "But to make a general Declaration, whereby the known rule of the "Law might be croſſed, or altered, they had no power; nor could exer- "ciſe any, without bringing the Life and Liberty of the Subject to a "Lawleſs, and Arbitrary Subjection.

"HIS Majeſty had complained (and the world might Judge of the "Juſtice, and Neceſſity of that complaint) of the multitude of ſeditious "Pamphlets, and Sermons; and that Declaration told him, they knew "he had ways enough in his ordinary Courts of Juſtice to puniſh thoſe; "ſo, his Majeſty ſaid, he had to puniſh Tumults and Riots; and yet "they would not ſerve his turn to keep his Towns, his Forreſts, and "Parks from violence. And it might be, tho' thoſe Courts had ſtill the "Power to puniſh, they might have loſt the skill to define, what Tu- "mults and Riots are; otherwiſe a Jury in *Southwark*, legally impan- "nelled to examine a Riot there, would not have been ſuperſeded, and "the Sheriff enjoyn'd not to proceed, by virtue of an Order of the Houſe "of Commons; which, it ſeem'd, at that time had the ſole power of De- "claring. But it was no wonder that they who could not ſee the Tu- "mults, did not conſider the Pamphlets and Sermons; tho' the Author "of *The Proteſtation Proteſted*, were well known to be *Burton* (that "infamous diſturber of the Peace of the Church and State) and that he "Preached it at *Weſtminſter*, in the hearing of divers Members of the "Houſe of Commons. But of ſuch Pamphlets and ſeditious Preachers "(divers whereof had been recommended, if not impoſed upon ſeveral "Pariſhes, by ſome Members of both Houſes, by what Authority his "Majeſty knew not) he would hereafter take a further Account.

"HIS Majeſty ſaid, he confeſſed he had little skill in the Laws; and "thoſe that had had moſt, he found now were much to ſeek: Yet he "could not underſtand or believe, that every ordinary Court, or any "Court, had power to raiſe what Guard they pleaſed, and under what "Command they pleaſed. Neither could he imagine, what dangerous "Effects they found by the Guard he appointed them; or indeed any "the leaſt occaſion, why they needed any Guard at all.

"BUT of all the Imputations, ſo cauſleſsly and unjuſtly laid upon his "Majeſty by that Declaration, he ſaid, he muſt wonder at that Charge "ſo apparently, and evidently Untrue; That ſuch were continually pre- "ferred and countenanced by him, who were friends or favourers or "related unto the chief Authors, and Actors of that Arbitrary Power "heretofore practiced, and complained of; And on the other ſide, that "ſuch as did appear againſt it, were daily diſcountenanced, and diſgraced. "He ſaid, he would know One Perſon that contributed to the ills of "thoſe times, or had dependence upon thoſe that did, whom he did, or "lately had countenanced, or preferred; nay he was confident (and he "looked for no other at their hands) as they had been allways moſt "Eminent Aſſerters of the publick Liberties; ſo if they found his Ma- "jeſty inclined to any thing not agreeable to Honour and Juſtice, they "would leave him to morrow. Whether different Perſons had not, and "did not receive countenance elſewhere, and upon what grounds, all "men might judge; and whether his Majeſty had not been forward

"enough

"enough to honour and prefer thoſe of the moſt contrary opinion, how "little comfort ſoever he had of thoſe Preferments, in beſtowing of "which, hereafter, he would be more guided by Men's Actions, than "Opinions. And therefore he had good cauſe to beſtow that admoni- "tion (for his Majeſty aſſured them, it was an admonition of his Own) "upon both his Houſes of Parliament, to take heed of inclining, under "the ſpecious ſhews of Neceſſity and Danger, to the exerciſe of ſuch an "Arbitrary Power, they before complain'd of: The Advice would do "no harm, and he ſhould be glad to ſee it followed.

"HIS Majeſty asked, if all the ſpecious Promiſes, and loud Profeſſions, "of making him a great and a glorious King; of ſettling a greater Re- "venue upon his Majeſty, than any of his Anceſtors had enjoyed; of "making him to be honour'd at home, and fear'd abroad; were reſolved "into this, That they would be ready to ſettle his Revenue in an Ho- "nourable proportion, when he ſhould put himſelf in ſuch a poſture of "Government, that his Subjects might be ſecure to enjoy his juſt Pro- "tection for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties? What poſture of Go- "vernment they intended, he knew not; nor could he imagine what ſe- "curity his good Subjects could deſire for their Religion, Laws, and Li- "berties, which he had not offer'd or fully given. And was it ſuitable "to the Duty, and Dignity of both Houſes of Parliament, to Anſwer his "particular, weighty Expreſſions of the cauſes of his remove from *Lon- "don*, ſo generally known to the Kingdom, with a Scoff; That they "hoped he was driven from thence, not by his own fears, but by the "fears of the Lord *Digby*, and his retinue of Cavaliers? Sure, his Ma- "jeſty ſaid, the Penner of that Declaration, inſerted that ungrave and "inſolent Expreſſion, as he had done divers others, without the conſent, "or examination of both Houſes; who would not ſo lightly have de- "parted from their former profeſſions of Duty to his Majeſty.

"WHETHER the way to a good underſtanding between his Majeſty, "and his People, had been as zealouſly preſſed by Them, as it had been "profeſſed, and deſired by Him, would be eaſily diſcerned by them, who "obſerved, that He had left no publick Act undone on His part, which, "in the leaſt degree, might be neceſſary to the peace, plenty, and ſecu- "rity of his Subjects: And that They had not diſpatched one Act, which "had given the leaſt evidence of their particular affection, and kindneſs "to his Majeſty; but, on the contrary, had diſcountenanced and hin- "der'd the Teſtimony other Men would give to him of their affections. "Witneſs the ſtopping, and keeping back the Bill of Subſidies, granted "by the Clergy allmoſt a year ſince; which, tho' his Perſonal wants were "ſo notoriouſly known, they would not, to that time, paſs; ſo not only "forbearing to ſupply his Majeſty themſelves, but keeping the love, and "bounty of other Men from him; and affording no other Anſwers to "all his deſires, all his reaſons (indeed not to be Anſwer'd) than that "he muſt not make his underſtanding, or reaſon, the Rule of his Go- "vernment; but ſuffer himſelf to be aſſiſted (which his Majeſty never "denied) by his Great Council. He ſaid, he required no other Liberty "to his Will, than the meaneſt of Them did (he wiſhed they would all- "ways uſe that Liberty) not to conſent to any thing evidently contrary "to his conſcience, and underſtanding: And he had, and ſhould allways "give as much eſtimation, and regard to the Advice, and Counſel of "both Houſes of Parliament, as ever Prince had done: But he ſhould "never, and he hoped his People would never, account the Contrivance

"of a few Factious, Seditious Persons, a Malignant Party, who would "sacrifice the Common-wealth to their own fury and ambition, the "Wisdom of Parliament; and that the justifying, and defending of such "Persons (of whom, and of their particular, sinister ways, to compass "their own bad ends, his Majesty would shortly inform the world) "was not the way to preserve Parliaments, but was the opposing, and "preferring a few unworthy Persons, before their Duty to their King, "or their Care of the Kingdom. They would have his Majesty remem- "ber, that His Resolutions did concern Kingdoms, and therefore not to "be molded by his own understanding: He said, he did well remember "it; but he would have Them remember, that when their Consulta- "tions endeavour'd to lessen the Office, and Dignity of a King, they "medled with that which is not within their determination, and of "which his Majesty must give an Account to God, and his other King- "doms, and must maintain with the Sacrifice of his Life.

"Lastly, that Declaration told the People of a present, desperate, "and malicious Plot the Malignant Party was then acting, under the "plausible notions of stirring Men up to a care of preserving the King's "Prerogative; maintaining the discipline of the Church; upholding and "continuing the reverence, and solemnity of God's Service; and en- "couraging Learning (indeed plausible, and Honourable notions to act "any thing upon) and that upon those grounds divers mutinous Peti- "tions had been framed in *London*, *Kent*, and other places: His Majesty "asked upon what grounds these Men would have Petitions framed? "Had so many Petitions, even against the form, and constitution of the "Kingdom and the Laws established, been joyfully received, and ac- "cepted? And should Petitions framed upon those grounds be called "Mutinous? Had a multitude of mean, unknown, inconsiderable, con- "temptible Persons, about the City, and Suburbs of *London*, had liberty "to Petition against the Government of the Church; against the Book of "Common Prayer; against the Freedom, and Priviledge of Parliament; "and been thanked for it; and should it be called Mutiny, in the greatest "and best Citizens of *London*, and the Gentry and Commonalty of *Kent*, "to frame Petitions upon those grounds; and to desire to be governed "by the known Laws of the Land, not by Orders and Votes of either, "or both Houses? Could this be thought the Wisdom, and Justice of both "Houses of Parliament? Was it not evidently the work of a Faction, "within or without both Houses, who deceived the Trust reposed in "them; and had now told his Majesty, what Mutiny was? To stir Men "up to a care of preserving his Prerogative, maintaining the discipline "of the Church, upholding and continuing the reverence, and solem- "nity of God's Service, encouraging of Learning, was Mutiny. Let "Heaven and Earth, God and Man, judge between his Majesty and these "Men: And however such Petitions were there called Mutinous; and "the Petitioners threatn'd, discountenanced, censured, and imprisoned; "if they brought such Petitions to his Majesty he would graciously re- "ceive them; and defend Them, and their Rights, against what Power "soever, with the uttermost hazard of his being.

"His Majesty said, he had been the longer, to his very great pain, "in this Answer, that he might give the world satisfaction, even in the "most trivial Particulars, which had been objected against him; and "that he might not be again reproached, with any more prudent Omis- "sions. If he had been compelled to sharper Language, than his Majesty

"affected, it might be conſider'd, how vile, how inſufferable his Provo-
"cations had been: And, except to repel force were to aſſault, and to
"give punctual and neceſſary Anſwers to rough, and inſolent Demands,
"were to make Invectives, he was confident the world would accuſe his
"Majeſty of too much mildneſs; and all his good Subjects would think,
"he was not well dealt with, and would judge of his Majeſty, and of
"their own happineſs, and ſecurity in him, by his Actions; which he
"deſired might no longer proſper, or have a Bleſſing from God upon
"them, and his Majeſty, than they ſhould be directed to the Glory of
"God in the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſſion; to the pre-
"ſervation of the Property and Liberty of the Subject, in the obſerva-
"tion of the Laws; and to the maintenance of the Rights and Freedom
"of Parliament, in the allowance and protection of all their juſt Pri-
"viledges.

THIS Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed, but his Majeſty likewiſe ſet forth an Anſwer to that other Declaration, of the 26th of *May*; in which he ſaid, "That whoſoever looked over the late Remonſtrance, *The King's Anſwer to the Declaration of May 26. 1642.*
"entituled *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons*, of the 26th of
"*May*, would not think that his Majeſty had great reaſon to be pleaſed
"with it; yet he could not but commend the plain dealing, and inge-
"nuity of the framers, and contrivers of that Declaration (which had
"been wrought in a hotter and quicker forge than any of the reſt) who
"would no longer ſuffer his Majeſty to be affronted by being told, they
"would make him a great and glorious King, whilſt they uſed all poſſi-
"ble skill, to reduce him to extreme want, and indigency; and that
"they would make him to be loved at home, and feared abroad, whilſt
"they endeavour'd, by all poſſible ways, to render him odious to his
"good Subjects, and contemptible to all Forreign Princes; but, like
"round dealing Men, told him, in plain Engliſh, That they had done
"him no wrong, becauſe he was not capable of receiving any; and that
"they had taken nothing from him, becauſe he had never any thing of
"his own to loſe. If that Doctrine were true, and that indeed he ought
"to be of no other conſideration, than they had informed his People in
"that Declaration, that Gentleman was much more excuſable, that ſaid
"publickly, unreproved, That the happineſs of the Kingdom did not
"depend on his Majeſty, or upon any of the Royal branches of that Root:
"And the other, who ſaid, his Majeſty was not worthy to be King of
"*England*: Language very monſtrous to be allow'd by either Houſe of
"Parliament; and of which, by the help of God, and the Law, he muſt
"have ſome examination. But he doubted not, all his good Subjects
"did now plainly diſcern, through the maſque and vizard of their hy-
"pocriſy, what their deſign was; and would no more look upon the fra-
"mers and contrivers of that Declaration, as upon both Houſes of Par-
"liament (whoſe Freedom, and juſt Priviledges he would allways main-
"tain; and in whoſe behalf, he was as much ſcandalized as for Himſelf)
"but as a Faction of Malignant, and Schiſmatical, and Ambitious Per-
"ſons; whoſe deſign was, and allways had been, to alter the whole frame
"of Government, both of Church and State; and to ſubject both King
"and People to their own Lawleſs, Arbitrary Power, and Government:
"of whoſe Perſons, and of whoſe deſigns, his Majeſty ſaid, he would,
"within a very ſhort time, give his good Subjects and the world a full,
"and, he hoped, a ſatisfactory Narration.

"THE Contrivers and Penners of that Declaration (of whom his

"Majeſty would be only underſtood too ſpeak, when he mention'd any "of their undutiful Acts againſt him) ſaid, that the great Affairs of the "Kingdom, and the miſerable bleeding condition of *Ireland*, would "afford them little leiſure to ſpend their time in Declarations, Anſwers, "and Replies. Indeed, his Majeſty ſaid, the miſerable, and deplorable "condition of both Kingdoms, would require ſomewhat elſe at their "hands: But he would gladly know how they had ſpent their time, ſince "the receſs (then allmoſt eight Months) but in Declarations, Remon- "ſtrances, and Invectives againſt his Majeſty, and his Government; or "in preparing matter for them. Had his Majeſty invited them to any "ſuch expence of time, by beginning Arguments of that Nature? Their "Leiſure, or their Inclination, was not as they pretended: And what "was their printing and publiſhing their Petitions to him; their Decla- "rations, and Remonſtrances of him; their odious Votes and Reſolu- "tions, ſometimes of one, ſometimes of both Houſes, againſt his Ma- "jeſty (never in that manner communicated before this Parliament) "but an Appeal to the People? And, in God's name, let them judge of "the Perſons they had truſted.

"THEIR firſt quarrel was (as it was allways, to let them into their "frank expreſſions of his Majeſty, and his Actions) againſt the Ma- "lignant Party; whom they were pleaſed ſtill to call, and never to prove "to be his evil Counſellors. But indeed nothing was more evident by "their whole proceedings, than that by the Malignant Party, they in- "tended all the Members of both Houſes, who agreed not with them "in their opinion (thence had come their diſtinction of good, and bad "Lords; of Perſons ill affected to the Houſe of Commons; who had "been proſcribed, and their Names liſted, and read in Tumults) and all "the Perſons of the Kingdom, who approve not of their Actions. So "that, if in truth they would be ingenuous, and name the Perſons they "intended; Who would be the Men, upon whom the imputation of "Malignity would be caſt, but They who had ſtood ſtoutly, and immu- "tably for the Religion, the Liberties, the Laws; for all publick In- "tereſt? (ſo long as there was any to be ſtood for) They, who had "allways been, and ſtill were, as zealous Profeſſors, and ſome of them "as able, and earneſt Defenders of the Proteſtant Doctrine againſt the "Church of *Rome*, as any were; Who had often, and earneſtly beſought "his Majeſty to conſent, that no indifferent, and unneceſſary Ceremony, "might be preſſed upon weak, and tender conſciences, and that he "would agree to a Bill for that purpoſe? They to whoſe Wiſdom, Cou- "rage, and Counſel, the Kingdom owed as much as it could to Subjects; "and upon whoſe unblemiſhed Lives, Envy it ſelf could lay no impu- "tation; nor endeavoured to lay any, untill their Virtues brought them "to his Majeſty's Knowledge, and Favour? His Majeſty ſaid, if the "Contrivers of that Declaration would be faithful to themſelves, and "conſider all thoſe Perſons of both Houſes, whom they, in their own "conſciences, knew to diſſent from them in the Matter, and Language "of that Declaration, and in all thoſe undutiful Actions of which he "complained, they would be found in Honour, Fortune, Wiſdom, Re- "putation, and Weight, if not in Number, much ſuperior to them. "So much for the evil Counſellors.

"THEN what was the evil Counſel it ſelf? His Majeſty's coming from "*London* (where He, and many, whoſe affections to him were very "eminent, were in danger every day to be torn in pieces) to *York*;

"where

"where his Majeſty, and all ſuch as would put themſelves under his "Protection, might live, he thanked God and the Loyalty and Affection "of that good People, very ſecurely: His not ſubmitting himſelf abſo- "lutely (and renouncing his own underſtanding) to the Votes, and Re- "ſolutions of the Contrivers of that Declaration, when they told his "Majeſty, that they were above him, and might, by his own Autho- "rity, do with his Majeſty what they pleaſed; and his not being con- "tented, that all his good Subjects Lives, and Fortunes, ſhould be diſ- "poſed of by their Votes; but by the known Law of the Land. This "was the evil Connſel given, and taken. And would not all Men be- "lieve, there needed much power and skill of the Malignant Party, to "infuſe that Counſel into him. And then, to apply the Argument the "Contrivers of that Declaration made for themſelves, was it probable, "or poſſible, that ſuch Men, whom his Majeſty had mention'd (who "muſt have ſo great a ſhare in the miſery) ſhould take ſuch pains in the "procuring thereof; and ſpend ſo much time, and run ſo many hazards, "to make themſelve Slaves, and to ruin the Freedom of this Nation?

"His Majeſty ſaid (with a clear, and upright Conſcience to God All- "mighty) whoſoever harboured the leaſt thought in his breaſt, of ruin- "ing or violating the publick Liberty, or Religion of the Kingdom, or "the juſt Freedom and Priviledge of Parliament, let him be Accurſed; "and he ſhould be no Counſellor of His, that would not ſay *Amen*. "For the Contrivers of that Declaration, he had not ſaid any thing, "which might imply any Inclination in them to be Slaves. That which "he had charged them with, was invading the publick Liberty; and "his preſumption might be very ſtrong and vehement, that, tho' they "had no mind to be Slaves, they were not unwilling to be Tyrants: "What is Tyranny, but to admit no rules to govern by, but their own "Wills? And they knew the miſery of *Athens* was at the higheſt, when "it ſuffer'd under the thirty Tyrants.

"His Majeſty ſaid, if that Declaration had told him (as indeed it "might, and as in juſtice it ought to have done) that the Precedents of "any of his Anceſtors did fall ſhort, and much below what had been "done by Him, this Parliament, in point of Grace, and Favour to his "People; he ſhould not otherwiſe have wonder'd at it, than at ſuch a "truth in ſuch a place. But when to juſtify their having done more, "than ever their Predeceſſors did, it told his good Subjects (as moſt in- "juriouſly and inſolently it did) that the higheſt, and moſt unwarrantable "Precedents of any of his Predeceſſors did fall ſhort, and much below "what had been done to them this Parliament by Him, he muſt confeſs "himſelf amazed, and not able to underſtand them; and he muſt tell "thoſe ungrateful Men (who durſt tell their King, that they might, "without want of Modeſty and Duty, Depoſe him) that the condition "of his Subjects, when, by whatſoever Accidents and Conjunctures of "time, it was at worſt under his power, unto which, by no default of "His, they ſhould be ever again reduced, was, by many degrees, more "pleaſant and happy, than that to which their furious pretence of Re- "formation had brought them. Neither was his Majeſty afraid of the "higheſt Precedents of other Parliaments, which thoſe men Boldly (his "good Subjects would call it worſe) told him they might, without want "of Modeſty or Duty, make their Patterns. If he had no other ſecu- "rity againſt thoſe Precedents, but Their modeſty and duty, he was in a "miſerable condition, as all Perſons would be who depended upon Them.

"That

"THAT Declaration would not allow his Inference, that by avow-
"ing the Act of Sr *John Hotham*, they did deſtroy the Title, and In-
"tereſt of all his Subjects to their Lands, and Goods; but confeſſed, if
"they were found Guilty of that Charge, it were indeed a very great
"Crime. And did they not, in that Declaration, admit themſelves
"guilty of that very Crime? Did they not ſay, Who doubts but that a
"Parliament may diſpoſe of any thing, wherein his Majeſty, or his Sub-
"jects had a right, in ſuch a way as that the Kingdom might not be in
"danger thereby? Did they not then call Themſelves this Parliament,
"and challenge that Power without his Conſent? Did they not extend
"that Power to all Caſes, where the neceſſity or Common Good of the
"Kingdom was concerned? And did they not arrogate to themſelves
"alone, the Judgment of that Danger, that Neceſſity, and that Com-
"mon Good of the Kingdom? What was, if That were not, to unſettle
"the ſecurity of all Men's Eſtates; and to expoſe them to an Arbitrary
"Power of their own? If a Faction ſhould at any time by cunning, or
"force, or abſence, or accident, prevail over a Major part of both
"Houſes; and pretend that there were evil Counſellors, a Malignant
"Party, about the King; by whom the Religion, and Liberty of the
"Kingdom, were both in danger (this they might do, they had done it
"then) they might take away, be it from the King, or People, what-
"ſoever they, in their judgments, ſhould think fit. This was Lawful,
"they had declared it ſo: Let the world judge, whether his Majeſty
"had charged them unjuſtly; and whether they were not guilty of the
"Crime, which themſelves confeſſed (being proved) was a great One;
"and how ſafely his Majeſty might commit the power, thoſe People
"deſired, into Their hands; who, in all probability, would be no ſooner
"poſſeſſed of it, than they would revive that Tragedy, which Mr *Hooker*
"related of the Anabaptiſts in *Germany*; who, talking of nothing but
"Faith, and of the true Fear of God, and that Riches and Honour were
"Vanity; at firſt, upon the great opinion of their Humility, Zeal, and
"Devotion, procured much reverence, and eſtimation with the People;
"after, finding how many Perſons they had enſnared with their Hypo-
"criſy, they begun to propoſe to themſelves to reform both the Eccle-
"ſiaſtical, and Civil Government of the State: Then, becauſe poſſibly
"they might meet with ſome oppoſition, they ſecretly enter'd into a
"League of Aſſociation; and ſhortly after, finding the power they had
"gotten with the credulous People, enriched themſelves with all kind
"of Spoile and Pillage; and juſtified themſelves upon our Saviours pro-
"miſe, *The meek ſhall inherit the Earth*; and declared Their Title
"was the ſame, which the righteous *Iſraelites* had to the Goods of the
"wicked *Egyptians*: His Majeſty ſaid, this ſtory was worth the reading
"at large, and needed no application.

"BUT his Majeſty might by no means ſay, that He had the ſame Title
"to his Town of *Hull*, and the Ammunition there, as any of his Sub-
"jects had to their Land, or Money: That was a Principle, that pulled
"up the Foundation of the Liberty, and Property of every Subject.
"Why? becauſe the King's Property in his Towns, and in his Goods
"bought with the publick Money, as they conceive his Magazine at
"*Hull* to be, was inconſiſtent with the Subjects property in their Lands,
"Goods, and Liberty. Did thoſe Men think, that as they aſſumed a
"power of declaring Law (and whatſoever contradicted that Declaration
"broke their Priviledges) ſo that they had a power of declaring Senſe,

"and

"and Reaſon, and impoſing Logick, and Syllogiſms on the Schools, as "well as Law upon the People? Did not all Mankind know that ſeveral "Men might have ſeveral Rights, and Intereſts in the ſelf ſame Houſe "and Land, and yet neither deſtroy the other? Was not the Intereſt of "the Lord *Paramount* conſiſtent with that of the Meſne Lord; and His "with that of the Tenant; and yet their Properties or Intereſts not "at all confounded? And why might not his Majeſty then have a full, "Lawful Intereſt, and Property in his Town of *Hull*, and yet his Sub-"jects have a Property in their Houſes too? But he could not ſell, or "give away at his Pleaſure this Town and Fort, as a private Man might "do his Lands or Goods. What then? Many men have no Authority "to let, or ſet their Leaſes, or ſell their Land, have they therefore no "Title to them, or Intereſt in them? May they be taken from them, "becauſe they cannot ſell them? He ſaid, the purpoſe of his Journey to "*Hull*, was neither to ſell, or give it away.

"BUT for the Magazine, the Munition there, that he bought with "his own Money, he might ſurely have ſold that, lent, or given it away. "No; he bought it with the publick Money; and the Proof is, They "conceive it ſo; and, upon that Conceit, had Voted, that it ſhould be "taken from him. Excellent Juſtice! ſuppoſe his Majeſty had kept that "Money by him, and not bought Armes with it, would they have taken "it from him upon that Conceit: Nay might they not, whereſoever "that Money was (for through how many hands ſoever it hath paſſed, "it is the publick Money ſtill, if ever it were) ſeiſe it, and take it from "the owners? But the Towns, Forts, Magazine, and Kingdom, is en-"truſted to his Majeſty; and he is a Perſon truſted. His Majeſty ſaid, "he was ſo; God, and the Law had truſted him; and he had taken an "Oath to diſcharge that Truſt, for the good and ſafety of the People. "What Oaths They had taken, he knew not, unleſs thoſe, which, in that "violence, they had manifeſtly, maliciouſly violated. Might any thing "be taken from a Man, becauſe he is truſted with it? Nay, may the "Perſon himſelf take away the thing he truſts, when he will, and in "what manner he will? The Law had been otherwiſe, and, he believed, "would be ſo held, notwithſtanding their Declarations.

"BUT that Truſt ought to be managed by their Advice, and the King-"dom had truſted Them for that purpoſe. Impoſſible, that the ſame "Truſt ſhould be irrevocably committed to his Majeſty, and his Heirs "for ever, and the ſame Truſt, and a Power above that Truſt (for "ſo was the Power they pretended) be committed to others. Did not "the People, that ſent them, look upon them as a body but temporary, "and diſſolvable at his Majeſty's pleaſure? And could it be believed, "that they intended them for his Guardians, and Controllers in the "managing of that Truſt, which God and the Law had granted to Him, "and to his Poſterity for ever? What the extent of the Commiſſion, "and Truſt was, nothing could better teach them than the Writ, where-"by they are met. His Majeſty ſaid, he called them (and without that "call, they could not have come together) to be his Counſellors, not "Commanders (for however they frequently confounded them, the Of-"fices were ſeveral) and Counſellors not in all things, but in ſome things, "*de quibuſdam arduis* &c. And they would eaſily find among their "Precedents, that Queen *Eliz.* upon whoſe time all good Men looked "with reverence, committed one *Wentworth*, a Member of the Houſe "of Commons, to the Tower, ſitting the Houſe, but for propoſing that they

"might adviſe the Queen, in a matter ſhe thought they had nothing to
"do to meddle in. But his Majeſty is truſted: And is He the only Per-
"ſon truſted? And might they do, what their own inclination and fury
"led them to? Were They not truſted by his Majeſty, when he firſt ſent
"for them; and were they not truſted by him, when he paſſed them
"his promiſe, that he would not Diſſolve them? Could it be preſumed
"(and preſumptions go far with Them) that he truſted them with a
"power to deſtroy himſelf, and to diſſolve his Government, and Autho-
"rity? If the People might be allowed to make an equitable conſtruction
"of the Laws and Statutes, a Doctrine avowed by Them, would not all
"his good Subjects ſwear, he never intended by that Act of Continuance,
"that they ſhould do what they have ſince done? Were they not truſted
"by thoſe that ſent them? And were they truſted to alter the Govern-
"ment of Church and State; and to make themſelves perpetual Dicta-
"tors over the King, and People? Did they intend, that the Law it ſelf
"ſhould be ſubject to their Votes; and that whatſoever They ſaid, or did,
"ſhould be Lawful, becauſe They declared it ſo? The Oaths they had
"taken who ſent them, and without taking which, themſelves were not
"capable of their place in Parliament, made the one incapable of giving,
"and the other of receiving ſuch a Truſt; unleſs they could perſwade
"his good Subjects, that his Majeſty is the only ſupreme Head, and Go-
"vernour in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons, within his Dominions;
"and yet that They had a Power over him to conſtrain him to manage
"his Truſt, and Govern his Power, according to their Diſcretion.

"THE Contrivers of that Declaration told his Majeſty, that they
"would never allow him (an humble, and dutiful expreſſion) to be
"judge of the Law; That belonged only to Them; They might, and
"muſt, judge and declare. His Majeſty ſaid, they all knew what power
"the Pope, under pretence of interpreting Scriptures, and declaring Ar-
"ticles of Faith, tho' he decline the making the one or the other, had
"uſurped over Men's conſciences; and that, under colour of having power
"of ordering all things for the good of Men's Souls, he entitles himſelf
"to all the Kingdoms of the world: He would not accuſe the Framers
"of that Declaration (how bold ſoever they were with his Majeſty)
"that they inclined to Popery, of which another Maxim was, That all
"Men muſt ſubmit their Reaſon and Underſtanding, and the Scripture
"it ſelf, to that declaring power of his: Neither would he tell them,
"tho' They had told Him ſo, that they uſe the very Language of the
"Rebels of *Ireland*: and yet they ſay thoſe Rebels declare, that what-
"ſoever they do, is for the Good of the King and Kingdom. But his
"good Subjects would eaſily put the caſe to themſelves, whether if the
"Papiſts in *Ireland* in truth were, or, by Art or Accident, had made
"themſelves the Major part of both Houſes of Parliament there; and
"had pretended the Truſt in that Declaration from the Kingdom of
"*Ireland*; thereupon, had Voted their Religion and Liberty to be in
"danger of extirpation from a Malignant Party of Proteſtants, and Pu-
"ritans; and therefore, that they would put themſelves into a poſture
"of Defence; that the Forts, and the Militia of that Kingdom were to
"be put into the hands of ſuch Perſons, as they could Confide in; that
"his Majeſty was indeed truſted with the Towns, Forts, Magazines,
"Treaſures, Offices and People of the Kingdom, for the good, ſafety,
"and beſt advantage thereof; but as his Truſt is for the uſe of the King-
"dom, ſo it ought to be managed by the Advice of both Houſes of Par-
"liament,

"liament, whom the Kingdom had truſted for that purpoſe, it being "their duty to ſee it diſcharged according to the condition, and true "intent thereof, and by all poſſible means to prevent the contrary? His "Majeſty ſaid, let all his good Subjects conſider, if that Rebellion had "been plotted with all that formality, and theſe circumſtances declared "to be legal, at leaſt according to the Equitable ſenſe of the Law, and "to be for the publick good, and juſtifiable by neceſſity, of which they "were the only Judges, whether, tho' they might have thought their "deſign to be more Cunning, they would believe it the more juſtifiable.

"NAY let the Framers of that Declaration aſk themſelves, if the evil "Counſellors, the Malignant Party, the Perſons ill affected, the Popiſh "Lords and their Adherents, ſhould prove now, or hereafter, to be a "Major part of both Houſes (for it had been declared that a great part "of both Houſes had been ſuch, and ſo might have been the Greater; "Nay, the greater part of the Houſe of Peers was ſtill declared to be ſuch, "and his Majeſty had not heard of any of their converſion; and there- "upon it had been earneſtly preſſed, that the Major part of the Lords "might joyn with the Major part of the Houſe of Commons) would "his Majeſty be bound to conſent to all ſuch alterations, as thoſe Men "ſhould propoſe to him, and Reſolve to be for the publick Good: And "ſhould the Liberty, Property, and Security of all his Subjects, depend "on what ſuch Votes ſhould declare to be Law? Was the Order of the "Militia unfit, and unlawful, whilſt the Major part of the Lords refuſed "to joyn in it (as they had done two or three ſeveral times, and it was "never heard, before this Parliament, that they ſhould be ſo, and ſo often "preſſed after a Diſſent declared) and did it grow immediately neceſſary "for the publick ſafety, and lawful by the Law of the Land, aſſoon as "ſo many of the diſſenting Peers were driven away (after their Names "had been required at the Bar, contrary to the freedom, and founda- "tion of Parliament) that the other Opinion prevailed? Did the Life, "and Liberty of the Subject depend upon ſuch Accidents of days, and "hours, that it was impoſſible for him to know his Right in either? "God forbid.

"BUT now, to juſtify their Invaſion of his Majeſty's ancient, un- "queſtioned, undoubted Right, ſettled and eſtabliſhed on his Majeſty "and his Poſterity by God himſelf, confirm'd, and ſtrengthen'd by all "poſſible Titles of Compact, Laws, Oaths, perpetual and uncontradicted "Cuſtom, by his People; What had they alledg'd to declare to the King- "dom, as They ſay, the obligation that lyeth upon the Kings of this "Realm to paſs all ſuch Bills, as are offer'd unto them by both Houſes "of Parliament? A thing never heard of till that day: An Oath (Au- "thority enough for them to break all theirs) that is, or ought to be, "taken by the Kings of this Realm, which is as well to remedy by Law "ſuch Inconveniences the King may ſuffer, as to keep, and protect the "Laws allready in being: And the Form of this Oath, they ſaid, did "appear upon a Record there cited, and by a Clauſe in the Preamble of "a Statute, made in the 25th year of *Edw.* III.

"HIS Majeſty ſaid, he was not enough acquainted with Records to "know whether that were fully, and ingenuouſly cited; and when, and "how, and why, the ſeveral Clauſes had been inſerted, or taken out of "the Oaths formerly adminiſter'd to the Kings of this Realm: Yet he "could not poſſibly imagine the aſſertion that Declaration made, could "be deduced from the words, or the matter of that Oath: for unleſs they "had

"had a power of declaring Latin, as well as Law; ſure, *elegerit*, ſignified *hath* choſen, as well as *will* chooſe; and that it ſignified ſo there (beſides the Authority of the perpetual Practice of all ſucceeding times: a better Interpreter than their Votes) it was evident, by the reference it had to cuſtoms, *conſuetudines quas Vulgus elegerit*: And could that be a Cuſtom, which the People ſhould chooſe after this Oath taken? And ſhould a King be ſworn to defend ſuch Cuſtoms? Beſides could it be imagined, that he ſhould be bound by Oath to paſs ſuch Laws (and ſuch a Law was the Bill they brought to him of the Militia) as ſhould put the power, wherewith he was truſted, out of Himſelf into the hands of other Men; and divert and diſable himſelf of all poſſible power to perform the great buſineſs of the Oath, which was to protect them? If his Majeſty gave away all his power, or if it were taken from him, he could not protect any Man: And what diſcharge would it be for his Majeſty, either before God or Man, when his Good Subjects, whom God and the Law had committed to his charge, ſhould be worried and ſpoiled, to ſay that he truſted others to protect them? That is, to do that Duty for him, which was eſſentially, and inſeparably his own. But that all his good Subjects might ſee how faithfully theſe Men, who aſſumed this Truſt from them, deſired to diſcharge their Truſt; he would be contented to publiſh, for their ſatisfaction (a matter notorious enough, but what he himſelf never thought to have been put to publiſh, and of which the Framers of that Declaration might as well have made uſe, as of a Latin Record they knew many of his good Subjects could not, and many of themſelves did not underſtand) the Oath it ſelf he took at his Coronation, warranted and enjoyn'd to it by the Cuſtoms, and directions of his Predeceſſors; and the Ceremony of theirs, and his taking it; they might find it in the Records of the Exchequer; This it is:

THE Sermon being done, the Arch-Biſhop goeth to the King, and asks his willingneſs to take the Oath uſually taken by his Predeceſſors:

THE King ſheweth himſelf willing, and goeth to the Altar; the Arch-Biſhop Adminiſters theſe Queſtions, and the King Anſwereth them ſeverally:

Epiſcopus. Sr, will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of *England*, the Laws and Cuſtoms to them granted by the Kings of *England*, your Lawful and Religious Predeceſſors: And namely the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Franchiſes granted to the Clergy, by the Glorious King Saint *Edward*, your Predeceſſor, according to the Laws of God, the true profeſſion of the Goſpel eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the Ancient Cuſtoms of this Realm?

Rex. I grant, and promiſe to keep them.

Epiſc. Sr, will you keep Peace, and godly agreement entirely, according to your power, both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the People?

Rex. I will keep it.

Epiſc.

Epiſc. S, will you to your power, cauſe Law, Juſtice and Diſcretion, in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?

Rex. I will.

Epiſc. S, will you grant to hold, and keep the Laws, and rightful Cuſtoms, which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have, and will you defend, and uphold them to the honour of God, ſo much as in you lieth?

Rex. I grant, and promiſe ſo to do.

THEN one of the Biſhops reads this Admonition to the King, before the People, with a loud Voice.

OUR Lord and King, we beſeech you, to pardon, and to grant, and to preſerve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law, and Juſtice; and that you would protect, and defend us, as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be Protector, and Defender of the Biſhops, and Churches under their Government.

The King Anſwereth,

WITH a willing and devout heart I promiſe, and grant my Pardon; and that I will preſerve and maintain to you, and the Churches committed to your Charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and due Law, and Juſtice, and that I will be your Protector and Defender, to my power, by the aſſiſtance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom in right ought to protect, and defend the Biſhops, and the Churches under their Government.

THEN the King ariſeth, and is led to the Communion Table: where he makes a ſolemn Oath in ſight of all the People, to obſerve the Premiſes; and, laying his Hand upon the Book, ſayeth,

The OATH,

THE things which I have before promiſed, I ſhall perform, and keep: So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

HIS Majeſty ſaid, "all the world might judge, whether ſuch Doctrine "or ſuch Concluſions, as thoſe Men brought, could follow, or have the "leaſt pretence, from that Oath: For the Preamble of the Statute they "cited, that told his Majeſty, that the King was bound to remedy, by "Law, the miſchiefs and damages which happen to his People: his Ma"jeſty ſaid, he was ſo; but asked whether the King were bound, by "the Preamble of that Statute, to renounce his own judgment, his own "underſtanding in thoſe miſchiefs, and of theſe remedies? How far "forth he was obliged to follow the judgment of his Parliament, that "Declaration ſtill confeſſed to be a queſtion. Without queſtion, he ſaid, "none could take upon them to remedy even miſchiefs, but by Law, for "fear of greater miſchiefs than thoſe they go about to remedy.

"BUT his Majeſty was bound in juſtice to conſent to their Propoſals, "becauſe there was a Truſt repoſed in his Majeſty to preſerve the King"dom, by making new Laws: He ſaid, he was glad there was ſo; then

"he was ſure no new Law could be made without His conſent; and "that the gentleneſs of his Anſwer, *Le Roy S'avisera*, if it be no Denial, "it is no Conſent; and then the matter was not great. They would "yet allow his Majeſty a greater latitude of granting, or denying, as he "ſhould think fit, in publick Acts of Grace, as Pardons, or the like Grants "of favour. Why did they ſo? If thoſe Pardons, and publick Acts of "Grace were for the publick Good (which they might Vote them to be) "they would then be abſolutely in their own diſpoſal. But had they "left that power to his Majeſty? They had ſure, at leaſt, ſhared it with "him; How elſe had they got the power to pardon Serjeant-Major-Ge- "neral *Skippon* (a new Officer of State, and a Subject his Majeſty had "no Authority to ſend to ſpeak with) and all other Perſons imployed by "them, and ſuch as had imployed themſelves for them, not only for "what they had done, but for what they ſhould do? If they had power "to declare ſuch Actions to be no Treaſon, which his Majeſty would not "pardon; ſuch Actions to be Treaſon, which need no pardon; the Lati- "tude they allowed his Majeſty of granting, or denying of Pardons, was "a Jewel they might ſtill be content to ſuffer his Majeſty to wear in his "Crown, and never think themſelves the more in danger.

"ALL this conſider'd, the Contriver of that Meſſage (ſince they would "afford his Majeſty no better Title) whom they were angry with, did "not conceive, the People of this Land to be ſo void of Common Senſe, "as to believe his Majeſty, who had denied no one thing for the eaſe, "and benefit of them, which in Juſtice or Prudence could be asked, or "in Honour and Conſcience could be granted, to have caſt off all care "of the Subjects Good; and the Framers, and Deviſers of that Declara- "tion (who had endeavour'd to render his Majeſty odious to his Subjects, "and them diſloyal to him, by pretending ſuch a Truſt in them) to have "only taken it up: Neither, he was confident, would they be ſatisfied, "when they felt the miſery and the burthens, which the fury and the "malice of thoſe People would bring upon them, with being told that "calamity proceeded from evil Counſellors, whom no body could name; "from Plots and Conſpiracies, which no Man could diſcover; and from "Fears and Jealouſies, which no Man underſtood: And therefore, that "the conſideration of it ſhould be left to the Conſcience, Reaſon, Af- "fection, and Loyalty of his good Subjects, who do underſtand the Go- "vernment of this Kingdom, his Majeſty ſaid, he was well content.

"His Majeſty asked, where the folly and madneſs of thoſe people "would end, who would have his People believe, that his abſenting "himſelf from *London*, where, with his ſafety, he could not ſtay, and "the continuing his Magazine at *Hull*, proceeded from the ſecret Plots "of the Papiſts here, and to advance the deſign of the Papiſts in *Ireland*? "But it was no wonder that they, who could believe Sr *John Hotham*'s "ſhutting his Majeſty out of *Hull*, to be an Act of Affection and Loyalty, "would believe that the Papiſts, or the Turk perſwaded him to go thi- "ther.

"AND could any ſober Man think, that Declaration to be the conſent "of either, or both Houſes of Parliament, unawed either by fraud or "force; which (after ſo many Thanks, and humble Acknowledgments "of his gracious favour in his Meſſage of the twentieth of *January*, ſo "often, and ſo unanimouſly preſented to his Majeſty from both Houſes "of Parliament) now told him, that the Meſſage at firſt was, and, as "often as it had been ſince mention'd by him, had been a breach of

"Priviledge

"Priviledge (of which they had not uſed to have been ſo negligent, as "in four Months not to have complain'd, if ſuch a breach had been) "and that their own Method of proceeding ſhould not be propoſed to "them; as if his Majeſty had only Authority to call them together, not "to tell them what they were to do; not ſo much as with reference to "his own Affairs. What their own Method had been, and whether it "had led Them, and brought the Kingdom, all Men ſee; what His would "have been, if ſeaſonably and timely applied unto, all Men might judge; "his Majeſty would ſpeak no more of it.

"BUT ſee now, what excellent Inſtances, they had found out, to prove "an inclination, if not in his Majeſty, in ſome about him, to Civil War! "Their going with his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons (ſo often urg'd, "and ſo fully Anſwer'd) their attending on him to *Hampton*-Court, and "appearing in a Warlike manner at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*; His going "to *Hull*; their drawing their Swords at *York*, demanding, who would "be for the King; the declaring Sr *John Hotham* Traytor, before the "Meſſage ſent to the Parliament; the Propoſitions to the Gentry in "*York-ſhire*, to aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt Sr *John Hotham*, before he had "received an Anſwer from the Parliament: All deſperate Inſtances of "an inclination to a Civil War. Examine them again: The Manner, "and Intent of his going to the Houſe of Commons, he had ſet forth "at large, in his Anſwer to their Declaration of the nineteenth of *May*; "all Men might judge of it. Next, did they themſelves believe, to "what purpoſe ſoever that Rumour had ſerved their turn, that there "was an appearance in Warlike manner at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*? Did "they not know, that whenſoever his Majeſty had been at *Hampton*-"Court, ſince his firſt coming to the Crown, there was never a leſs ap-"pearance, or in a leſs Warlike manner, than at the time they meant? "He ſaid, he would ſay no more but that His appearance in a Warlike "manner at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, and Theirs at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, "was very different? What was meant by the drawing of Swords at "*York*, and demanding, who would be for the King, muſt be enquired "at *London*; for, his Majeſty believed, very few in *York* underſtood the "meaning of it. For his going to *Hull*, which they would by no means "endure ſhould be called a Viſit, whether it were not the way to pre-"vent, rather than to make a Civil War, was very obvious: And the "declaring him a Traytor in the very Act of his Treaſon, would never "be thought unreaſonable, but by thoſe who believed him to be a loving, "and loyal Subject; no more than the endeavouring to make the Gen-"tlemen of that County ſenſible of that Treaſon (which they were in an "honourable, and dutiful degree) before he received the Anſwer from "both Houſes of Parliament: For, if they had been, as his Majeſty ex-"pected they ſhould have been, ſenſible of that intolerable injury offer'd "to him, might he not have had occaſion to have uſed the affection of "theſe Gentlemen? Was he ſure that Sr *John Hotham*, who had kept "him out without their Order (he ſpake of a publick Order) would have "let him in, when they had forbidden him? And if they had not ſuch "a ſenſe of him (as the caſe falls out to be) had he not more reaſon to "make Propoſitions to thoſe Gentlemen, whoſe readineſs and affection "he, or his Poſterity, would never forget?

"BUT this buſineſs of *Hull* ſticks ſtill with them; and finding his "Queſtions hard, they are pleaſed to Anſwer his Majeſty by asking other "Queſtions of Him: No matter for the exceptions againſt the Earl of

"*New-caſtle*

"*New-Caſtle* (which have been ſo often urged, as one of the principal "grounds of their Fears and Jealouſies; and which drew that Queſtion "from him) They asked his Majeſty, why, when he held it neceſſary, "that a Governour ſhould be placed in *Hull*, Sr *John Hotham* ſhould be "refuſed by him, and the Earl of *New Caſtle* ſent down? His Majeſty "Anſwer'd becauſe he had a better opinion of the Earl of *New-Caſtle* "than of Sr *John Hotham*; and deſired to have ſuch a Governour over "his Towns, if he muſt have any, as ſhould keep them for, and not "againſt him: And if his going down were in a more private way than "Sr *John Hotham*'s, it was becauſe he had not that Authority to make a "noiſe by levying and billeting of Soldiers, in a peaceable time, upon his "good Subjects, as it ſeem'd Sr *John Hotham* carried down with him. "And the Imputation which is caſt by the way upon that Earl, to make "his reputation not ſo unblemiſhed, as He conceived, and the World be- "lieves it to be; and which, tho' it was not ground enough for Judicial "Proceeding (it is wonder it was not) was yet ground enough for ſuſpi- "cion, muſt be the caſe of every Subject in *England* (and he wiſhed it "went no higher) if every vile Aſperſion, contrived by unknown hands, "upon unknown or unimaginable grounds, which is the way practiſed "to bring any Vertuous and deſerving Men into obloquy, ſhould receive "the leaſt credit, or countenance in the world.

"THEY tell him, their Exception to thoſe Gentlemen, who deliver'd "their Petition to him at *York*, was, That they preſumed to take the "Style upon them of all the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County; "whereas, they ſay, ſo many more of as good Quality as themſelves, of "that County, were of another opinion; and have ſince, by their Petition "to his Majeſty, diſavowed that Act. Their Information in that point, "his Majeſty ſaid, was no better than it uſeth to be; and they would "find, that neither the Number, or the Quality of thoſe who have, or "will diſavow that Petition, was as they imagine; tho' too many weak "Perſons were miſled (which they did, and would every day more and "more underſtand) by the Faction, Skill, and Induſtry of that True Ma- "lignant Party, of which he did, and had reaſon to complain. They "ſaid, they had received no Petition of ſo ſtrange a nature: What na- "ture? Contrary to the Votes of both Houſes: that is, they had received "no Petition, they had no mind to receive. But his Majeſty had told "them again, and all his good Subjects would tell them, that they had "received Petitions, with joy and approbation, againſt the Votes of both "Houſes of their Predeceſſors, confirm'd and eſtabliſhed into Laws by "the conſent of his Majeſty, and his Anceſtors; and allowed thoſe Pe- "titions to carry the Style, and to ſeem to carry the Deſires of Cities, "Towns, and Counties, when, of either City, Town, or County, very "few known, or conſiderable Perſons, had been privy to ſuch Petitions: "whereas, in truth, the Petitions deliver'd to his Majeſty, againſt which "they except, carried not the Style of all, but ſome of the Gentry and "Inhabitants; and implied no other conſent, than ſuch as went Viſibly "along with it.

"BUT his Majeſty was all this while in a miſtake; the Magazine at *Hull* was not taken from him. Who told them ſo? They who aſſure "them (and whom without breaking their Priviledges they muſt be- "lieve) that Sr *John Hotham*'s ſhutting the Gates againſt his Majeſty, "and reſiſting his entrance with arm'd Men (tho' he thought it in de- "fiance of him) was indeed in obedience to him, and his Authority; "and

"and for His Service, and the Service of the Kingdom. He was to let "none in, but such as came with his Majesty's Authority, signified by "both Houses of Parliament: himself and they had order'd it so. And "therefore he kept his Majesty out, only till his Majesty, or he himself "might send for their Directions. His Majesty, said, he knew not whe-"ther the Contrivers of that Declaration meant, that his good Subjects "should so soon understand, tho' it was plain enough to be understood, "the meaning of the King's Authority signified by both Houses of Par-"liament: But sure the world would now easily discern in what misera-"ble case he had, by this time, been (it is bad enough as it is) if he had "consented to their Bill, or to their Ordinance of the Militia, and given "those Men power to have raised all the Armes of the Kingdom against "him, for the Common Good, by his own Authority: Would they not, "as they had kept him from *Hull*, by this time have beaten him from "*York*, and pursued him out of the Kingdom, in his own behalf? Nay "might not this Munition, which is not taken from him, be imployed "against him; not against his Authority signified by both Houses of Par-"liament, but only to kill those ill Counsellors, the Malignant Party "which is about him, and yet for His Good, for the Publick Good (they "would declare it so) and so no Treason within the Statute of 25 *E.* III? "which, by their Interpretation, had left his Majesty the King of *England* "absolutely less provided for, in point of safety, than the meanest Sub-"ject of the Kingdom: And every Subject of this Land (for whose se-"curity that Law was made, that they may know their duty, and their "danger in breaking of it) may be made a Traytor when these Men "please to say, he is so. But did they think That, upon such an Inter-"pretation (upon pretence of Authority of Book Cases and Precedents, "which, without doubt, they would have cited, if they had been to "their purpose) out of which nothing can result, but confusion to King "and People, would find any credit with his good Subjects? And that "so excellent a Law, made both for security of King and People, shall "be so eluded, by an interpretation no Learned Lawyer in *England* "would at this hour, he believed, set under his hand, notwithstanding "the Authority of that Declaration; which, he hoped, shall bring no-"thing but Infamy upon the Contrivers of it?

"Now to their Priviledges: Tho' it be true, they say, that their Pri-"viledges do not extend to Treason, Felony, or breach of the Peace, so "as to exempt the Members from all manner of Process, and Trial; yet "it doth priviledge them in the way, or method of their Trial: the "Cause must be first brought before Them, and Their consent asked, be-"fore you can proceed. Why, then their Priviledges extend as far in "these Cases, as in any that are most unquestion'd; for no Priviledge "whatsoever, exempts them from all manner of Process and Trial, if "you first acquaint the House with it, and they give you leave to pro-"ceed by those Processes, or to that Trial: But, by this Rule, if a Mem-"ber of either House commit a Murther, you must by no means meddle "with him, till you have acquainted that House, of which he is a Mem-"ber, and received their direction for your Proceeding, assuring your "self, he will not stir from that place where you left him, till you re-"turn with their consent; should it be otherwise, it would be in the "power of every Man, under the pretence of Murther, to take one af-"ter another, and as many as he pleaseth, and so, consequently, bring "a Parliament to what he pleaseth, when he pleaseth. If a Member

"of either Houſe ſhall take a purſe at *York* (he may as probably take a "Purſe from a Subject, as Armes againſt the King) you muſt ride to "*London*, to know what to do, and He may ride with you, and take a "new purſe every Stage, and muſt not be apprehended, or declared a "Felon, till you have asked that Houſe of which he is a Member; ſhould "it be otherwiſe, it might be in every Man's power to accuſe as many "Members as he would of taking Purſes; and ſo bring a Parliament, "and ſo all Parliaments, to nothing. Would theſe Men be believed? "And yet they make no doubt but every one, who hath taken the Pro- "teſtation, would defend this Doctrine with his Life and Fortune. Would "not his Subjects believe, that they had impoſed a pretty Proteſtation "upon them; and that they had a very good end in the doing of it, if it "obligeth them to ſuch hazards, to ſuch undertakings? Muſt they for- "get or neglect his Majeſty's Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, which, by that "Proteſtation, they are bound to defend; and, in ſome degree, do un- "derſtand? And muſt they only venture their Lives and Fortunes to "juſtify Priviledges they know not, or ever heard of before? Or are "they bound by that Proteſtation to believe, that the Framers of that "Declaration have power to extend their own Priviledges, as far as they "think fit; and to contract his Majeſty's Rights, as much as they pleaſe; "and that they are bound to believe them in either, and to venture their "Lives and Fortunes in that Quarrel?

"FROM declaring how mean a Perſon, his Majeſty is, and how much "the Kingdom hath been miſtaken in the underſtanding of the Statute "of the 25 *E.* III. concerning Treaſon, and that all Men need not fear "levying War againſt him, ſo they have Their Order to Warrant them; "They proceed, in the Spirit of Declaring, to certify his Subjects in the "miſtakings, which, near one hundred and fifty years, have been re- "ceived concerning the Statute of the 11 *Hen.* VII. *ch.* 1. (a Statute all "good Subjects will read with Comfort) and tell them, that the ſerving "of the King for the time being, cannot be meant of *Perkin Warbeck*, "or of any that ſhould call himſelf King; but ſuch a One as is allowed, "and received by the Parliament in the behalf of the Kingdom: And "was not his Majeſty ſo allowed? However, through a dark Miſt of "Words, and urging their old Priviledges (which, he hoped, he had ſuf- "ficiently Anſwer'd, and will be every day more confuted by the Actions "of his good Subjects) they conclude, that thoſe that ſhall guide them- "ſelves by the judgment of Parliament, which they ſay is their own, "ought, whatſoever happen, to be ſecure, and free from all Account and "Penalties, upon the ground, and Equity of that very Statute: How- "far their own Chancellors may help them in that Equity, his Majeſty "knew not; but by the help of God and that good Law, He would allow "no ſuch Equity: So then, there is the Doctrine of that Declaration; "and theſe are the Poſitions of the Contrivers of it.

1. THAT they have an abſolute Power of declaring the Law; and that whatſoever they declare to be ſo, ought not to be queſtion'd by his Majeſty, or any Subject: So that all right and ſafety of Him and his People, muſt depend upon Their pleaſure.

2. THAT no Precedents can be limits to bound their Proceedings: So they may do what they pleaſe.

3. THAT the Parliament may diſpoſe of any thing, wherein the King or Subject hath a Right, for the Publick Good; that they, without the King,

King, are this Parliament, and judge of this Publick Good; and that his Majeſty's conſent is not neceſſary: So the Life and Liberty of the Subject, and all the good Laws made for the ſecurity of them, may be diſpoſed of, and repealed by the Major part of both Houſes at any time preſent, and by any ways and means procured ſo to be; and his Majeſty had no power to protect them.

4. THAT no Member of either Houſe ought to be troubled or medled with for Treaſon, Felony, or any other Crime, without the Cauſe firſt brought before Them, that they may judge of the Fact, and Their Leave obtain'd to proceed.

5. THAT the Soveraign Power reſides in both Houſes of Parliament; and that his Majeſty had no Negative Voice: So then his Majeſty Himſelf muſt be ſubject to their Commands.

"6. THAT the levying of Forces againſt the Perſonal Commands of the King, tho' accompanied with his Preſence, is not levying War againſt the King; but the levying War againſt his Laws and Authority (which They have power to declare, and ſignify) tho' not againſt his Perſon, is levying War againſt the King: And that Treaſon cannot be committed againſt his Perſon, otherwiſe than as he is entruſted with the Kingdom, and diſcharging that Truſt; and that They have a power to judge, whether he diſcharges that Truſt or no.

7. THAT if they ſhould make the higheſt Precedents of other Parliaments their Patterns, there would be no cauſe to complain of want of Modeſty or Duty in them; that is, they may Depoſe his Majeſty when they will, and are not to be blamed for ſo doing.

"AND now (as if the meer publiſhing of their reſolutions, would "not only prevail with the People, but, in the inſtant, deſtroy all Spirit, "and Courage in his Majeſty to preſerve his own right, and honour) "they had ſince taken the boldneſs to aſſault him with certain Propo- "ſitions; which they call the moſt neceſſary effectual means for the re- "moving thoſe Jealouſies, and Differences between his Majeſty and his "People; that is, that he would be content to deveſt himſelf of all his "Regal rights, and dignities; be content with the Title of a King, and "ſuffer Them, according to their diſcretion to govern Him, and the "Kingdom, and to diſpoſe of his Children. How ſuitable and agreeable "this Doctrine, and theſe Demands were to the affection of his loving "Subjects, under whoſe Truſt theſe Men pretend to Say, and Do theſe "monſtrous things; and to deſign not only the ruin of his Perſon, but "of Monarchy it ſelf (which, he might juſtly ſay, was more than ever "was offer'd in any of his Predeceſſors times; for tho' the Perſon of the "King hath been ſometimes unjuſtly Depoſed, yet the Regal Power was "never, before this time, ſtruck at) he believes his good Subjects would "find ſome way to let Them, and the World know: And, from this "time, ſuch who had been miſled, by Their ill Counſels, to have any "hand in the execution of the Militia, would ſee to what Ends their ſer- "vice was deſign'd; and therefore if they ſhould preſume hereafter to "meddle in it, they muſt expect, that he would immediately proceed "againſt them as actual raiſers of Sedition, and as Enemies to his So- "veraign Power.

"HIS Majeſty ſaid, he had done: And ſhould now expect the worſt "Actions theſe Men had power to commit againſt him; worſe Words "they could not give him: And he doubted not, but the Major part of

"both Houſes of Parliament, when they might come together with their "honour and ſafety (as well thoſe who were ſurpriſed at the paſſing of "it, and underſtood not the malice in it, and the confuſion that muſt "grow by it, if believed; as thoſe who were abſent, or involved) would "ſo far reſent the indignity offer'd to his Majeſty, the diſhonour to Them-"ſelves, and the miſchief to the whole Kingdom, by that Declaration; "that they would ſpeedily make the foul Contrivers of it Inſtances of "their exemplary Juſtice; and brand Them, and their Doctrine, with "the marks of their perpetual Scorn and Indignation,

WHILST this Anſwer, and Declaration of his Majeſty's was preparing and publiſhing, which was done with all imaginable haſt, and to which they made no Reply till many Months after the War was begun, they proceeded in all their Counſels towards the leſſening his Majeſty both in Reputation, and Power; and towards the improving their own Intereſts: For the firſt, upon the advantage of their former Vote, of the King's Intention to levy War againſt his Parliament, in the end of *May* they publiſhed Orders, "That the Sheriffs of the adjacent Counties "ſhould hinder, and make ſtay of all Armes and Ammunition carrying "towards *York*, until they had given notice thereof unto the Lords "and Commons; and ſhould have received Their further Direction; "and that they ſhould prevent the coming together of any Soldiers, "Horſe or Foot, by any Warrant of his Majeſty, without Their Advice "or Conſent: Which they did, not upon any opinion that there would be any Armes or Ammunition carrying to his Majeſty, they having entirely poſſeſſed themſelves of all his Stores; or that they indeed believed, there was any Commiſſion or Warrant to raiſe Soldiers, which they well knew there was not; but that, by this means, their Agents in the Country (which many Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace were; and moſt Conſtables, and Inferior Officers) might, upon this Pretence, hinder the reſorting to his Majeſty, which they did with that Induſtry, that few Perſons, who foreſeeing the deſign of thoſe Orders, did not decline the great Roades, and made not pretences of travelling to ſome other place, and travelled in any Equipage towards his Majeſty, eſcaped without being ſtayed by ſuch watches: And moſt that were ſo ſtayed, finding it to no purpoſe to attend the Reſolution, or Juſtice of the Houſes, who allways commended the vigilance of their Miniſters, and did not expect, they ſhould be bound up by the Letter of their Orders, made ſhift to eſcape with their own Perſons, and were contented to leave their Horſes behind them: They, who attended to be repaired by the Juſtice of the Houſes, finding ſo many delays, and thoſe delays to be ſo chargeable, and themſelves expoſed to ſo many Queſtions, and ſuch an Inquiſition, that they thought their Liberty a great prize, whatever they left behind them.

FOR the improving their Intereſt, and Dependance, tho' they had as much of the Affection of the City as could reaſonably be expected; and, by their exerciſe of the Militia, had united them in a firm Bond, the communication of Guilt; yet they well underſtood their true ſtrength conſiſted in the Rabble of the People, far the greateſt part of the ſubſtantial, and wealthy Citizens, being not of their Party; and except ſome Expedient were found out, whereby they might be involved, and concern'd in their Proſperity or Ruin, they thought themſelves not ſo much in truth poſſeſſed of that City, as they ſeem'd to be. They had heard it ſaid, that *Edward* the fourth of *England* recover'd the City of *London*,

London, and by that the Kingdom, by the vaſt Debts that he owed there. Men looking upon the helping of Him to the Crown, as the helping Themſelves to their Money, which was elſe deſperate. Upon this ground, they had taken the firſt Opportunity of borrowing great Sums of them, in the beginning of this Parliament; when the richeſt and beſt affected Men, upon a preſumption that hereby the Scots Army would ſuddainly March into their own Country, and the Engliſh aſſoon be disbanded, chearfully furniſhed that Money. Upon this ground, they ſtill forbore to repay thoſe Sums, diſpoſing what was brought in upon the Bills of Subſidy, and other publick Bills, to other purpoſes. And now, to make themſelves more ſure of them, they borrowed another Sum of 100000[l]. of them, upon pretence of the great Exigences of *Ireland*; which was their two edged Sword, to lead them into the Liberty of laying what Imputations, they thought moſt convenient for their purpoſes, upon the King and Queen; and to draw what Money they thought fit from the City; and ſerved them now to another important end, to raiſe Soldiers; but that Service it ſelf, in order to ſuppreſſing the Rebellion there, was not, in any degree, advanced. Having, by theſe means, thus provided for their main Ends, they made the People believe, they were preparing Propoſitions to ſend to the King; and the People were yet ſo innocent as to believe, that they would never ſend Propoſitions that were not reaſonable: For tho' the unuſual Acts which had been done by the King, as the going to the Houſe of Commons, and demanding the Members there, had put them into as unuſual apprehenſions; and thoſe, by the warmth and heat of Declarations and Anſwers, had drawn from them, by degrees, another kind of Language, than had before been uſed; yet moſt Men believed, when thoſe paſſions were diſgeſted, and that any Propoſitions ſhould be made by them (which the King had long called for and invited) that they could not but be ſuch, as would open a door for that Affection, Confidence, Duty and Truſt, upon which the Peace of the Kingdom might be reaſonably founded. And Propoſitions they did ſend to the King, in the beginning of *June*; which were preſented to his Majeſty, with great Solemnity, by their Committee reſident there; which, in this place, are very neceſſary to be inſerted in the very terms in which they were preſented, as followeth:

The humble Petition, and Advice of both Houſes of Parliament, with Nineteen Propoſitions and the Concluſion, ſent unto his Majeſty the ſecond of June 1642.

The Nineteen Propoſitions ſent to the King by both Houſes June 2. 1642.

"YOUR Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and "Commons in Parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and de- "ſires, more precious and of higher eſteem, next to the honour and "immediate Service of God, than the juſt and faithful performance of "their Duty to your Majeſty, and this Kingdom: And being very "ſenſible of the great diſtractions and diſtempers, and of the Immi- "nent dangers and calamities, which thoſe diſtractions and diſtem- "pers are like to bring upon your Majeſty, and your Subjects (all "which have proceeded from the ſubtle Informations, miſchievous "Practices, and evil Counſels of Men diſaffected to God's true Reli- "gion; your Majeſty's Honour and Safety; and the publick Peace, "and Proſperity of your People) after a ſerious obſervation of the "cauſes of thoſe miſchiefs, do, in all humility and ſincerity, preſent to

"your Majeſty their moſt dutiful Petition and Advice: That, out of "your Princely wiſdom for the eſtabliſhing your own Honour and "Safety, and gracious tenderneſs of the welfare and ſecurity of your "Subjects and Dominions, you will be pleaſed to grant, and accept "theſe their humble Deſires and Propoſitions, as the moſt neceſſary "and effectual means, through God's bleſſing, of removing thoſe Jea- "louſies and Differences, which have unhappily fallen out betwixt "you and your People, and procuring both your Majeſty and Them "a conſtant courſe of Honour, Peace, and Happineſs.

The Propoſitions.

1. "THAT the Lords and others of your Majeſty's Privy Council, and "ſuch great Officers and Miniſters of State, either at Home or beyond "the Seas, may be put from your Privy Council, and from thoſe Of- "fices and Imployments, excepting ſuch as ſhall be approved by both "Houſes of Parliament: And that the Perſons, put into the Places "and Imployments of thoſe that are removed, may be approved of "by both Houſes of Parliament: And that Privy Counſellors ſhall "take an Oath, for the due execution of their Places, in ſuch Form as "ſhall be agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament.

2. "THAT the great Affairs of the Kingdom may not be concluded, or "tranſacted by the Advice of Private men, or by any unknown, or "unſworn Counſellors; but that ſuch Matters as concern the Publick, "and are proper for the High Court of Parliament, which is your "Majeſty's great and ſupreme Council, may be debated, reſolved and "tranſacted only in Parliament, and not elſwhere: And ſuch as ſhall "preſume to do any thing to the contrary, ſhall be reſerved to the "Cenſure and Judgment of Parliament: And ſuch other Matters of "State, as are proper for your Majeſty's Privy Council, ſhall be de- "bated and concluded by ſuch of the Nobility, and Others, as ſhall, "from time to time, be choſen for that Place, by approbation of both "Houſes of Parliament: And that no publick Act concerning the Af- "fairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for your Privy Council, "may be eſteem'd of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Au- "thority, unleſs it be done by the Advice and Conſent of the Major "part of the Council, atteſted under their Hands: And that your Coun- "cil may be limited to a certain Number, not exceeding twenty five, "nor under fifteen; and if any Counſellors place happen to be void in "the interval of Parliament, it ſhall not be ſupplied without the Af- "ſent of the Major part of the Council; which choice ſhall be con- "firmed at the next ſitting of Parliament, or elſe to be void.

3. "THAT the Lord High Steward of *England*, Lord High Conſtable, "Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treaſurer, "Lord Privy Seal, Earl Marſhal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the "Cinque Ports, chief Governour of *Ireland*, Chancellor of the Ex- "chequer, Maſter of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Juſtices "and Chief Baron, may allways be choſen with the approbation of "both Houſes of Parliament; and, in the intervals of Parliaments, "by the Aſſent of the Major part of the Council, in ſuch manner as is "before expreſſed in the choice of Counſellors.

4. "THAT He, or They, unto whom the Government and Education "of the King's Children ſhall be committed, ſhall be approved of by "both

"both Houſes of Parliament; and, in the intervals of Parliament, by "the Aſſent of the Major part of the Council, in ſuch manner as is "before expreſſed in the choice of Counſellors; And that all ſuch Ser- "vants as are now about them, againſt whom both Houſes ſhall have "any juſt Exceptions, ſhall be removed.

5. "THAT no Marriage ſhall be concluded, or treated, for any of the "King's Children, with any Forreign Prince, or other Perſon what- "ſoever, abroad or at home, without the Conſent of Parliament, un- "der the Penalty of a Præmunire unto ſuch as ſhall conclude, or "treat of any Marriage as aforeſaid: And that the ſaid Penalty ſhall "not be pardoned, or diſpenced with, but by the Conſent of both "Houſes of Parliament.

6. "THAT the Laws in force againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recu- "ſants, be ſtrictly put in execution without any toleration, or diſpen- "ſation to the contrary: And that ſome more effectual courſe may "be enacted, by Authority of Parliament, to diſable them from making "any diſturbance in the State; or eluding the Laws by Truſts, or "otherwiſe.

7. "THAT the Votes of Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers may be "taken away, ſo long as they continue Papiſts: And that your Ma- "jeſty will conſent to ſuch a Bill, as ſhall be drawn, for the Educa- "tion of the Children of Papiſts, by Proteſtants, in the Proteſtant "Religion

8. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to conſent, that ſuch a Refor- "mation be made of the Church Government, and Liturgy, as both "Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe; wherein they intend to have "conſultations with Divines, as is expreſſed in their Declaration to "that purpoſe: And that your Majeſty will contribute your beſt aſ- "ſiſtance to them, for the raiſing of a ſufficient maintenance for "Preaching Miniſters through the Kingdom: And that your Majeſty "will be pleaſed to give your conſent to Laws for the taking away "of Innovations, and Superſtition, and of Pluralities, and againſt "ſcandalous Miniſters.

9. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to reſt ſatisfied with that courſe, "that the Lords and Commons have appointed, for ordering of the "Militia, until the ſame ſhall be further ſettled by a Bill: And that "your Majeſty will recal your Declarations, and Proclamations againſt "the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. "THAT ſuch Members of either Houſe of Parliament, as have, "during this preſent Parliament, been put out of any Place and Office, "may either be reſtored to that Place and Office, or otherwiſe have "ſatisfaction for the ſame, upon the Petition of that Houſe, whereof "He, or They are Members.

11. "THAT all Privy Counſellors and Judges may take an Oath, the "Form whereof to be agreed on and ſettled by Act of Parliament, for "the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes "made by this Parliament, which ſhall be mention'd by both Houſes "of Parliament: And that an enquiry of all Breaches, and Violations "of thoſe Laws, may be given in charge by the Juſtices of the King's "Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Aſſize in their Circuits, "and Juſtices of the Peace at the Seſſions, to be preſented and pu- "niſhed according to Law.

12. "THAT all the Judges, and all the Officers, placed by approbation

"of

"of both Houſes of Parliament, may hold their Places *quam diu bene* "*ſe geſſerint*.

13. "THAT the Juſtice of Parliament may paſs upon all Delinquents, "whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it: And that "all Perſons cited by either Houſe of Parliament, may appear; and "abide the Cenſure of Parliament.

14. "THAT the General Pardon, offer'd by your Majeſty, may be "granted with ſuch Exceptions, as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of "Parliament.

15. "THAT the Forts, and Caſtles of this Kingdom, may be put under "the Command and Cuſtody of ſuch Perſons, as your Majeſty ſhall "appoint with the approbation of your Parliament; and, in the in- "tervals of Parliament, with approbation of the Major part of the "Council, in ſuch manner as is before expreſſed in the choice of "Counſellors.

16. THAT the extraordinary Guards, and Military Forces now at- "tending your Majeſty, may be removed and diſcharged; and that, "for the future, you will raiſe no ſuch Guards or extraordinary Forces, "but, according to the Law, in caſe of Actual Rebellion, or Invaſion.

17. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed to enter into a more ſtrict Al- "liance with the States of the *United Provinces*, and other neighbour "Princes and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence and "maintenance thereof againſt all Deſigns and Attempts of the Pope, "and his Adherents, to ſubvert and ſuppreſs it; whereby your Ma- "jeſty will obtain great acceſs of ſtrength and reputation, and your "Subjects be much encouraged and enabled, in a Parliamentary way, "for your Aid, and Aſſiſtance, in reſtoring your Royal Siſter, and her "Princely Iſſue to thoſe Dignities and Dominions, which belong unto "them; and relieving the other diſtreſſed Proteſtant Princes, who "have ſuffer'd in the ſame Cauſe.

18. "THAT your Majeſty will be pleaſed, by Act of Parliament, to "clear the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the Houſe of "Commons, in ſuch manner that future Parliaments may be ſecured "from the Conſequence of that evil Precedent.

19. "THAT your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to paſs a Bill for "reſtraining Peers made hereafter, from Sitting or Voting in Parlia- "ment, unleſs they be admitted thereunto with the Conſent of both "Houſes of Parliament.

"AND theſe our humble Deſires being granted by your Majeſty, We "ſhall forthwith apply our ſelves to regulate your preſent Revenue, "in ſuch ſort as may be for your beſt advantage; and likewiſe to "ſettle ſuch an ordinary, and conſtant increaſe of it, as ſhall be ſuffi- "cient to ſupport your Royal Dignity in Honour, and Plenty, be- "yond the proportion of any former Grants of the Subjects of this "Kingdom to your Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors: We ſhall likewiſe "put the Town of *Hull* into ſuch hands, as your Majeſty ſhall appoint "with the conſent and approbation of Parliament; and deliver up a "juſt Account of all the Magazine; and chearfully imploy the utter- "moſt of Our power and endeavours, in the real expreſſion, and per- "formance of our moſt Dutiful and Loyal Affections, to the preſerving "and maintaining the Royal Honour, Greatneſs, and Safety of your "Majeſty, and your Poſterity.

THE

THE ſame day that theſe Articles of Depoſition were paſs'd the Houſes, that his Majeſty might ſee how unable he was like to be to contend with them, they declared by an Order, the ſame day printed and carefully diſperſed, "that they had received Information (and indeed their Informations were wonderful particular, from all parts beyond Sea, of whatſoever was agitated on the King's behalf; as well as from his Court, of whatſoever was deſign'd, or allmoſt but thought of to himſelf: Beſides they could pretend to receive Information of whatſoever would any way conduce to their Purpoſe, true or falſe) "that the Jewels of "the Crown (which, they ſaid, by the Law of the Land ought not to "be aliened) were either pawn'd or ſold in *Amſterdam*, or ſome other "parts beyond Seas; and thereby great Sums of Money provided to be "return'd to *York*, or to ſome of his Majeſty's Servants or Agents, for "his Majeſty's uſe: And becauſe, they ſaid, it was more than probable, "that great proviſion of Moneys, in ſuch an extraordinary way, was to "maintain the intended War againſt the Parliament; and thereby to "bring the whole Kingdom into utter ruin, and combuſtion: It was "therefore declared, by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that "whoſoever had been, or ſhould be, an Actor in the ſelling or pawning "of any Jewels of the Crown; or had, or ſhould pay, lend, ſend, or bring "any Money in Specie into this Kingdom for, or upon, any of thoſe "Jewels; or whoſoever had, or ſhould accept of any Bill from beyond "the Seas for the payment of any Sum of Money, for or upon any of "thoſe Jewels, and ſhould pay any Sum according to ſuch Bill, after "notice of that Order, without acquainting that Houſe with the Receipt "of that Bill, before he accept the ſame; or if he had allready accepted "any ſuch Bill, then with the Acceptance thereof, before the payment "of the Money, every ſuch Perſon ſhould be held and accounted a Pro-"moter of that intended War, an Enemy to the State, and ought to give "ſatisfaction for the publick damage out of his own Eſtate.

Order of the two Houſes againſt pawning the Jewels of the Crown.

UPON this confident Aſſumption, "that it was not in the King's "power to diſpoſe the Jewels of the Crown; that whatſoever Jewels "were offer'd to be pawn'd or ſold, by any of the King's Miniſters be-"yond the Seas, were the Jewels of the Crown, and no other; and that "all money, return'd from thence for his Majeſty's Service, was money "ſo raiſed and procured; they ſo much terrified Men of all conditions, that the Queen, having, by the Sale of ſome of her own Jewels, and by her other Dexterity, procured ſome Money for the King's ſupply, could not in a long time find any means to tranſmit it. However this made no impreſſion upon the King's Reſolution; and tho' it might have ſome influence upon Merchantly Men, yet it ſtirred up moſt Generous minds to an Indignation on the King's behalf; and was new Evidence, if there had wanted any, what kind of Greatneſs he was to expect from complying with ſuch immodeſt, and extravagant Propoſers.

THE King was once reſolved to have return'd no Anſwer to them upon thoſe Propoſitions; but to let the People alone to judge of the unreaſonableneſs of them, and of the Indignity offer'd to him in the delivery of them; and that was the reaſon of the ſhort mention he made of them, in the cloſe of his Declaration to theirs of the 26th of *May*: But he was afterwards perſwaded to vouchſafe a further notice of them, there being ſome particulars Popular enough, and others, that, at the firſt View, ſeem'd not alltogether ſo derogatory to Him, and ſo inconvenient to the People, as in truth they were; and that therefore it was

neceſſary to let all the People know, that whatſoever was reaſonable, and might be beneficial to the Kingdom, had been, for the moſt part, before offer'd by his Majeſty; and ſhould all be readily granted by him; and ſo to unfold the reſt to them, that they might diſcern their own Welfare, and Security, to be as much endangered by thoſe Demands, as the King's Rights, Honour, and Dignity: So that, in a ſhort time after he received them, he ſent to the two Houſes, and publiſhed to the Kingdom, his Anſwer to thoſe Nineteen Propoſitions; whereof it will be ſufficient to repeat ſome few Particulars:

The Subſtance of his Majeſty's Anſwer to the Nineteen Propoſitions.

"IN which he firſt remember'd them of their method, they had obſerved in their proceedings towards him: That they had firſt totally "ſuppreſſed the known Law of the Land, and denied His power to be "neceſſary to the making New, reducing the whole to their own Declarations, and ſingle Votes: That they had poſſeſſed themſelves of "his Magazines, Forts, and Militia: That they had ſo awed his Subjects "with Purſuivants, long chargeable Attendance; heavy Cenſures; illegal Impriſonments; that few of them durſt offer to preſent their tenderneſs of his Majeſty's ſufferings, their own juſt grievances, and their "ſenſe of thoſe Violations of the Law (the Birthright of every Subject "of the Kingdom) tho' in an humble Petition to both Houſes; and if "any did, it was ſtifled in the Birth; called Sedition; and burn'd by the "Common Hangman: That they had reſtrained the attendance of his "ordinary, and neceſſary Houſehold-Servants; and ſeiſed upon thoſe "ſmall Sums of Money, which his credit had provided to buy him "Bread; with Injunctions that no Money ſhould be ſuffer'd to be conveyed, or returned to his Majeſty to *York*, or to any of his Peers, or "Servants with him; ſo that, in effect, they had blocked him up in that "County: That they had filled the Ears of his People with Fears and "Jealouſies, (tho' taken up upon truſt) tales of Skippers, Salt Fleets, "and ſuch like; by which Alarms they might prepare them to receive "ſuch Impreſſions, as might beſt advance their Deſign, when it ſhould "be ripe. And now, it ſeem'd, they thought his Majeſty ſufficiently "prepared for thoſe bitter Pills; that he was in a handſome poſture to "receive thoſe humble Deſires; which, probably, were intended to make "way for a Superfœtation of a yet higher nature; for they did not tell "him, This was All. He ſaid, he muſt obſerve, that thoſe Contrivers "(the better to advance their true ends) in thoſe Propoſitions, diſguiſed, "as much as they could, their Intents with a mixture of ſome things "really to be approved by every honeſt Man; others, Specious and Popular; and ſome which were allready granted by his Majeſty: All "which were cunningly twiſted, and mixed with thoſe other things of "their main deſign, of Ambition and private Intereſt, in hope that, at "the firſt View, every Eye might not ſo clearly diſcern them in their "proper Colours.

"HIS Majeſty ſaid, if the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, Demands had "been writ, and printed, in a Tongue unknown to his Majeſty and his "People, it might have been poſſible, that He, and They might have "charitably believ'd the Propoſitions to be ſuch, as might have been in "order to the Ends pretended in the Petition; to wit, the Eſtabliſhment of his Honour and Safety; the welfare and ſecurity of his Subjects and Dominions; and the removing thoſe Jealouſies and Differences, which were ſaid to have unhappily fallen betwixt his Majeſty and "his People; and procuring both his Majeſty, and Them, a conſtant

"courſe

"courſe of Honour, Peace, and Happineſs; but being read and under-
"ſtood by all, he could not but aſſure himſelf, that that Profeſſion, joyn'd
"to thoſe Propoſitions, would rather appear a Mockery, and a Scorn;
"the Demands being ſuch, that he were unworthy of the Truſt repoſed
"in him by the Law, and of his Deſcent from ſo many great and famous
"Anceſtors, if he could be brought to abandon that Power, which alone
"could enable him to perform what he was ſworn to, in protecting his
"People, and the Laws; and So aſſume others into it, as to deveſt Him-
"ſelf of it, altho' not only his preſent condition were more Neceſſitous
"than it was (which it could hardly be) and he were both Vanquiſhed,
"and a Priſoner, and in a worſe condition than ever the moſt unfor-
"tunate of his Predeceſſors had been reduced to, by the moſt Criminal
"of their Subjects; and tho' the Bait laid to draw him to it, and to
"keep his Subjects from Indignation at the mention of it, the Promiſes
"of a plentiful and unparellel'd Revenue, were reduced from Generals
"(which ſignify nothing) to clear and certain Particulars; ſince ſuch a
"bargain would have but too great a reſemblance of that of *Eſau*'s, if
"he would part with ſuch flowers of his Crown, as were worth all the
"reſt of the Garland, and had been tranſmitted to him from ſo many
"Anceſtors, and had been found ſo uſeful and neceſſary for the welfare
"and ſecurity of his Subjects, for any preſent Neceſſity, or for any low
"and ſordid Conſiderations of Wealth and Gain. And therefore, all
"Men knowing that thoſe Accommodations are moſt eaſily made, and
"moſt exactly obſerved, that are grounded upon reaſonable and equal
"conditions, his Majeſty had great cauſe to believe that the Contrivers
"of thoſe Propoſitions, had no Intention of ſettling any firm Accommo-
"dation; but to increaſe thoſe Jealouſies, and widen that Diviſion, which,
"not by his Majeſty's fault, was now unhappily faln between Him and
"both Houſes.

"IT was asked, that all Lords and Others of his Privy Council, and
"ſuch great Officers and Miniſters of State, either at home or beyond
"the Seas (for, he ſaid, care was taken to leave out no Perſon, or Place,
"that his diſhonour might be ſure not to be bounded within this King-
"dom) ſhould be put from his Privy Council, and from thoſe Offices
"and Imployments, unleſs they ſhould be approved by both Houſes of
"Parliament, how faithful ſoever his Majeſty had found them to Him,
"and to the Publick; and how far ſoever they had been from offending
"againſt any Law, the only Rule they had, or any others Ought to have,
"to walk by. His Majeſty therefore to that part of that Demand re-
"turn'd this Anſwer, That he was willing to grant, that they ſhould
"take a larger Oath, than they Themſelves deſired in their eleventh De-
"mand, for maintaining not of any Part, but the Whole Law: And,
"he ſaid, he had, and did aſſure them, that he would be careful to make
"election of ſuch Perſons in thoſe Places of Truſt, as had given good
"teſtimonies of their Abilities and Integrities, and againſt whom there
"could be no juſt cauſe of Exception, whereon reaſonably to ground a
"Diffidence: That if he had, or ſhould be miſtaken in his election, he
"had, and did aſſure them, that there was no man ſo near to him, in
"Place or Affection, whom he would not leave to the Juſtice of the Law,
"if they ſhould bring a particular Charge, and ſufficient Proof againſt
"him: That he had given them a Triennial Parliament (the beſt pledge
"of the Effects of ſuch a Promiſe on his part, and the beſt ſecurity for
"the performance of their Duty on Theirs) the apprehenſion of whoſe

"Juſtice, would, in all probability, make Them wary how they pro-
"voked it; and his Majeſty wary, how he choſe ſuch as, by the diſco-
"very of their faults, might in any degree ſeem to diſcredit his Election;
"but that without any ſhadow of a fault objected, only perhaps becauſe
"they follow their Conſciences, and preſerve the eſtabliſhed Laws, and
"agree not in ſuch Votes, or aſſent not to ſuch Bills, as ſome Perſons,
"who had then too great an influence even upon both Houſes, judged, or
"ſeem'd to judge, to be for the publick good, and as were agreeable to
"that new Utopia of Religion and Government, into which they en-
"deavour'd to transform this Kingdom (for, he ſaid, he remember'd
"what Names, and for what reaſons, they left out in the Bill offer'd
"him concerning the Militia, which they had themſelves recommended
"in the Ordinance) he would never conſent to the diſplacing of any,
"whom for their former Merits from, and Affection to his Majeſty and
"the Publick, he had entruſted; ſince, he conceived, that to do ſo, would
"take away both from the Affection of his Servants, and care of his Ser-
"vice, and the Honour of his Juſtice: And, he ſaid, he the more won-
"der'd, that it ſhould be asked by them, ſince it appears by the twelfth
"Demand, that Themſelves counted it reaſonable, after the preſent Turn
"was ſerved, that the Judges and Officers, who were then placed, might
"hold their Places, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*: And he was reſolved to
"be as careful of thoſe whom He had choſen, as they were of thoſe They
"would chooſe; and to remove none, till they appeared to him to have
"otherwiſe behaved themſelves, or ſhould be evicted, by Legal pro-
"ceedings, to have done ſo.

"BUT, his Majeſty ſaid, that Demand, as unreaſonable as it was,
"was but one Link of a great Chain, and but the firſt Round of that
"Ladder, by which his Majeſty's Juſt, Ancient, Regal Power, was en-
"deavoured to be fetched down to the ground; for it appeared plainly
"that it was not with the Perſons now choſen, but with his Majeſty's
"Chooſing, that they were diſpleaſed: For they demanded, that the Per-
"ſons put into the Places and Imployments of thoſe, who ſhould be re-
"moved, might be approved by both Houſes; which was ſo far from
"being leſs than the power of Nomination, that of two things, of which
"he would never grant either, he would ſooner be content, that They
"ſhould Nominate, and He Approve; than they Approve and his Ma-
"jeſty Nominate; the meer Nomination being ſo far from being any
"thing, that if he could do no More, he would never take the pains to do
"That; when he ſhould only hazard whom he eſteem'd to the Scorn of
"a Refuſal, if they happen'd not to be agreeable not only to the Judg-
"ment, but to the Paſſion, Intereſt, or Humour of the preſent Major
"part of either Houſe: Not to ſpeak of the great Factions, Animoſities,
"and Diviſions, which that power would introduce in both Houſes, and
"in the ſeveral Counties for the choice of Perſons to be ſent to that place,
"where that power was; and between the Perſons that were ſo choſen.
"Neither was that ſtrange Potion preſcribed to him only for once, for
"the cure of a preſent, preſſing, deſperate Diſeaſe; but for a Diet to Him,
"and his Poſterity. It was demanded, that his Counſellors, all Chief
"Officers both of Law and State, Commanders of Forts and Caſtles,
"and all Peers hereafter made, be Approved of, that is Choſen, by Them
"from time to time: And rather than it ſhould ever be left to the Crown
"(to whom it only did, and ſhould belong) if any place fall void in the
"intermiſſion of Parliament, the Major part of the approved Council

"was

"was to approve them. Neither was it only demanded that his Ma-
"jeſty ſhould quit the power, and right, his Predeceſſors had had of ap-
"pointing Perſons in thoſe Places; but for Counſellors, he was to be re-
"ſtrain'd, as well in the Number as in the Perſons; and a power muſt
"be annexed to thoſe Places, which their Predeceſſors had not. And
"indeed, if that power were paſſed to them, he ſaid, it would not be fit
"He ſhould be truſted to chooſe thoſe, who were to be truſted as much
"as Himſelf.

"He told them, to grant their Demands in the manner they propoſed
"them, that all Matters that concern'd the Publick &c. ſhould be re-
"ſolved, and tranſacted only in Parliament, and ſuch other matters of
"State &c. by the Privy Council ſo choſen, was in effect at once to de-
"poſe Himſelf, and his Poſterity. He ſaid, many expreſſions in their
"Demands, had a greater Latitude of ſignification, than they ſeem'd to
"have; and that it concern'd his Majeſty therefore the more, that they
"ſhould ſpeak out; that both He, and his People, might either know the
"bottom of their demands, or know them to be bottomleſs. Nothing
"more concern'd the Publick, and was indeed more proper for the high
"Court of Parliament, than the making of Laws; which not only ought
"there to be tranſacted, but could be tranſacted no where elſe. But
"then they muſt admit his Majeſty to be a Part of the Parliament; they
"muſt not (as the ſenſe was of that part of that Demand, if it had any)
"deny the freedom of his Anſwer, when He had as much right to reject
"what he thought unreaſonable, as They had to propoſe what they
"thought convenient, or neceſſary. Nor was it poſſible his Anſwers,
"either to Bills or any other Propoſitions, ſhould be wholely free, if
"he might not uſe the liberty, that every one of Them, and every Sub-
"ject took, to receive Advice (without their danger who ſhould give it)
"from any Perſon known or unknown, ſworn or unſworn, in thoſe
"matters in which the manage of his Vote is truſted, by the Law, to
"his own judgment and conſcience; which how beſt to inform was, and
"ever ſhould be, left likewiſe to Him. He ſaid, he would allways, with
"due conſideration, weigh the Advices both of his Great, and Privy
"Council; yet he ſhould likewiſe look on their Advices, as Advices, not
"as Commands, or Impoſitions; upon them, as his Counſellors, not as
"his Tutors, or Guardians; and upon Himſelf, as their King, not as their
"Pupil, or Ward: For, he ſaid, whatſoever of Regality was, by the mo-
"deſty of Interpretation, left in his Majeſty, in the firſt part of the ſe-
"cond Demand, as to the Parliament, was taken from him, in the ſecond
"part of the ſame, and placed in that new fangled kind of Counſellors,
"whoſe power was ſuch, and ſo expreſſed by it, that in all Publick Acts
"concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for the Privy
"Council (for whoſe Advice all Publick Acts are ſometimes proper, tho'
"never neceſſary) they were deſired to be admitted joynt Patentees with
"his Majeſty in the Regality. And it was not plainly expreſſed, whe-
"ther they meant his Majeſty ſo much as a ſingle Vote in thoſe Affairs;
"but it was plain they meant him no more, at moſt, than a ſingle Vote
"in them; and no more power, than every one of the reſt of his fellow
"Counſellors.

And ſo after a ſharp diſcourſe, and explanation of the unreaſonable-
neſs of the ſeveral Demands, or the greateſt part of them, and the con-
fuſion that, by conſenting thereunto, would redound to the Subject in
general, as well as the diſhonour to his Majeſty (which may be read

at large by it ſelf) He told them, "to all thoſe unreaſonable demands, "his Anſwer was, *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*: But renewed his Pro- "miſe to them, for a very punctual and ſtrict obſervation of the known "Laws eſtabliſhed; to which purpoſe he was willing an Oath ſhould be "framed by them, and taken by all his Privy Counſellors. And for any "alteration in the Government of the Church, that a National Synod "ſhould be called, to propoſe what ſhould be found neceſſary or conve- "nient: And that for the advancement of the Proteſtant Religion againſt "the Papiſts, they had not propoſed ſo much to his Majeſty, as he was "willing to grant, or as he had himſelf offer'd before. He concluded "with conjuring Them, and all Men, to reſt ſatisfied with the truth of "his Majeſty's Profeſſions, and the reality of his Intentions; and not to "ask ſuch things as denied themſelves: That they would declare againſt "Tumults, and puniſh the Authors: That they would allow his Majeſty "his Property in his Towns, Armes, and Goods; and his ſhare in the "Legiſlative Power; which would be counted in Him, not only breach "of Priviledge, but Tyranny, and Subverſion of Parliaments, to deny "to Them: And, when they ſhould have given him ſatisfaction upon "thoſe Perſons, who had taken away the One, and recalled thoſe De- "clarations (particularly that of the 26th of *May*; and thoſe in the point "of the Militia, his juſt rights wherein he would no more part with, "than with his Crown, leſt he enabled others by them to take that from "him) which would take away the Other; and declined the beginnings "of a War againſt his Majeſty, under pretence of His intention of making "one againſt Them; as he had never oppoſed the Firſt part of the thir- "teenth Demand, ſo he would be ready to concur with them in the "Latter; and being then confident that the credit of thoſe Men, who "deſire a general combuſtion, would be ſo weaken'd with them, that "they would not be able to do this Kingdom any more hurt, he would "be willing to grant his General Pardon, with ſuch Exceptions as ſhould "be thought fit; and ſhould receive much more joy in the hope of a full, "and conſtant happineſs of his People in the true Religion, and under the "protection of the Law, by a bleſſed union between his Majeſty and "his Parliament, than in any ſuch increaſe of his own Revenue, how "much ſoever beyond former Grants, as (when his Subjects were weal- "thieſt) his Parliament could have ſettled upon his Majeſty.

THO' the King now lived at *York* in a much more Princely condition, than he could have hoped to have done near *London*; and had ſo great a train and reſort of the Nobility and Gentry, that there was not left a fifth part of the Houſe of Peers at *Weſtminſter*; and truly I do not believe, that there was near a Moiety of the Houſe of Commons who continued there; yet his Majeſty made no other uſe, for the preſent, of their preſence with Him, and of their abſence from the two Houſes, than to have ſo many the more, and the more credible Witneſſes of his Counſels and Carriage; and to undeceive the People by his clear Anſwers to all the Scandals and Reproaches which were laid on him, and by his ample profeſſions and proteſtations of his ſincere Zeal to Religion, and Juſtice; and to make it appear to them, how far the Quality and the Number of thoſe who thought, or ſeem'd to think otherwiſe, was, from what they might imagine it to be. And it cannot be denied, but the People were every day viſibly reformed in their underſtandings, from the ſuperſtitious reverence they had paid the two Houſes; and grew ſenſible of their duty to the King, and of thoſe Invaſions which were offer'd to his Regal dignity.

ON

ON the other side, the two Houses shall not their pace slow, proceeded with great and unusual sharpness against those Members who were gone to the King; Proclaiming some of them by Name "to be "Enemies to the Kingdom, and, by a Formal Judgment, sentencing Nine Peers together, "to be incapable of sitting again in Parliament, "whilst This should continue: The House of Commons having carried up an Impeachment of Misdemeanours against them (which was as illegal in point of Justice, and as extravagant in point of Privilege, as any thing they could do) "for being absent, and refusing to attend, upon a "Summons from the House of Peers: And upon their own Members they imposed a fine of 100 l. a piece, on every one who was gone to the King, and upon those, who being in other places, they thought were well affected to his Service: Yet, lest they should upon this proceeding return again, to disturb and cross their Councils, they provided, "that no Man "upon whom that Sentence fell, should sit again in the House (tho he "paid his fine) till he had been examined by a Committee, and so given "the House satisfaction in the cause of his absence. And, by those means, they thought both to remove the Scandal, that so many Members were absent, and to prevent any inconvenience too, that might befall them by their return. For they well knew, if the Members of both Houses were obliged to a constant and strict Attendance, it would not be possible that they could compass their mischievous Designs.

THEN they prosecuted their great Business of the Militia, not only near *London*, where they were in no danger of opposition, but in those Northern Counties near his Majesty, as *Leicester-shire*, *Cheshire*, *Lincoln-shire*, where whosoever refused to give obedience to them, or published the King's Proclamation against their proceedings (for the King had yet practiced no Expedient to prevent the growth of that mischief, but the publishing his Proclamation against it) were sent for as Delinquents; and not satisfied herewith, that they might be as well able to Pay an Army, as they found they should be to Raise one, on the tenth of *June* (for the time will be very necessary to be remember'd, that it may be the better stated, Who took up the Defensive Armes) they published Propositions "for the bringing in of Money or Plate to main- *Propositions, and Orders of both Houses for bringing in Money and Plate for maintaining Horse &c.* June 10. 1642.
"tain Horse, Horse-men, and Armes, for the preservation of the Publick "Peace, and for the defence of the King and both Houses of Parliament; "the Reasons and Grounds whereof they declared to be the King's Intention to make War against his Parliament: That, under pretence of a "Guard for his Person, he had actually begun to levy Forces, both of "Horse and Foot; and sent out Summons throughout the County of "*York*, for the calling together of greater Numbers; and some ill affected "Persons, in other parts, had been imployed to raise Troops, under the "colour of his Majesty's Service, making large offers of reward and preferment to such as would come in: That his Majesty did, with a high "and forcible hand, protect, and keep away Delinquents, not permitting "them to make their appearance to Answer such Affronts and Injuries, "as had been by them offer'd to the Parliament; and those Messengers, "which had been sent from the Houses for them, had been abused, beaten, "and imprisoned, so as the Orders of Parliament, the highest Court of "Justice in the Realm, were not obeyed; and the Authority of it was "altogether scorned, and vilified; and such Persons as stood well affected "to it, and declared themselves sensible of those publick Calamities, and "of the violations of the Priviledges of Parliament, and common Liberty

"of the Subject, were baffled, and injured by ſeveral ſorts of Malignant "Men, who were about the King; ſome whereof, under the name of "Cavaliers, without having reſpect to the Laws of the Land, or any "fear either of God or Man, were ready to commit all manner of Out-"rage and Violence; which muſt needs tend to the diſſolution of the Go-"vernment; the deſtruction of their Religion, Laws, Liberties, Pro-"perties; all which would be expoſed to the Malice and Violence of ſuch "deſperate Perſons, as muſt be imployed in ſo horrid and unnatural an "Act, as the overthrowing a Parliament by Force; which was the ſup-"port, and preſervation of them. Thoſe Particulars, they ſaid, being "duly conſidered by the Lords and Commons, and how great an obli-"gation lay upon them, in Honour, Conſcience, and Duty, according to "the high Truſt repoſed in them to uſe all poſſible means, in ſuch caſes, "to prevent ſo great and irrecoverable Evils, they had thought fit to "publiſh their ſenſe, and apprehenſion of that Imminent danger; there-"by to excite all well affected Perſons, to contribute their beſt aſſiſtance, "according to their ſolemn Vow and Proteſtation, to the Preparations "neceſſary for the oppoſing, and ſuppreſſing of the Trayterous Attempts "of thoſe wicked, and malignant Counſellors, who fought to engage the "King in ſo dangerous and deſtructive an enterpriſe, and the whole King-"dom in a Civil War; and deſtroy the Priviledges and Being of Par-"liaments.

"THIS recourſe to the good affections of thoſe, that tender their Re-"ligion and juſt Liberties, and the enjoyment of the bleſſed fruits of this "preſent Parliament, which were allmoſt ready to be reaped, and were "now as ready to be ruin'd by thoſe wicked hands, being, they ſaid, the "only remedy left them under God; and without which they were no "longer able to preſerve Themſelves, or Thoſe by whom they were en-"truſted: Therefore, they declared that whoſoever would bring in any "proportion of ready Money or Plate, or would underwrite to furniſh "and maintain any number of Horſe, Horſe-men, and Armes, for the "preſervation of the Publick Peace, and for the defence of the King, and "both Houſes of Parliament, from Force and Violence, and to uphold "the Power and Priviledges of Parliament according to his Proteſtation; "it ſhould be held a good and acceptable Service to the Common-wealth, "and a Teſtimony of his good affection to the Proteſtant Religion, the "Laws, Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdom; and to the Parliament, "and Priviledges thereof. And they further declared, that whoſoever "brought in Money or Plate, or furniſhed and maintained Horſe, Horſe-"men, and Armes, upon theſe Propoſitions, and to thoſe Purpoſes, ſhould "be repaid their Money with intereſt of eight *per Cent*; for which they "did engage the publick Faith, and they appointed the Guild-Hall in "*London* for the place whither this Money, or Plate, ſhould be brought; "and four Aldermen of *London* to be their Treaſurers for the receiving "the ſame; and likewiſe other Confiding Men to receive, and prize ſuch "Horſes and Armes, as ſhould be brought in for their Service. And "laſtly, for their better encouragement, the Members of both Houſes "appointed a ſolemn day to ſet down their own Subſcriptions; which "they performed liberally.

MOST of thoſe, who abhorred their impious Deſigns, not thinking it Lawful for them to be preſent at ſuch Conſultations, withdrew before the day came, or abſented themſelves Then. But many had the courage to be preſent, and ſtoutly to refuſe what they thought they could not

honeſtly

honeſtly conſent to. Sr *Henry Killigrew*, who was a remarkable Enemy to all their devices, being called upon, told them, "if there were occa-"ſion, he would provide a good Horſe, and a good Sword; and made "no queſtion but he ſhould find a good Cauſe. But, within very few days, both He, and all thoſe who were taken notice of for refuſing, found it ſafeſt for them to leave the Town; there being very visibly great animoſity againſt them both within, and without the Walls. And a Gentleman of good Quality aſſured me afterwards, that, within few days after he had refuſed to Subſcribe, he was privately adviſed by one of the other Faction, who yet retained ſome kindneſs to him, "to leave the "Town, leſt his Brains were beaten out by the Boys in the Streets. And many of thoſe, who too impotently deſired not to be looked upon as Refractory Perſons, and had pleaſed themſelves with Subſcribing more Articulately for the defence of the King's Perſon, found it afterwards neceſſary to ſupply whatſoever they had Subſcribed, to be imployed that way as was Declared to be for the defence of the King's Perſon, whatſoever their Intention was at firſt, or their Opinion after. And it is hardly credible, what a vaſt proportion of Plate was brought in to their Treaſurers within ten days; there being hardly Men enough to receive it, or room to lay it in; and the Throng being ſo great of the Bringers, that, in two days attendance, many could not be diſcharged of their Seditious Offerings. And, the very next day after theſe Propoſitions, they further ordered, "that there ſhould be a ſtrict ſearch and examination "made, by the Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and Conſtables, neat "all the Northern Roads, for the ſeiſing all Horſes for ſervice in the "Wars, or great Saddles, that ſhould be carried towards the North parts "of *England*, without the Privity or Direction of one or both Houſes "of Parliament; which was a great improvement of their former Order, which extended only to Armes and Ammunition; tho', the truth is, the Dexterity and Spirit of their Miniſters, who knew their Meaning, made the former allmoſt as inconvenient and dangerous to Paſſengers, as the latter.

IT was by many impatiently wonder'd at Then, and, no doubt, will be more cenſured Hereafter, that, notwithſtanding all theſe invaſions, and breaches upon the Regal Power, and all theſe vaſt Preparations to deſtroy him, the King, hitherto, put not himſelf into a poſture of ſafety; or provided for the reſiſtance of that Power, which threatn'd him; and which, he could not but know, Intended whatſoever it hath ſince Done; And tho' they had not yet form'd an Army, and choſen a General, yet, he well knew, they had Materials abundantly ready for the firſt, and particular, digeſted reſolutions, in the ſecond; which they could reduce to publick Acts, whenſoever they pleaſed. It is very true he did know all this, and the unſpeakable hazards he run, in not preparing againſt it. But the hazards, which preſented themſelves unto him on the other ſide, were not leſs Prodigious: He had a very great appearance of the Nobility; and not only of thoſe, who had from the beginning walked, and governed themſelves by the Rules the Law preſcribed, and, in that reſpect, were unblamable to King and People: But of Others who had paſſionately and peeviſhly (to ſay no worſe) concurred in all the moſt violent Votes and Actions, which had been done from the beginning. For beſides the Lord *Spencer* (who had been choſen their Lieutenant of *Northampton-ſhire*, but was recovered to a right underſtanding, of which he was very capable, by his Uncle the Earl of *Southampton*) the Lord

Paget likewise, who had contributed all his Faculties to Their ſervice, and to the prejudice of the King's, from before the beginning of the Parliament; had been one of their Teizers to broach thoſe bold high Overtures ſoberer Men were not, at firſt, willing to be ſeen in; and had been, as a Man moſt worthy to be Confided in, choſen Lord Lieutenant of one of the moſt Confiding Counties, the County of *Buckingham* (where he had, with great Solemnity and Pomp, executed their Ordinance, in defiance of the King's Proclamation) and had Subſcribed a greater number of Horſes for their Service, upon their Propoſitions, than any other of the ſame Quality; convinced in his conſcience, fled from them, and beſought the King's Pardon: And, for the better manifeſting the tenderneſs of his Compunction, and the horrour he had of his former Guilt, he frankly diſcovered whatſoever he had known of their Counſels; and aggravated all the ill they had done, with declaring it to be done to worſe and more horrid Ends, than many good Men believed to be poſſible for them to propoſe to themſelves.

NOTWITHSTANDING, this glorious Convention was rather an Ornament to his Court, than any great Advantage to his Counſels; and the uſe of them more to diſcredit the ſmall remainder at *Weſtminſter*, and that the People might ſee the number and quality of the Diſſenters, than that they contrived any thing to the active improvement of his affairs; every Man thinking it high merit in him, that he abſented himſelf from the Company and Place, where all the miſchief was done; and that the keeping himſelf Negatively innocent, was as much as he owed his King and Country. I am willing to impute it to the drowſy and unactive Genius of the Kingdom (contracted by long eaſe, and quiet) which ſo much abhorred the thoughts of a Civil War, that it thought a lively and vigorous preparation againſt it, was to invite it; and there were very few of all the great Lords, who did attend upon the King, who did not declare, "that the Parliament durſt not in truth (whatever ſhews they "made in hope to ſhake his Majeſty's conſtancy) make a War; and if "they ſhould attempt it, the People would unanimouſly riſe for the "King, who would be moſt ſafe by not intending his own ſafety. Where-"as, if he raiſed Forces, the Parliament would procure themſelves to be "believed, that it was to overthrow Religion, and ſuppreſs the Laws, "and Liberties of the People. They who were of another opinion, and could have ſpoken more reaſon, held it not ſafe to expreſs themſelves but in the King's own Ear; there being in the great Council of the Peers, who, for ſtate, were frequently Aſſembled, and by whom in truth the King then deſired to have tranſacted all things of Moment, ſome who were not good Counſel-Keepers, and others who were looked upon, and believed to be Spies upon the reſt. But that which made the thought of raiſing Forces (whatever Arguments there were for it) abſolutely unreaſonable, was, that the King had no poſſibility to procure either Armes, or Munition, but from *Holland*; from whence he daily expected ſupply: And till that arrived, let his Provocations and Sufferings be what they could be, he was to ſubmit and bear it patiently.

IN the mean time, for a ground of further proceeding upon occaſion, the King deſired the Peers in Council, to ſet down in writing the Affronts, and Violence, which had been offer'd to them at *London*, by which their Preſence in the great Council of the Kingdom was rendr'd both unſafe, and diſhonourable; the which they the more willingly condeſcended to, for that the *London* Pamphlets already aſperſed them, as

Deſerters

Deſerters of the Parliament, and Betrayers of the Liberty of their Country: An Inſtrument being drawn up and agreed upon between them, in which they ſet down "the Tumults, and the Violence offer'd to particu-"lar Perſons in thoſe Tumults; the Threats and Menaces of the Rabble, "at the doors of the Houſe, when they had a mind any Exorbitant thing "ſhould paſs; the Breach and Violation of the old Orders, and Rules of "Parliament, whilſt Matters were in debate, and the reſuming Matters "again in a thin Houſe; and reverſing, waving, or contradicting Reſolu-"tions made in a full Houſe: And, laſtly, Mr *Hollis*'s coming to the Bar, "and demanding the Names of thoſe Lords who refuſed to conſent to the "Militia, when the multitude without, menaced and threaten'd all thoſe "Diſſenters: after which, they ſaid, "they conceived, they could not be "preſent there, with Honour, Freedom, or Safety; and therefore forbore "to be any more preſent; and ſo all thoſe Votes, Concluſions, and Decla-"rations had paſſed, which had begot thoſe Diſtractions throughout the "Kingdom. And this they delivered to the King, ſigned under their Hands. And yet (which is a ſufficient Inſtance how unendued Men were with that Spirit and Courage, which was requiſite) the next day after the delivery, many Lords came to his Majeſty, and beſought him "that he would by no means publiſh that Paper, but keep it in his own "hands; ſome of them ſaying, "that, if it were publiſhed, they would "diſavow it: ſo that material and weighty Evidence, which Then might have been of Soveraign uſe to the King, was render'd utterly ineffectual to his Service; his Majeſty finding it neceſſary to engage his Princely word to them, "never to make it publick without Their conſent; which he performed moſt punctually; and ſo, to this day, it was never divulged.

To make ſome little amends for this want of mettle (for it proceeded from nothing elſe, They being moſt ſhy in ſubſcribing, and moſt paſſionate againſt publiſhing, who were of unqueſtionable Affection to his Majeſty, and integrity to his Cauſe) and that the world might ſee, there was a Combination among good Men, to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the defence of the Law, as well as there was Againſt both by others: Upon the King's declaring himſelf fully in Council, where all the Peers were preſent, "that, as He would not require or exact any obedience from them, "but what ſhould be warranted by the known Law of the Land; ſo "he did expect that They would not yield to any Commands not legally "grounded, or impoſed by any other: That he would defend every one "of them, and all ſuch as ſhould refuſe any ſuch Commands, whether "they proceeded from Votes, and Orders of both Houſes, or any other "way, from all dangers and hazards whatſoever. That his Majeſty "would defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by the Law of "the Land; the Lawful Liberties of the Subjects of *England*; and juſt "Priviledges of all the Three Eſtates of Parliament; and would require "no further obedience from them, than as accordingly he ſhould per-"form the ſame: And his Majeſty did further declare, that he would "not, as was falſely pretended, engage them, or any of them, in any "War againſt the Parliament; except it were for his neceſſary defence "and ſafety, againſt ſuch as did inſolently invade or attempt againſt his "Majeſty, or ſuch as ſhould adhere to his Majeſty: All the Peers engaged themſelves, "not to obey any Orders, or Commands whatſoever, "not warranted by the known Laws of the Land; and to defend his "Majeſty's Perſon, Crown and Dignity, together with his Juſt and Legal

His Majeſty's Declaration to the Lords attending him at York, June 13. 1642.

The promiſe of the Lords and others thereupon.

"Prerogative, againſt all Perſons and Power whatſoever: That they "would defend the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed by the Law of "the Land; the Lawful Liberties of the Subject of *England*; and juſt "Priviledges of his Majeſty, and both his Houſes of Parliament: And "laſtly, they engaged themſelves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordi- "nance whatſoever, concerning any Militia, that had not the Royal "Aſſent.

THIS being Subſcribed by their Lordſhips was, with their conſent, immediately printed, and carefully divulged over the Kingdom, bearing date at *York* the thirteenth of *June* 1642. with the Names of the Subſcribers. Two days after, his Majeſty in Council taking notice of the Rumours ſpread, and Informations given, which might induce many to believe, that his Majeſty intended to make War againſt his Parliament, "profeſſed before God, and ſaid, he declared to all the World, that "he allways had, and did abhor all ſuch Deſigns, and deſired all his No- "bility and Council, who were there upon the place, to declare, whether "they had not been Witneſſes of his frequent, and earneſt Declarations "and Profeſſions to that purpoſe: Whether they ſaw any Colour of Pre- "paration or Councils, that might reaſonably beget a belief of any ſuch "deſign; and whether they were not fully perſwaded, that his Majeſty "had no ſuch Intention: But that all his Endeavours, according to his "many Profeſſions, tended to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true "Proteſtant Religion; the juſt Priviledges of Parliament; the Liberty "of the Subject; the Law, Peace, and Proſperity of this Kingdom:

His Majeſty's Declaration and profeſſion of June 15. 1642. *diſavowing any Intentions of raiſing War.*

WHEREUPON all the Lords, and Counſellors preſent, unanimouſly agreed, and did ſign a Paper in theſe words:

"WE, whoſe Names are under written, in obedience to his Majeſty's "deſire, and out of the duty which we owe to his Majeſty's Honour, and "to Truth, being here upon the place, and Witneſſes of his Majeſty's fre- "quent, and earneſt Declarations and Profeſſions of his abhorring all De- "ſigns of making War upon his Parliament; and not ſeeing any colour "of Preparations or Counſels, that might reaſonably beget the belief of "any ſuch Deſigns, do profeſs before God, and teſtify to all the World, "that we are fully perſwaded that his Majeſty hath no ſuch intention: "But that all his endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of "the true Proteſtant Religion; the juſt Priviledges of Parliament; the "Liberty of the Subject; the Law, Peace, and Proſperity of this King- "dom. Which Teſtimony, and Declaration was Subſcribed by

The Declaration, and Profeſſion of the Lords and Counſellors to the ſame effect.

Lord *Littleton* Lord Keeper.	Duke of *Richmond.*	Earl of *Lindſey.*
Marquis of *Hertford.*	Earl of *Cumberland.*	Earl of *Bath.*
Earl of *Southampton.*	Earl of *Salisbury.*	Earl of *Dorſet.*
Earl of *Devonſhire.*	Earl of *Cambridge.*	Earl of *Northampton.*
Earl of *Clare.*	Earl of *Weſtmoreland.*	Earl of *Briſtol.*
Earl of *Monmouth.*	Earl *Rivers.*	Earl of *Barkſhire.*
Earl of *Carnarvan.*	Earl of *Newport.*	Earl of *Dover.*
Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby.*	Lord *Grey of Ruthin.*	Lord *Mowbray*, and *Martravers.*
Lord *Newark.*	Lord *Pawlet.*	Lord *Howard* of *Charleton.*
Lord *Rich.*	Lord *Savil.*	Lord *Lovelace.*
Lord *Coventry.*	Lord *Dunſmore.*	Lord *Mohun.*
Lord *Capel.*		Lord *Seymour.*
Lord *Falkland.*	Sr *P. Wich* Controller.	Secretary *Nicholas.*
	Sr *J. Colepepper* Chan. Exch.	Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks.*

THIS Teſtimony of the Lords and Counſellors was immediately printed, and publiſhed, together with a Declaration of his Majeſty's; in which he ſaid,

"THAT

"THAT tho' he had, in the laſt ſeven Months, met with ſo many ſe- His Majeſty's Declaration thereupon.
"veral encounters of ſtrange and unuſual Declarations, under the Name
"of both his Houſes of Parliament, that he ſhould not be amazed at any
"new Prodigy of that kind; and tho' their laſt of the 26th of *May* gave
"him a fair warning that the Contrivers of it having ſpent all their ſtock
"of bitter and reproachful Language upon him, he was now to expect
"they ſhould break out into ſome bold, and diſloyal Actions againſt him:
"And, having by that Declaration, as far as in them lay, deveſted his
"Majeſty of that Præeminence and Authority, which God, the Law,
"the Cuſtom and Conſent of this Nation had placed in him, and aſſumed
"it to Themſelves, that they ſhould likewiſe, with expedition, put forth
"the fruits of that Supreme Power, for the violating, and ſuppreſſing
"the other which they deſpiſed (an effect of which reſolution, he ſaid,
"their Declaration againſt his Proclamation concerning the pretended
"Ordinance for the Militia, and their puniſhing of the Proclaimers ap-
"peared to be) yet, he muſt confeſs, in their laſt Attempt (he ſaid, he
"ſpoke of the laſt he knew; they might probably ſince, or at that pre-
"ſent, have out done That too) they had out done what his Majeſty had
"conceived was their preſent intention. And whoſoever heard of Pro-
"poſitions, and Orders, for the bringing in of Money or Plate to main-
"tain Horſe, and Horſe-men, and Armes, for the preſervation of the
"Publick Peace, or for the Defence of the King and both Houſes of Par-
"liament (ſuch was their Declaration, or what they pleaſe to call it, of
"the tenth of *June*) would ſurely believe the Peace of the Kingdom to
"be extremely ſhaken; and, at leaſt, the King himſelf to be conſulted
"with, and privy to thoſe Propoſitions. But, he ſaid, he hoped, that
"when his good Subjects ſhould find, that that goodly Pretence of de-
"fending the King, was but a ſpecious bait to ſeduce weak, and incon-
"ſiderate Men into the higheſt Acts of diſobedience and diſloyalty againſt
"his Majeſty, and of violence and deſtruction upon the Laws and Con-
"ſtitutions of the Kingdom, they would no longer be captivated by an
"implicit reverence to the Name of both Houſes of Parliament; but
"would carefully examine, and conſider what Number of Perſons were
"preſent; and What perſons were prevalent in thoſe Conſultations;
"and how the Debates were probably managed, from whence ſuch hor-
"rid and monſtrous Concluſions did reſult; and would at leaſt weigh
"the Reputation, Wiſdom, and Affection of thoſe, who were notoriouſly
"known out of the very horrour of their Proceedings to have with-
"drawn themſelves; or, by their skill and violence to be driven from
"Them, and their Counſels.

"HIS Majeſty ſaid, whilſt their Fears and Jealouſies did ariſe, or were
"infuſed into the People, from diſcourſes of the Rebels in *Ireland*, of
"Skippers at *Roterdam*, of Forces from *Denmark*, *France*, or *Spain*
"(how improbable and ridiculous ſoever that bundle of Information
"appear'd to all wiſe, and knowing Men) it was no wonder if the eaſi-
"neſs to deceive, and the willingneſs to be deceived, did prevail over
"many of his weak Subjects to believe, that the dangers, which they did
"not ſee, might proceed from cauſes which they did not underſtand:
"But for them to declare to all the world, that his Majeſty intended to
"make War againſt his Parliament (whilſt he ſat ſtill complaining to
"God Allmighty of the injury offer'd to Him, and to the very Being of
"Parliaments) and that he had allready begun actually to levy Forces
"both of Horſe and Foot (whilſt he had only, in a legal way, provided a

"ſmaller Guard for the ſecurity of his own Perſon ſo near a Rebellion at
"*Hull*, than They had, without Lawful Authority, above theſe eight
"Months, upon imaginary and impoſſible dangers) to impoſe upon his
"Peoples Senſe, as well as their Underſtanding, by telling them his Ma-
"jeſty was doing that which they ſaw he was not doing, and intending
"that, they all knew, as much as Intentions could be known, he was
"not intending, was a boldneſs agreeable to no power but the Omnipo-
"tency of thoſe Votes, whoſe abſolute Supremacy had allmoſt brought
"confuſion upon the King and People; and againſt which no knowledge
"in matter of Fact, or Conſent and Authority in matter of Law, they
"would endure ſhould be oppoſed.

"His Majeſty ſaid, he had, upon all occaſions, with all poſſible ex-
"preſſions, profeſſed his firm and unſhaken reſolutions for Peace. And,
"he ſaid, he did again, in the preſence of Allmighty God, his Maker
"and Redeemer, aſſure the world, that he had no more thought of making
"War againſt his Parliament, than againſt his own Children: That he
"would obſerve, and maintain the Acts aſſented to by him this Parlia-
"ment without violation; of which, That for the frequent Aſſembling
"of Parliaments was one: And that he had not, nor would have, any
"thought of uſing any Force; unleſs he ſhould be driven to it, for the
"ſecurity of his Perſon, and for the defence of the Religion, Laws, and
"Liberty of the Kingdom, and the juſt Rights and Priviledges of Par-
"liament: And therefore he hoped the Malignant Party, who had ſo
"much deſpiſed his Perſon, and uſurped his Office, ſhould not, by their
"ſpecious fraudulent inſinuations, prevail with his good Subjects to give
"credit to their wicked Aſſertions; and ſo to contribute their Power,
"and Aſſiſtance for the ruin and deſtruction of Themſelves, and his Ma-
"jeſty.

"For the Guard about his Perſon (which, he ſaid, not ſo much their
"Example, as their Provocation had enforced him to take) it was known
"it conſiſted of the prime Gentry, in fortune and reputation, of that
"Country; and of One Regiment of Train'd-bands; who had been ſo
"far from offering any Affronts, Injuries, or Diſturbance to any of his
"good Subjects, that their principal End was to prevent ſuch; and ſo,
"might be Security, could be no Grievance to his People. That ſome
"ill affected Perſons, or any Perſons, had been imployed in other parts
"to raiſe Troops, under colour of his Majeſty's Service; or that ſuch
"had made large, or any, offers of reward, and preferment to ſuch as
"would come in, which had been alledged by them, was, he ſaid, for
"ought he knew, or believed, an untruth deviſed by the Contrivers of
"that falſe Rumour. His Majeſty diſavowed it, and ſaid he was con-
"fident there would be no need of any ſuch Art, or Induſtry, to induce
"his loving Subjects, when they ſhould ſee his Majeſty oppreſſed, and
"their Liberties and Laws confounded (and till Then he would not call
"on them) to come in to him, and to aſſiſt him.

"For the Delinquents, whom his Majeſty was ſaid with a high and
"forcible hand to protect, he wiſhed they might be named, and their De-
"linquency: And if his Majeſty gave not ſatisfaction to Juſtice, when
"he ſhould have received ſatisfaction concerning Sr *John Hotham* by
"his Legal Trial, Then let him be blamed. But if the deſign were, as
"it was well known to be, after his Majeſty had been driven by force
"from his City of *London*, and kept by force from his Town of *Hull*,
"to protect all thoſe who were Delinquents againſt him, and to make

"all

"all those Delinquents who attended on him, or executed his Lawful "Commands, he said, he had great reason to be satisfyed in the truth and "justice of such Accusation, lest to be his Majesty's Servant, and to be "a Delinquent grew to be Terms so convertible, that, in a short time, "he were left as naked in Attendance, as they would have him in Power; "and so compel him to be waited upon only by such whom They should "appoint, and allow; and in whose presence he should be more misera-"bly alone, than in desolation it self. And if the seditious Contrivers "and Fomenters of that Scandal upon his Majesty, should have as they "had had, the power to mislead the Major part present of either or both "Houses to make such Orders, and send such Messages and Messengers, "as they had lately done, for the apprehension of the great Earls and "Barons of *England*, as if they were Rogues or Felons; and whereby "Persons of Honour and Quality were made Delinquents, meerly for "attending upon his Majesty and upon his Summons; whilst other Men "were forbid to come near him, tho' obliged by the duty of their Place "and Oaths, upon his Lawful Commands: It was no wonder if Such "Messengers were not very well intreated; and Such Orders not well "obeyed; neither could there be a surer, or a cunninger way found out "to render the Authority of both Houses scorn'd and vilified, than to "assume to themselves (meerly upon the Authority of the Name of Par-"liament) a Power monstrous to all understandings; and to do Actions, "and to make Orders, evidently and demonstrably contrary to all known "Law, and Reason (as to take up Armes against his Majesty under co-"lour of defending him; to cause Money to be brought in to Them, and "to forbid his own Money to be paid to his Majesty, or to his use, under "colour that he would imploy it ill; to beat him, and starve him for his "own Good, and by His Power and Authority) which would in short "time make the greatest Court, and greatest Person, cheap and of no "estimation.

"WHO those sensible Men were of the publick Calamities, of the vio-"lations of the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Common Liberty of "the Subject, who had been baffled, and injured by Malignant Men, and "Cavaliers about his Majesty, his Majesty said, he could not imagine. "And if those Cavaliers were so much without the fear of God and Man, "and so ready to commit all manner of outrage and violence, as was "pretended, his Majesty's Government ought to be the more esteem'd, "which had kept them from doing so; insomuch as he believed, no Per-"son had cause to complain of any injury, or of any damage, in the least "degree, by any Man about his Majesty, or who had offer'd his Service "to him. All which being, he said, duly consider'd, if the Contrivers "of those Propositions and Orders had been truly sensible of the obli-"gations, which lay upon them in Honour, Conscience and Duty, ac-"cording to the high Trust reposed in them by his Majesty, and his Peo-"ple, they would not have published such a sense and apprehension of "Imminent danger, when themselves, in their Consciences, knew that "the greatest, and indeed only danger, which threaten'd the Church and "State, the blessed Religion and Liberty of his People, was in their own "desperate and seditious Designs; and would not have endeavoured, "upon such weak and groundless reasons, to seduce his good Subjects "from their Affection and Loyalty to him, to run themselves into "Actions unwarrantable, and destructive to the Peace and Foundation "of the Common-wealth.

AND

"AND that all his loving Subjects might see, how cauſleſs and ground-
"leſs that ſcandalous Rumour, and Imputation of his Majeſty's raiſing
"War upon his Parliament, was, he had, with that his Declaration,
"cauſed to be printed the Teſtimony of thoſe Lords, and other Perſons
"of his Council, who were there with him; who, being upon the place,
"could not but diſcover ſuch his Intentions and Preparations; and could
"not be ſuſpected for their Honours and Intereſts to combine in ſuch
"miſchievous, and horrid reſolutions.

"AND therefore, his Majeſty ſaid, he ſtreightly charged and com-
"manded all his loving Subjects, upon their Allegiance, and as they
"would Anſwer the contrary at their Perils, that they ſhould yield no
"obedience, or conſent to the ſaid Propoſitions and Orders; and that
"they preſume not under any ſuch Pretences, or by colour of any ſuch
"Orders, to raiſe or levy any Horſe or Men, or to bring in any Money
"or Plate to ſuch purpoſe. But, he ſaid, if notwithſtanding that clear
"Declaration, and Evidence of his intentions, thoſe Men (whoſe de-
"ſign it was to compel his Majeſty to raiſe War upon his Parliament;
"which all their skill and malice ſhould never be able to effect) ſhould
"think fit, by thoſe Alarms, to awaken him to a more neceſſary care
"of the defence of Himſelf, and his People; and ſhould Themſelves,
"under colour of Defence, in ſo unheard of a manner provide (and ſe-
"duce others to do ſo too) to Offend his Majeſty, having given him ſo
"lively a Teſtimony of their Affections, what they were willing to do,
"when they ſhould once have made themſelves Able; all his good Sub-
"jects would think it neceſſary for his Majeſty, to look to Himſelf. And
"he did therefore excite all his well affected People, according to their
"Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy, and according to their ſolemn
"Vow, and Proteſtation (whereby they were obliged to defend his Per-
"ſon, Honour, and Eſtate) to contribute their beſt Aſſiſtance to the
"Preparations neceſſary for the oppoſing, and ſuppreſſing of the Tray-
"terous Attempts of ſuch wicked and malignant Perſons; who would
"deſtroy his Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, and engage the whole King-
"dom in a Civil War, to ſatisfy their own lawleſs Fury and Ambition;
"and ſo rob his good Subjects of the bleſſed fruit of this preſent Parlia-
"ment; which they allready in ſome degree had, and might ſtill reap,
"to the abundant ſatisfaction and joy of the whole Kingdom, if ſuch
"wicked hands were not ready to ruin all their poſſeſſions, and fruſtrate
"all their hopes. And, in that caſe, his Majeſty declared, that whoſo-
"ever, of what Degree or Quality ſoever, ſhould then, upon ſo urgent
"and viſible neceſſity of His, and ſuch apparent diſtraction of the King-
"dom, cauſed, and begotten by the malice and contrivance of that Ma-
"lignant Party, bring in to his Majeſty, and to his uſe, ready Money,
"or Plate; or ſhould underwrite to furniſh any Number of Horſe, Horſe-
"men, and Armes, for the preſervation of the Publick Peace and defence
"of his Perſon, and the vindication of the Priviledge and Freedom of
"Parliament, he would receive it as a moſt acceptable Service, and as
"a Teſtimony of his ſingular Affection to the Proteſtant Religion, the
"Laws, Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdom; and would no longer de-
"ſire the continuance of that Affection, than he would be ready to juſtify,
"and maintain the other with the hazard of his life.

AND ſo concluded with the ſame Overtures They had done, in their Propoſitions for the Loane of Money at Intereſt; "offering, for the ſe-
"curity thereof, an Aſſurance of ſuch his Lands, Forreſts, Parks, and
"Houſes,

"Houſes, as ſhould be ſufficient for the ſame; a more real ſecurity, he "ſaid, than the Name of publick Faith, given without him, and againſt "him; as if his Majeſty were not part of the Publick; And beſides, he "would allways look upon it as a ſervice moſt affectionately, and ſea-"ſonably performed for the preſervation of his Majeſty, and the King-"dom. But, he ſaid, he ſhould be much gladder that their ſubmiſſion "to thoſe his Commands, and their deſiſting from any ſuch Attempt of "raiſing Horſe or Men, might eaſe all his good Subjects of that charge, "trouble, and vexation.

IT will be wonder'd at hereafter, when, by what hath been ſaid, the Number and Quality of the Peers is conſider'd, who, by abſenting themſelves from the Houſe, and their reſort to his Majeſty, ſufficiently declared, that they liked not thoſe Concluſions which begot thoſe Diſtractions; why both thoſe Peers and likewiſe ſuch Members of the Commons, who then, and afterwards appeared in the King's Service, and were indeed full, or very near one Moiety of that Houſe, did not rather, by their diligent and faithful Attendance in the Houſes, according to their ſeveral Truſts repoſed in them, diſcountenance and reſiſt thoſe pernicious and fatal tranſactions, than, by withdrawing themſelves from their proper Stations, leave the other (whoſe ruinous Intentions were ſufficiently diſcover'd) poſſeſſed of the Reputation, Authority, and Power of a Parliament; by which, it was evident, the People would be eaſily, to a great degree, ſeduced. And tho' the obſerving Reader may, upon the collection of the ſeveral paſſages here ſet down, be able to anſwer thoſe objections to himſelf; I am the rather induced, in this place, to apply my ſelf to the clearing that Point, becauſe not only many honeſt Men, who, at a diſtance, have conſider'd it, without being Privy to the paſſages within the walls, and thoſe breaches which fatally deſtroyed, and took away the Liberty and Freedom of thoſe Councils, have been really troubled or unſatisfied with that Deſertion, as they call it, of the Service to which they were incumbent, and choſen; but that I have heard ſome, who were the chief, if not the ſole Promoters of thoſe Violations, and the moſt violent Deſigns, and have ſince (out of the Ruptures, which have proceeded from their own Animoſities) either been, or been thought to be, more moderately inclined, complain, "that the withdraw-"ing of ſo many Members from the two Houſes, was the Principal "Cauſe of all Calamities. And they who have been the true Authors of them, and ſtill continue the ſame men, have taken pains to make, and declare the others "Deſerters of their Country, and betrayers of "their Truſts, by their Voluntary withdrawing themſelves from that "Council.

IN the doing whereof, I ſhall not, I cannot, make any excuſe for thoſe (of whom ſomewhat is before ſpoken) who, from the beginning of this Parliament, and in the whole progreſs of it, either out of lazineſs, or negligence, or incogitancy, or wearineſs, forbore to give their attendance there, when the Number of thoſe wo really intended theſe prodigious Alterations was very inconſiderable; and daily drew many to their opinions, upon no other ground than that the Number of the Diſſenters appeared not equally diligent, and intent upon their Aſſertions: Neither can I excuſe the Peers, the moderate Part whereof being Four for One, ſuffer'd themſelves to be conſen'd, and perſwaded, and threaten'd out of their Rights by a handful of Men, whom they might, in the beginning, eaſily have cruſhed; whereas in the Houſe of Commons

the great Managers were Men of notable parts, much reputation, admirable dexterity; Pretenders to severe justice, and regularity; and then the Number of the weak, and the wilful, who naturally were to be guided by them, allways made up a Major part; so that, from the beginning, they were allways able to carry whatsoever they set their hearts vitiously upon; at least, to discredit, or disgrace any particular Man against whom they thought necessary to proceed, albeit of the most unblemished reputation, and upon the most frivolous suggestions; so that they could not but be very formidable in that House, to all but the most abstracted Men from all vulgar considerations.

But, I am confident, whosoever diligently resolves the several passages in both Houses, from the time of the publishing the first Remonstrance, upon his Majesty's Return from *Scotland*, to the time of which we last speak, must be of opinion, that the resorting of so many Members Then to his Majesty (from whom all the Lords, and some of the Commons, received Commands to that purpose) or to such places where they thought they might be of greatest use to his Majesty in preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, was not only an Act of Duty, but of such Prudence and Discretion, as sober and honest Men were to be guided by. In the House of Peers, the Bishops, who had as much Right to sit there, and were as much Members of Parliament as any Lord there, were first, by direct violence and force, a great part of them, driven and kept from thence, till the Bill, for the Total expulsion of the whole Order from those seats, was passed; such of the Peers, who were most remarkable for adhering to the Government of the Church, being, in the mean time, threatened publickly by the Rabble; and some of their Persons Assaulted. The business of the Militia had been twice, upon solemn debate in a full House, rejected there; till such force and violence was brought to the very doors, such expostulations and threats delivered within the doors against those, who refused to concur with them in that business, that no Man had reason to believe his life out of danger from those rude hands, who was taken notice of for an Opposer of their unreasonable desires; some of them having been declared Enemies to their Country, for having refused what was in their power lawfully to refuse; and others having been Criminally accused by the Commons, for Words spoken by them in Debates of the House of Peers; after which many of them were sent for, by special Letters, to attend his Majesty (which Letters were allways thought to be a good, and warrantable, and sufficient ground to be absent from the House; nor had such Summons, from the beginning of Parliaments to this present, ever been neglected) with whom they had not been many weeks, but two of them, as hath been mention'd before, upon an untrue and extravagant information, without further examination, were declared Enemies to the Kingdom; and nine others by solemn judgment, upon an Impeachment brought up by the Commons against them, only for being absent, and for what only concern'd the Privilege and Jurisdiction of the Peers, were disabled to sit in the House again during this Session; so that, if they would have returned, they were actually excluded that Council.

In the House of Commons, the case was worse. First, they who had, with that Liberty which is essential to Parliaments, and according to their understandings, dissented or declared a dislike of what the Violent Party so vehemently pursued, were, as hath been said before, declared Enemies to their Country; and their Names posted up in Paper, or Parchment,

Parchment, at moſt eminent places, under ſome opprobrious Character; which, tho' it was not avowed, and had no Authority from the Houſe by any publick Act, yet, being complain'd of, was neither redreſſed, nor was the complaint ſo countenanced, that it could be concluded the Violation was unacceptable: ſo, tho' the Tumults were not directly ſummon'd or aſſembled, it is evident, by what hath been before ſet forth truly and at large, that they found there viſible countenance, and encouragement.

THEN, what had been, upon full and ſolemn Debates in a full Houſe, rejected, was many times, in a thin Houſe, and at unuſual and unparliamentary Hours, reſumed, and determined contrary to the former Concluſions: Yet Men ſatisfied themſelves with doing what they thought their Duty, and reaſonably oppoſing what the Major part order'd to be done; hoping that Men's underſtandings would be ſhortly better inform'd; and that tho' high and irreverent Expreſſions, and Words were ſometimes uſed againſt the King, there would be abſtaining from unlawful and dangerous Actions; and that the Houſe of Peers, at leaſt, would never be brought to joyn, or concur in any Act prejudicial to the Soveraign power. But when they ſaw a new way found out by the dexterity of the Major part in the Houſe of Commons, to make the Minor part of the Lords too hard for the Major; and ſo, whilſt all Men were tranſported with jealouſy of the breach of Priviledge of Parliament by the King, that there was, by the Houſes Themſelves, an abſolute rooting up of all Priviledges: That from Metaphyſical conſiderations, what *might* be done in caſe of neceſſity, the Militia of the Kingdom was Actually ſeiſed on; and put under a Command contrary to, and againſt the King's Command: That there was then a Reſolution taken by thoſe (who could Act their Reſolutions when they pleaſed) to make a General, and to oblige all the Members to live and dye with that General; which will be anon more particularly mention'd (for that Reſolution was well known before the time, that thoſe many Members removed to *York*, and withdrew to other places; and was executed within three or four days after) Men thought it high time to look to their innocence, and (ſince by the Courſe and Orders of that Houſe, they could leave no monument or evidence of their diſſenting, as the Lords might, by their Proteſtations upon any unlawful Act, or Reſolution) to declare their diſlike of what was Done, by not being preſent at the Doing: And it was reaſonably thought, there being no other way peaceably and ſecurely to do it, that the Kingdom, underſtanding the Number of thoſe that were preſent at ſuch new tranſactions, and weighing the Quality, Number, and Reputation of thoſe who were abſent, would be beſt induced to peſer the old Laws of the Kingdom, before the new Votes (deſtructive to thoſe Laws) of thoſe few Men, who called themſelves the two Houſes of Parliament; and that it would prove a good Expedient to work upon the conſciences, and modeſty of thoſe who ſtayed behind, to conclude it neceſſary, by ſome fair Addreſſes to his Majeſty, to endeavour ſuch a general good underſtanding, that a perfect union might be made; and the Priviledge, Dignity, and Security of Parliament, be eſtabliſhed according to the true, and juſt Conſtitution of it.

IT is true, how reaſonably ſoever it might be expected, it produced not that Ingenuity; but they who had been troubled with the company of them that afterwards withdrew, and, by the oppoſition they made, could not make that expedition in the miſchief they intended, were glad they

they were rid of them; yet, shortly, considering what influence indeed it might have upon understanding Men, they found a way to exact a re-preach upon those who were absent, and yet to prevent any inconvenience to themselves by their return, publishing an Order, "that all "the Members absent should appear at such a day, under the Penalty "of paying each 100 fine for his absence, and whosoever did not ap-"pear at that day (which gave not time enough to any who were at a distance) "should not presume to sit in the House, before he had paid his "fine, and satisfied the House with the cause of his absence; So that all those who were with the King, and very many more, who had really withdrawn themselves to refresh their minds, or upon necessary affairs of their own, with a purpose to return, clearly discern'd themselves excluded from sitting any more there; it being sufficiently manifest, that the Cause of their absence would never be approved, if their Persons were disliked, and their Opinions disapproved. Which appeared quickly, for the day was no sooner past, but they, without the least warrant of Precedent or colour of Right, expelled very many, sometimes twenty a day, not only of those who were with the King, but of others who had given them equal distast; and order'd new Writs to issue out to choose other Members in their Rooms.

IT cannot be denied but some very honest and intire Men stayed still there, and opposed all their unjustifiable proceedings with great courage, and much liberty of Speech; which was more frankly permitted to them than had been before, when the Number of the Dissenters was greater; and it may be there are still some who satisfy themselves that they have performed their Duty, by allways having denied to give their consent to whatsoever hath been seditiously, or illegally concluded. But I must Appeal to the consciences of those very Men, whether they have not been many times, by staying there, compelled or terrified to do, and submit to many Acts contrary to their Conscience, in cases of Conscience; and contrary to their Judgment and Knowledge, in matters of Law, and Right; and contrary to their Oaths and Duties, in matters of Allegiance; and whether if they had refused so to do, they should not have been plunder'd, expelled, and committed to Prison? And then They cannot be thought to have proceeded unreasonably, who, to preserve their Innocence, and their Liberty, chose to undergo all the other Censures and Difficulties, which could befall them, and which have been since plentifully poured upon them. But to return.

THE King had, at this time, called to him some Judges, and Lawyers of eminency; by whose Advice he published a Declaration concerning the Militia, and asserted "the Right of the Crown in granting Commis-"sions of Array, for the better ordering and governing thereof; and, at the same time, issued out those Commissions to all Counties, "expressly "forbidding any obedience to be given to the Ordinance for the Militia "by both Houses, under the penalty of High Treason. This only improved the Paper-combate in Declarations, either Party insisting, "that "the Law was on Their side," and the People giving obedience to either, according to their conveniences. And many did believe, that if the King had reported to the old known way of Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants, his service would have been better carried on; the Commission of Array being a thing they had not before heard of, tho' founded upon an Ancient Act of Parliament, in the Reign of *Hen.* IV. and so was received with jealousy, and easily discredited by the glosses and suggestions of the Houses.

BESIDES

BESIDES that ſome Men of very good Affections to the Crown, and averſe enough to the extravagant pretences and proceedings of the Parliament, did not conceal their prejudice to the Commiſſion of Array, as not warranted by Law; which did very much work upon other Men, and made the obedience leſs chearful that was given to that ſervice. M. *Selden* had, in the Debate upon that Subject in the Houſe of Commons, declared himſelf very poſitively, and with much ſharpneſs, againſt the Commiſſion of Array, as a thing expreſsly without any Authority of Law; the Statute upon which it was grounded being, as he ſaid, repealed; and diſcourſed very much of the ill Conſequences, which might reſult from ſubmitting to it. He anſwer'd the Arguments which had been uſed to ſupport it; and eaſily prevailed with the Houſe not to like a proceeding, which they knew was intended to do them hurt, and to leſſen their Authority. But his Authority and Reputation prevailed much further than the Houſe, and begot a prejudice againſt it in many well affected Men without doors: When the King was informd of it, he was much troubled, having looked upon M. *Selden* as well diſpoſed to his Service. And the Lord *Falkland*, with his Majeſty's leave, writ a friendly Letter to M. *Selden*, "to know his reaſon, why, in ſuch a "conjuncture, whatever his opinion were, he would oppoſe the ſubmiſ- "ſion to the Commiſſion of Array, which no body could deny to have "had it's original from Law, and which many Learned Men ſtill be- "lieved to be very Legal, to make way for the eſtabliſhment of an Ordi- "nance, which had no manner of pretence to Right. He Anſwer'd this Letter very frankly; as a Man who believed himſelf in the right upon the Commiſſion of Array, and that the Arguments he had uſed againſt it could not be Anſwer'd; ſumming up ſome of thoſe Arguments in as few words as they could be comprehended in: But then he did as frankly inveigh againſt the Ordinance for the Militia, "which, he ſaid, was with- "out any ſhadow of Law or pretence of Precedent, and moſt deſtructive "to the Government of the Kingdom: And he did acknowledge, that "he had been the more inclined to make that diſcourſe in the Houſe "againſt the Commiſſion, that he might with the more freedom argue "againſt the Ordinance; which was to be conſider'd upon a day then ap- "pointed: And he was moſt confident, that he ſhould likewiſe over- "throw the Ordinance; which, he confeſſed, could be leſs ſupported; "and he did believe, that it would be much better, if both were re- "jected, than if either of them ſhould ſtand, and remain uncontrolled. But his confidence deceived him; and he quickly found, that They who ſuffer'd themſelves to be intirely govern'd by his Reaſon, when thoſe Concluſions reſulted from it, which contributed to their own deſigns, would not be at all guided by it, or ſubmit to it, when it perſwaded that which contradicted, and would diſappoint thoſe deſigns: And ſo, upon the day appointed for the debate of their Ordinance, when he applied all his faculties to the convincing them of the illegality and monſtrouſneſs of it, by arguments at leaſt as clear and demonſtrable as his former had been, they made no impreſſion upon them; but were eaſily anſwer'd by thoſe, who with moſt Paſſion inſiſted upon their own ſenſe. He had ſatisfied them very well, when he concurred with them in judgment; but his Reaſons were weak, when they croſſed their Reſolutions. So moſt Men are deceived in being too reaſonable: concluding that Reaſon will prevail upon thoſe Men to ſubmit to what is Right and Juſt, who have no other conſideration of Right or Juſtice, but as it advances their In-

tereſt, or complies with their Humour, and Paſſion. And ſo eaſy it hath allways been to do harm, and to miſlead Men, and ſo hard to do good, and reduce them to Reaſon.

THESE Paper-skirmiſhes left neither ſide better inclined to the other; but, by ſharpning each other, drew the matter nearer to an iſſue. The King had written a Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and to the Maſters and Wardens of each Company; by which, "he aſſured "them, of his deſire of the Peace of the Kingdom; and therefore required "them, as they tender'd their Charter of the City, and their own par- "ticular Welfares, not to bring in Horſes, Money, or Plate, upon the "Propoſitions of the Houſes; whereby, under pretence of raiſing a Guard "for the Parliament, Forces would be levyed, and, in truth, imployed "againſt his Majeſty: Of which the Houſes taking notice, publiſhed a Declaration to the City, "That they could not be ſecured by his Ma- "jeſty's Proteſtations, that his deſires and purpoſes were for the Publick "Peace; ſince it appeared, by divers expreſſions, and proceedings of his "Majeſty, that he intended to uſe Force againſt thoſe, who ſubmitted to "the Ordinance of the Militia; and that he had likewiſe ſome intention "of making an Attempt upon *Hull*. In both which caſes, they did de- "clare, that whatſoever Violence ſhould be uſed, either againſt thoſe "who exerciſe the Militia, or againſt *Hull*, They could not but believe "it as done againſt the Parliament. They told them that the dangerous, "and miſchievous intentions of ſome about his Majeſty were ſuch, that "whatſoever was moſt precious to Men of Conſcience and Honour, as "Religion, Liberty, and Publick Safety, were like to be overwhelmed "and loſt in the general confuſion and calamity of the Kingdom; which "would not only queſtion, but overthrow the Charter of the City of "*London*; expoſe the Citizens, their Wives and Children, to violence "and villany; and leave the Wealth of that famous City as a Prey to "thoſe deſperate, and neceſſitous Perſons: And therefore they forbid all "the Officers to publiſh that Paper, as they would anſwer their Con- "tempt to the Parliament; by the Power and Authority of which, they "aſſured them, they ſhould be protected, and ſecured in their Perſons, "Liberties, and Eſtates, for whatſoever they ſhould do by Their advice "or perſwaſion.

The Parliaments Declaration to the City, upon a Letter from the King to the L. Mayor, and Aldermen.

The King's Reply.

To this the King replied, "That he wonder'd ſince they had uſurped "the ſupreme Power to themſelves, they had not taken upon them the "ſupreme Style too; and directed their very new Declaration to their "Truſty and Well-beloved, their Subjects of the City of *London*: For "it was too great and palpable a Scorn, to perſwade them to take up "Armes againſt his Perſon, under Colour of being loving Subjects to his "Office; and to deſtroy his Perſon, that they might preſerve the King: "That he was beholding to them, that they had explain'd to all his good "Subjects the meaning of their Charge againſt his Majeſty, that by his "intention of making War againſt his Parliament, no more was pre- "tended to be meant, but his reſolution not to ſubmit to the high In- "juſtice and Indignity of the Ordinance for the Militia, and the buſineſs "of *Hull*. He ſaid, he had never concealed his intentions in either of "thoſe Particulars (he wiſhed They would deal as clearly with Him) but "had allways, and did now declare, That that pretended Ordinance was "againſt the Law of the Land, againſt the Liberty and Property of the "Subject; deſtructive to Soveraignty; and therefore not conſiſtent with "the very Conſtitution and Eſſence of the Kingdom, and the Right

"and

"and Priviledge of Parliament: That he was bound by his Oath, and
"all his Subjects were bound by theirs of Allegiance, and Supremacy,
"and their own Proteſtation lately taken, to aſſiſt his Majeſty to oppoſe
"that Ordinance, which was put already in execution against him, not
"only by Training and Arming his Subjects, but by forcibly removing
"the Magazine, from the place truſted by the County, to their own
"Houſes, and guarding it there with Arm'd Men. Whither it would be
"next removed, and how uſed by ſuch Perſons, he knew not.

"That the keeping his Majeſty out of *Hull* by Sir *John Hotham*,
"was an Act of High-Treaſon againſt his Majeſty; and the taking away
"his Magazine and Munition from him, was an Act of Violence upon
"his Majeſty, by what hands or by whoſe direction ſoever it was done:
"And, in both caſes, by the help of God and the Law, his Majeſty ſaid,
"he would have Juſtice, or loſe his Life in the requiring it; the which
"he did not value at that rate, as to preſerve it with the Infamy of ſuf-
"fering himſelf to be robbed, and ſpoiled of that Dignity he was born
"to. And if it were poſſible for his good Subjects to believe, that ſuch
"a Defence of himſelf, with the utmoſt power and ſtrength he could
"raiſe, was making a War againſt his Parliament, he did not doubt, how-
"ever it ſhould pleaſe God to diſpoſe of him in that contention, but the
"juſtice of his Cauſe would, at the laſt, prevail againſt thoſe few Ma-
"lignant Spirits, who, for their own ends and ambitious deſigns, had ſo
"miſled and corrupted the underſtandings of his People. And finde nei-
"ther his own Declaration, nor the Teſtimony of ſo many of his Lords,
"then with his Majeſty, could procure credit with thoſe Men, but that
"they proceeded to levy Horſe, and to raiſe Money and Armes againſt
"his Majeſty, he ſaid, he was not to be blamed, if after ſo many gra-
"cious expoſtulations with them upon undeniable principles of Law
"and Reaſon (which they anſwer'd only by Voting that which his Ma-
"jeſty ſaid, to be neither Law, nor Reaſon; and ſo proceeded actually to
"levy War upon his Majeſty, to juſtify that which could not be other-
"wiſe defended) at laſt he made ſuch proviſion, that as he had been
"driven from *London*, and kept from *Hull*, he might not be ſurpriſed
"at *York*; but be in a condition to reſiſt, and bring to juſtice thoſe Men,
"who would perſwade his People that their Religion was in danger, be-
"cauſe his Majeſty would not conſent it ſhould be in Their power to
"alter it by their Votes; or their Liberty in danger, becauſe he would
"allow no Judge of that Liberty, but the known Law of the Land:
"Yet, he ſaid, whatever proviſion he ſhould be compelled to make for
"his ſecurity, he would be ready to lay down, aſſoon as they ſhould re-
"voke the Orders by which they had made Levies, and ſubmitted thoſe
"Perſons, who had detain'd his Towns, carried away his Armes, and
"put the Militia in execution contrary to his Proclamation, to that
"Trial of their innocence, which the Law had directed, and to which
"they were born: If that were not ſubmitted to, he ſhould, with a good
"conſcience, proceed againſt thoſe who ſhould preſume to exerciſe that
"pretended Ordinance for the Militia, and the other who ſhould keep
"his Town of *Hull* from him, as he would reſiſt Perſons who came to
"take away his Life, or his Crown from him.

"And therefore his Majeſty again remember'd, and required his City
"of *London* to obey his former Commands, and not to be miſled by the
"Oration of thoſe Men, who were made deſperate by their Fortunes, or
"their Fortunes by Them; who told them their Religion, Liberty, and

"Property,

"Property, was to be preſerved no other way, but by their Diſloyalty "to his Majeſty: That they were now at the brink of the River, and "might draw their Swords (which was an expreſſion uſed at a great "convention of the City) when nothing purſued them but their own evil "conſciences. He wiſhed them to conſider, whether their Eſtates came "to them, and were ſettled upon them, by Orders of both Houſes, or "by that Law which his Majeſty defended: What ſecurity they could "have to enjoy their own, when they had helped to rob his Majeſty; "and what an happy concluſion That War was like to have, which was "raiſed to oppreſs their Soveraign: That the wealth and glory of their "City was not like to be deſtroyed any other way, but by Rebelling "againſt his Majeſty; and that way inevitably it muſt; nor their Wives "and Children to be expoſed to violence and villany, but by thoſe who "make their Appetite and Will the meaſure, and guide to all their "Actions. He adviſed them not to fancy to themſelves Melancholy "apprehenſions, which were capable of no ſatisfaction; but ſeriouſly to "conſider what ſecurity they could have, that they had not under his "Majeſty, or had been offer'd by him: And whether the Doctrine thoſe "Men taught, and would have them defend, did not deſtroy the Foun-"dations upon which their ſecurity was built?

THE great conflux that hath been mention'd, of Men of all Conditions, and Qualities, and Humours, could not continue long together at *York*, without ſome impatience and commotion; and moſt Men wonder'd, that there appear'd no proviſions to be made towards a War, which they ſaw would be inevitable. And when the Levies of Soldiers under the Earl of *Eſſex* were haſten'd with ſo much vigour, that the King ſhould have no other Preparations towards an Army, than a ſingle Troop of Guards made up of Gentlemen Volunteers; who, all Men foreſaw, would quit the Troop when there ſhould be an Army: And many do yet believe, that the King too long deferr'd his recourſe to Armes; and that if he had raiſed Forces upon his firſt repulſe at *Hull*, his ſervice would have been very much advanced; and that the Parliament would not have been able to have drawn an Army together. And ſo Men ſtill reproach the Councils which were then about the King, as they were cenſured by many at that time; but neither They then, nor Theſe now do underſtand the true reaſon thereof. The King had not, at that time, one Barrel of Powder, nor one Muſquet, nor any other proviſion neceſſary for an Army; and, which was worſe, was not ſure of any Port, to which they might be ſecurely aſſign'd; nor had he Money for the ſupport of his own Table for the term of one Month. He expected, with impatience, the arrival of all thoſe neceſſaries, by the care and activity of the Queen, who was then in *Holland*, and by the ſale of her own, as well as of the Crown Jewels, and by the friendſhip of *Henry* Prince of *Orange*, did all ſhe could to provide all that was neceſſary; and the King had newly directed her to ſend all to *Newcaſtle*, which was but then ſecured to him by the diligence of the Earl of that Name. In the mean time both the King Himſelf, and they who beſt knew the ſtate of his Affairs, ſeem'd to be without any thoughts of making War; and to hope, that the Parliament would at laſt incline to ſome Accommodation; for which both his Majeſty, and thoſe Perſons were expoſed to a thouſand reproaches.

THE Queen had many difficulties to contend with; for tho' the Prince of *Orange* had a very ſingular affection for the King's Service, and did all he

he could to diſpoſe the States to concern themſelves in his Majeſty's Quarrel; yet his Authority, and Intereſt, was much diminiſhed with the vigour of his Body and Mind: And the States of *Holland* were ſo far from being inclined to the King, that they did him all the miſchief they could. They had before aſſiſted the Rebellion in *Scotland*, with giving them credit for Armes and Ammunition, before they had money to buy any; and they did afterwards, ſeveral ways, diſcover their affections to the Parliament; which had ſo many Spies there, that the Queen could do nothing they had not preſent notice of; ſo that it was no eaſy matter for the Queen to provide Armes and Ammunition, but the Parliament had preſent notice of it, and of the ways which were thought upon to Tranſport them to the King: And then their Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, lay ready to obſtruct and intercept that Communication; nor was any remedy in view to remove this miſchief; inſomuch as it was no eaſy thing for the King to ſend to, or to receive Letters from, the Queen.

THERE was a ſmall Ship of 28 or 30 Guns, that was part of the Fleet that wafted her Majeſty into *Holland* from *Dover*, which was called the Providence, under the Command of Captain *Straughan*, when the Fleet was Commanded by Sr *John Pennington*, and before the Earl of *Warwick* was ſuperinduced into that Charge againſt the King's Will. That Ship, the Captain whereof was known to be faithful to his Majeſty, was, by the Queen, detain'd, and kept in *Holland* from the time of her Majeſty's Arrival, under ſeveral pretences, of which the Captain made uſe, when he afterwards received Orders from the Earl of *Warwick* "to "repair to the Fleet in the *Downs*; until, after many promiſes and excuſes, it was at laſt diſcern'd, that he had other Buſineſs and Commands; and ſo was watched, by the other Ships, as an Enemy. This Veſſel the Queen reſolved to ſend to the King, principally to inform his Majeſty of the ſtreights ſhe was in; of the proviſions ſhe had made; and to return with ſuch particular Advice, and Directions from his Majeſty, that ſhe might take further reſolutions: And becauſe the Veſſel was light, and drew not much Water, and ſo could run into any Creek, or open Road, or Harbour, and, from thence, eaſily ſend an expreſs to the King; there was put into it about two hundred Barrels of Powder, and two or three thouſand Armes with ſeven or eight Field-Pieces; which, they knew, would be very welcome to the King, and ſerve for a beginning and countenance to draw Forces together. The Captain was no ſooner put to Sea, but notice was ſent to the Commander of the Fleet in the *Downs*; who immediately ſent three or four Ships to the North, which eaſily got the Providence in View, before it could reach that Coaſt; and chaſed it with all their Sails, till they ſaw it enter into the River of *Humber*; when, looking upon it as their own, they made leſs haſt to follow it, being content to drive it before them into their own Port of *Hull*; there being, as they thought, no other way to eſcape them; until they plainly ſaw the Ship entring into a narrow Creek out of *Humber*, which declined *Hull*, and lead into the Country ſome Miles above it; which was a place well known to the Captain, and deſign'd by him to arrive at from the beginning. It was in vain for them then to haſten their purſuit; for they quickly found that their great Ships could not enter into that paſſage, and that the River was too ſhallow to follow him; and ſo, with ſhame and anger, they [illegible] the Chaſe; whilſt the Captain continued his courſe; and having never thought of ſaving

the Ship, run it on Shoar on that ſide towards *Burlington*; and, with all expedition, gave notice to the King of his arrival; who, immediately, cauſed the Perſons of Quality, in the parts adjacent, to draw the Train'd bands of the Country together, to ſecure the incurſions from *Hull*; and by this means, the Armes, Ammunition, and Artillery, were quickly brought to *York*.

THE King was well content that it ſhould be generally believed, that this ſmall Ship, the ſize whereof was known to few, had brought a greater quantity and proportion of Proviſions for the War, than in truth it had; and therefore, tho' it had brought no Money, which he expected, he forthwith granted Commiſſions, to raiſe Regiments of Horſe and Foot, to ſuch Perſons of Quality and Intereſt, as were able to comply with their obligations. He declared the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, his General of the Army; a Perſon of great Honour and Courage, and generally beloved; who many years before had good Commands in *Holland*, and *Germany*, and had been Admiral at Sea in ſeveral Expeditions. Sr *Jacob Aſhley* was declared Major General of the Foot, a Command he was very equal to, and had exerciſed before, and executed after, with great approbation. The Generalſhip of the Horſe, his Majeſty preſerved for his Nephew Prince *Rupert*; who was dayly expected, and arrived ſoon after: And all Levies were haſten'd with as much expedition as was poſſible in ſo great a ſcarcity, and notorious want of Money; of which no more need be ſaid, after it is remember'd that all the Lords, and Council about the King, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, voluntarily made a Subſcription for the payment of ſo many Horſe for three Months; in which time they would needs believe, that the War ſhould be at an end; every one paying down what the three Months pay would amount to, into the hands of a Treaſurer appointed to receive it; and this Money was preſently paid for the making thoſe Levies of Horſe, which were deſign'd; and which could not have been made but by thoſe Moneys.

AND now the King thought it time to execute a Reſolution he had long intended, and which many Men wonder'd he neglected ſo long; which was, as much as in Him lay, to take the Admiralty into his own hands. He had long too much cauſe to be unſatisfied, and diſpleaſed with the Earl of *Northumberland*; whom, he thought, he had obliged above any Man whatſoever. His delivering the Fleet into the hands and Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, after his Majeſty had expreſsly refuſed it to the Parliament, the King could not eaſily forgive; however he thought it not Then ſeaſonable to reſent it, becauſe he had nothing to object againſt him, but his complyance with the Command of the Parliament, who would have own'd it as their own quarrel; and muſt have obliged that Earl to put his whole Intereſt into Their hands, and to have run Their Fortune; to which he was naturally too much inclined: And then his Majeſty foreſaw, that there would have been no Fleet at all ſet out that year, by their having the Command of all the Money, which was to be applied to that Service. Whereas, by his Majeſty's concealing his reſentment, there was a good Fleet made ready, and ſet out; and many Gentlemen ſettled in the Command of Ships, of whoſe Affection and Fidelity his Majeſty was aſſured, that no Superior Officer could corrupt it; but that they would, at all times, repair to his Service, when ever he required it. And, indeed, his Majeſty had an opinion of the devotion of the whole body of the Common Sea-men to his Service, becauſe

becauſe he had, bountifully, ſo much mended their condition, and increaſed their Pay, that he thought they would have even thrown the Earl of *Warwick* over Board, when he ſhould Command them: and to the reſpiting the doing of it would be of little importance. But now that a Ship of his own, in the execution of his Commands, ſhould be chaſed by his own Fleet as an Enemy, made ſuch a noiſe in all places, even to his reproach and diſhonour, that he could no longer defer the doing what he had ſo long thought of. He reſolved therefore, to revoke the Earl of *Northumberlands* Commiſſion of the Office of High-Admiral of *England*, and to ſend the Revocation to him under the Great Seal of *England*: Then, to ſend Sr *John Pennington*, who was then at *York*, on board the Fleet, and to take the Charge of it: and Letters were prepared, and ſign'd by the King, to every one of the Captains; whereby they were required, "to obſerve the Orders of Sr *John Pennington*." And all this was carried with all poſſible Secrecy, that none, but thoſe few who were truſted, knew, or ſuſpected any ſuch Alteration.

But the King thought fit, firſt to adviſe with Sr *John Pennington*; of whoſe Integrity he was confident, and whoſe judgment he allways principally relied on in all his Maritime Actions; and thought him the only Perſon fit immediately to take the Fleet out of the Earl of *Warwicks* poſſeſſion; who had diſpoſſeſſed Him of the Command that Year, which he had uſually exerciſed. Sr *John Pennington*, finding the matter full of difficulty, and the execution like to meet with ſome interruptions, expreſſed no alacrity to undertake it in his own Perſon; alledging, "that himſelf ſtood in the Parliaments diſfavour, and jealouſy (which "was true) and that therefore his motion, and journey toward the "*Downs*, where the Fleet then lay, would be immediately taken notice "of; and his Majeſty's Deſign be ſo much gueſſed at, that there would "need no other Diſcovery; but he propounded to his Majeſty, "that he "would ſend a Letter to Sr *Robert Manſel*, who lived at *Greenwich*, "ſpeedily to go to the Fleet, and to take charge of it, and that His Authority, being Vice-Admiral of *England*, and his known and great Reputation with the Sea-men, would be like to meet with the leaſt reſiſtance. His Majeſty, imparting this Counſel to thoſe whom he had made Privy to his purpoſe, enter'd upon new conſiderations; and concluded, "that Sr *Robert Manſel*'s age (tho' his Courage and Integrity "were unqueſtionable) and the accidents that depended upon that, would "render that Expedient moſt hazardous; and that, in truth, there needed "no ſuch abſolute and ſupreme Officer, to be appointed in the firſt Article; but rather, that his Majeſty ſhould direct his ſpecial Letter to "the Captain of every Ship, requiring him immediately to weigh Anchor, and to bring away his Ship to ſuch a place as his Majeſty might "appoint, where he ſhould receive further Orders. And to that place "he might ſend ſuch an Officer, as he thought fit to truſt with the Command of the whole Navy ſo aſſembled. According to this Reſolution, the whole Diſpatch was prepared. Firſt a Revocation of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commiſſion of Admiral, under the Great Seal of *England*; of which there was a Duplicate; the one to be ſent to his Lordſhip; the other to the Earl of *Warwick*; whoſe Commiſſion was founded upon, and ſo determined by, the other. Then a particular Letter to each of the Captains of his Ships, informing them "of his "Majeſty's Revocation of the Admiral's Patent, and, conſequently, of "the determination of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Commiſſion (to whom his

Majesty likewise writ, to "inhibit him from further medling in that "Charge) and therefore commanding them to yield no further obedience to either of their Orders; but that, immediately upon the receipt of those his Royal Letters, he should weigh Anchor; and with what speed he might, repair to *Burlington* Bay upon the Coast of *Yorkshire*; where he should receive his Majesty's further pleasure: And so each Commander, without relation to any other Commands, had no more to look after but his own Ship, and his own Duty; by which the King might expect, at least, so many Ships as were under the Command of those who had any Affection or Fidelity to his Service.

ACCORDINGLY, all things being prepared, and signed by the King and sealed, what immediately concern'd the Earl of *Northumberland* was delivered to one of his Majesty's Pages, to be given to the Earl of *Northumberland* at *London*; and the whole dispatch to the Fleet to Mr *Edward Villiers*, whose diligence and dexterity his Majesty found fit for any Trust; the former being directed "not to make such hast, but "that the other might be at least assoon at the *Downs*, as He at *London*; and Mr *Villiers* again being appointed what Letters he should first deliver to the Captains; "and that he should Visit the Earl of *Warwick* in "the last place; that his Activity might have no influence upon the Seamen to prevent their obedience to his Majesty. And surely if this resolution had been pursued, it is very probable, that the King had been Master of very many of his Ships again. But, when the Messengers were dispatched, and well instructed, and he that was for *London* gone on his Journey, there was a suddain and unexpectd change of the whole direction to the Fleet, by Sr *John Pennington*'s repair to his Majesty; and, upon second thoughts, offering "to go Himself to the *Downs*, and "to take Charge of the Fleet; which changed the Forms of the Letters to the several Captains; and, instead of leaving every one to use his best expedition to bring away his own Ship to *Burlington*, "required them "only to observe such Orders, as they should receive by Sr *John Pen-* "*nington*; who thought not fit (for the reasons formerly given of his being taken notice of) to go with Mr *Villiers*; but, by Him, writ to Sr *Henry Palmer*, to whom likewise his Majesty sent a Letter to that purpose, being an Officer of the Navy, and who lived by the *Downs*, "im- "mediately to go aboard the Admiral; and that he Himself would "make all possible hast to him, setting out at the same time with M^r "*Villiers*; but Journeying a further and more private way. Mr *Villiers*, lest, by his stay for the alteration of his dispatches, the Page's coming to *London* sooner than was intended at his setting out, might produce some inconvenience to the service, slept not till he came to Sr *Henry Palmer*; who, being infirm in his health, and surprised with the Command, could not make that expedition aboard, as might have been requisite; tho' he was Loyally and Zealously affected to his Majesty's Service. However, Mr *Villiers* hasten'd to the Ships which lay then at Anchor, and according to his Instructions, delivered his several Letters to the Captains; the greatest part whereof received them with great expressions of duty and submission, expecting only to receive Sr *John Pennington*'s Orders, for which they stayed; and, without doubt, if either the first Letters had been sent, or Sr *John Pennington* been present, when these others were delivered, his Majesty had been possessed of the greatest part of the Fleet; the Earl of *Warwick* being at that time, according to his usual Licences, with some Officers whose company

pany he liked, on ſhoar making merry; ſo that there was only his Vice-Admiral, Captain *Batten*, on board; who was of eminent diſaffection to his Majeſty: The Rear-Admiral, Sr *John Mennes*, being of unqueſtionable Integrity.

BUT after five or ſix hours (in which time nothing could be agreed, for want of advice and direction; enough being ready to Obey, but none having Authority to Command) the Earl of *Warwick* came aboard his Ship, to whom Mr *Villiers* likewiſe gave his Majeſty's Letters of his Diſcharge; who, without any Declaration of diſobeying it, applied himſelf to the confirming thoſe, whom he thought true to his Party, and diligently to watch the reſt; preſuming, that he ſhould ſpeedily hear from thoſe, by whom he had been originally truſted.

IN the mean time, the Captains expected Orders from Sr *John Pennington*; who likewiſe privately expected ſuch an account from Sr *Henry Palmer*, as might encourage him to come to the Ships. But this unfortunate delay diſappointed all. For the other Gentleman, according to his Inſtructions, having reached *London* in the evening after the Houſes were riſen, deliver'd the King's Letter, and the Diſcharge of his Commiſſion, to the Earl of *Northumberland*; who, with all ſhews of Duty and Submiſſion, expreſſed "his reſolution to obey his Majeſty; and a "hearty ſorrow, that he had, by any Misfortune, incurr'd his Majeſty's "diſpleaſure. How ingenuous ſoever this demeanour of his Lordſhips was, the buſineſs was quickly known to thoſe, who were more concern'd in it; who were exceedingly perplexed, with the apppehenſion of being diſpoſſeſſed of ſo great a part of their ſtrength, as the Royal Fleet; and earneſtly preſſed the Earl of *Northumberland*, "that, notwithſtanding "ſuch his Majeſty's Revocation, he would ſtill continue the execution "of his Office of Lord High Admiral; in which they would aſſiſt him "with their utmoſt and full Power, and Authority. But his Lordſhip alledging, "that it would ill become Him, who had received that Charge "from the King with ſo notable circumſtances of Truſt and Favour, to "continue the poſſeſſion thereof againſt his expreſs Pleaſure, there being "a Clauſe in his Grant, that it ſhould be only during ſuch time as his "Majeſty thought fit to uſe his Service; and ſo "utterly refuſing to "meddle further in it; aſſoon as they could get the Houſes together the next morning, they eaſily agreed to paſs an Ordinance, as they call it, "to appoint the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of that Fleet, with as "full and ample Authority, as he had before had from the Earl of "*Northumberland*. Which Ordinance, together with Letters, and Votes of encouragement to his Lordſhip and to the Officers and Sea-men, they ſpeedily ſent, by a Member of their own; who arrived therewith, the next morning, after Mr *Villiers* had delivered the King's Letters; Sr *John Pennington* in the mean time neither coming, nor ſending any further Advice.

The King revokes the Earl of Northumberland's *Commiſſion of Admiral.*

THE Earl of *Warwick*, being thus arm'd, found himſelf Maſter of his Work; and immediately ſummon'd all the Captains, to attend him on board his Ship in Council; the which all but two did (Captain *Slingsby*, and Captain *Wake*) who, being by his Majeſty's Letters, as the reſt were, expreſsly charged to yield no further obedience to the Earl of *Warwick*, refuſed to repair to him; making themſelves ready to reſiſt any violence, and putting their Ships in order to go out to Sea, that they might be at Liberty to attend his Majeſty's Commands; but they were ſo encompaſſed by the whole Fleet, and the dexterity of the Earl's Miniſters

was such, and the devotion, generally, of the Sea-men so tainted, and corrupted from the King's Service, that, instead of carrying away the Ships, the Captains themselves were seised, taken, and carried by their own Men to the Earl; who immediately committed them to Custody, and sent them up Prisoners to the Parliament. Then the Earl communicated the Ordinance, Letters, and Votes from the two Houses, to the rest of the Officers; of whom only two more refused to continue their Charge against the signification, they had received from the King (Sr. *John Mennes*, and Captain *Burly*) who were quickly discharged, and set on shoar; and the rest, without any scruple or hesitation, "obliged them- "selves to obey the Earl of *Warwick*, in the Service of the Parliament; so that the Storm was now over, and the Parliament fully, and intirely possessed of the whole Royal Navy, and Militia by Sea; for they quickly disposed of two other honest Captains, *Kettleby*, and *Stradlin* (whom they could not corrupt) who guarded the Irish Seas; and got those Ships likewise into their Service. And thus his Majesty was without one Ship of his own, in his three Kingdoms, at his Devotion.

As this loss of the whole Navy was of unspeakable ill consequence to the King's Affairs, and made his condition much the less consider'd by his Allies, and Neighbour Princes; who saw the Soveraignty of the Sea now in other hands, that were like to be more imperious upon the apprehension of any discourtesies, than regular and lawful Monarchs use to be; I cannot but observe some unhappy circumstances, and accidents in this important business of the Navy, which looked like the hand of Providence to take that strength, of which his Majesty was most confident, out of his hands. When the resolution of the House of Commons, and the concurrence of the Lords was peremptory, and the Earl of *Northumberland* had declared his complyance with them, "for the "sending the Earl of *Warwick* Admiral of that Fleet, in the place of "Sr *John Pennington*, upon whom the King depended; it was resolved likewise by them, "that Captain *Carteret*, Controller of his Majesty's Navy, a Man of great eminency, and reputation in Naval Command, "should be Vice-Admiral; who thinking it became his near relation to his Majesty's Service, to receive his Royal pleasure before he engaged himself in any imployment of that Nature, addressed himself for his directions. But the King, looking upon the Fleet in a manner taken from him, when another, whose disaffection to his Service was very notorious, was, contrary to his express pleasure presumptuously put into the Command of it, and his own Minister displaced for no other reason (his sufficiency, and ability for Command being by all Men confessed) but his Zeal and Integrity to Him, would not countenance that Fleet, and that Admiral, with suffering an Officer of his own to Command in it under the other; and therefore order'd Captain *Carteret* to decline the imployment, which he, prudently, and without noise, did; and thereupon, another Officer of the Navy, the Surveyor General, Captain *Batten*, a Man of very different inclinations to his Master, and his Service, and furious in the new fancies of Religion, was substituted in the place: Whereas if Captain *Carteret* had been suffer'd to have taken that Charge, His interest and reputation in the Navy was so great, and his diligence and dexterity in Command so eminent, that it was generally believed, he would, against whatsoever the Earl of *Warwick* could have done, have preserved a Major part of the Fleet in their duty to the King. The misfortunes which happen'd after, and are mention'd before, are not in justice

juſtice to be imputed to Sr *John Pennington*; who, ſure, was a very honeſt Gentleman, and of unſhaken Faithfulneſs and Integrity to the King, but to the little time he had to think of it: And the perplexity he was in (beſides his true Zeal to the Service) to conſider that ſo great a work, as the recovery of the Royal Navy, was to be done by his own Perſonal engagement, made him look ſo little to his own ſecurity, that, inſtead of taking the Fleet from the Earl of *Warwick*, he was Himſelf taken by the Earl, and ſent to the Parliament; where the carrying over the Lord *Digby*, and ſome other Jealouſies, had left a great arrear of diſpleaſure againſt him.

THE truth is, the King was ſo confident upon the general Affections of the Sea-men, who were a Tribe of People more particularly countenanced and obliged by him, than other Men, his Majeſty having encreaſed their allowance, in Proviſion and Money, above the old eſtabliſhment of the Navy, as hath been mention'd; that he did believe no Activity of ill Officers could have corrupted them; but that, when the Parliament had ſet out and victualled the Fleet, it would, upon any occaſion, declare it ſelf at his devotion. But, on the other ſide, they had been taught to believe, that all the King's bounty, and grace towards them, had flowed from the mediation of thoſe Officers, who were now engaged againſt the King; and that, the Parliament having ſeiſed the Cuſtoms, and all other the Revenues of the Crown, they had no other hope of Pay or Subſiſtence, but by abſolutely devoting themſelves to their Service: ſo that a greater, or more general defection of any one Order of Men was never known, than that, at this time, of the Sea-men; tho' many Gentlemen, and ſome few of the Common ſort, to their laſting Honour and Reputation, either addreſſed themſelves to the Active Service of their Sovereign, or ſuffer'd Impriſonment, and the loſs of all they had, for refuſing to ſerve againſt him.

THE News of this diminution of his Majeſty's power, and terrible addition of ſtrength to his Enemies, was a great allay to the brisk hopes at *York*, upon the arrival of their Ammunition, and wiſe Men eaſily diſcern'd the fatal conſequence of it in oppoſition to the King's moſt hopeful deſigns; yet, in a very ſhort time, all viſible ſenſe of it ſo much vaniſhed that (as there was a marvellous alacrity, at that time, in deſpiſing all advantages of the Parliament) ſome Men publickly, and with great confidence, averr'd, "that the King was a Gainer by the loſs "of his Fleet; becauſe he had no Money to pay the Sea-men, or keep "them together; and that one Victory at Land, of which there was no "doubt, would reſtore him to his Dominion at Sea, and to whatſoever "had been unjuſtly taken from his Majeſty.

THE King found it was now time to do more than write Declarations, when the Parliament was now intirely poſſeſſed of the Militia by Sea, and made ſuch a Progreſs in the attempt to obtain the ſame at Land, that tho' the People generally (except in great Towns and Corporations, where, beſides the natural Malignity, the factious Lecturers, and Emiſſaries from the Parliament, had poiſon'd their affections) and eſpecially thoſe of Quality, were Loyally inclin'd; yet, the terrour of the Houſe of Commons was ſo great, which ſent for and grievously puniſhed thoſe Sheriffs and Mayors, who publiſhed, according to their Dutys and expreſs Oaths, his Majeſty's Proclamations, and thoſe Miniſters, who, according to his Injunctions, read and divulged his Declarations, that all ſuch, and, indeed, all others univerſally affected to the

King,

King, were forced to fly to *York* for Protection; or to hide themſelves in Corners from that Inquiſition, which was made for them. And therefore his Majeſty, in the firſt place, that he might have one Harbour to reſort to in his Kingdom, ſent the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, privately, with a Commiſſion to take the Government of *New-Caſtle*; who againſt the little oppoſition, that was prepared by the Schiſmatical party in the Town, by his Lordſhips great Intereſt in thoſe parts, the ready complyance of the beſt of the Gentry, and the general good Inclinations of the place, ſpeedily and dextrouſly aſſured that moſt important rich Town, and Harbour to the King; wich, if it had been omitted but very few days, had been ſeiſed on by the Parliament; who had then given direction to that purpoſe. Then for the Protection of the general parts of the Kingdom, and keeping up their affections, his Majeſty appointed and ſent many of the nobility and prime Gentlemen of the ſeveral Counties, who attended him, into their reſpective Counties to execute the Commiſſion of Aray; making the Marquis of *Hertford*, by Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* (which he was to keep ſecret in reſerve, till he found, either by the growth, or extraordinary practice of the Parliament in raiſing Forces, that the Commiſſion of Array was not enough) "his Lieutenant General of all the Weſtern Parts of the "Kingdom, with power to Levy ſuch a Body of Horſe and Foot, as "he found neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, and the containing the "People within the Limits of their Duty. With the Marquis went the Earl of *Bath* (thought then to be in notable power and intereſt in *Devonſhire*) the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord *Seymour*, Sr *Ralph Hopton*, Sr *John Berkley*, Sr *Hugh Pollard*, and others, very good Officers, to form an Array if it ſhould be found expedient. And ſo, much of the luſtre of the Court being abated, by the remove of ſo many Perſons of Honour and Quality, the King began to think of encreaſing, and forming his Train into a more uſeful poſture, than it was yet; and, without any noiſe of raiſing an Army, to make the Scene of his firſt Action to be the recovery of *Hull* (whither new forces were ſent from *London*) by the ordinary Forces and Traind-bands of that County; by colour whereof, he hoped to have ſuch reſort, that he ſhould need no other induſtry to raiſe ſuch an Army, as ſhould be ſufficient to preſerve himſelf from the violence, which threaten'd his ſafety; and accordingly, that the People might fully underſtand his Intentions, he ſummon'd ſome of the Train'd-bands to attend him at *Beverly*, a Town within four Miles of *Hull*; whither he removed his Court, and publiſhed a Proclamation, briefly containing "the Rebellion of Sr *John Hotham*, in holding that Town by a "Garriſon againſt him; his demanding Juſtice from the two Houſes "without effect; the ſeiſing his Fleet at Sea; and the hoſtile Acts of Sr *John* "*Hotham* upon the Inhabitants of that Town, many of whom he turn'd "out of their Habitations; and upon the Neighbour County, by impriſoning many, and driving others for fear from their Houſes: And therefore "that he was reſolved to reduce the ſame by Force; inhibiting all Commerce or Traffick with the ſaid Town, whilſt it continued in Rebellion.

The King's Proclamation from Beverly.

WHICH Proclamation he likewiſe ſent to both Houſes of Parliament, with this further ſignification, "that, before he would uſe force "to reduce that place to its due obedience, he had thought fit, once "more, to require them, that it might be forthwith delivered to him; "wherein if they ſhould conform themſelves, his Majeſty would be then "willing to admit ſuch Addreſſes from them, and return ſuch Propoſitions

"to

"to them, as might be proper to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom, and
"compoſe the preſent Diſtractions. He wiſhed them to deliberate well,
"and to be aſſured from Him, on the word of a King, that nothing ſhould
"be wanting on His part, that might prevent the calamities which
"threaten'd the Nation, and might render his People truly happy: But
"if that his gracious Invitation ſhould be declined, God and all good
"Men muſt judge between them: And aſſigned a Day, by which he
"would expect their Anſwer at *Beverly*.

IN the mean time, to encourage the good Affections of *Nottingham-ſhire*, which ſeem'd almoſt intirely to be devoted to his Service; and to countenance and give ſome life to his friends in *Lincoln-ſhire*, where, in contempt of his Proclamation, the Ordinance of the Militia had been boldly executed by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, his Majeſty took a ſhort Progreſs to *Newark*; and, after a days ſtay, from thence to *Lincoln*; and ſo, by the day appointed, return'd to *Beverly*; having, in both thoſe places, been attended with ſuch an appearance of the Gentlemen, and Men of Quality, and ſo full a concourſe of the People, as one might reaſonably have gueſſed the affections of both thoſe Counties would have ſeconded any juſt, and regular ſervice for the King.

THEY at *London* were not leſs Active; but, upon their ſucceſs in the buſineſs of the Navy, proceeded to make themſelves ſtrong enough, at leaſt, to keep what they had; and therefore, having, by their Ordinance of the Militia, many voluntary Companies form'd of Men according to their own hearts; and, by their Subſcriptions, being ſupplied with a good ſtock of Money, and a good number of Horſe; before the King's Meſſage from *Beverly* came to them, on the twelfth of *July*, being the ſame day the Meſſage went from the King, both Houſes Voted, and Declared, "That an Army ſhould be forthwith raiſed for the ſafety *The Votes of both Houſes for raiſing an Army.*
"of the King's Perſon; defence of both Houſes of Parliament, and of
"thoſe, who had obeyed their Orders, and Commands; and preſerving
"of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom.
"That the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould be their General, and that they would
"live, and dye with him. And, having put themſelves into this poſture of Treating, the ſame day they agreed that a Petition ſhould be framed,
"to move the King to a good accord with the Parliament, to prevent a
"Civil War; the which was purpoſely then conſented to, that the People might believe, the talk of an Army and a General, was only to draw the King to the more reaſonable Conceſſions. And it is certain the firſt was conſented to by many, eſpecially of the Houſe of Peers (in hope the better to compaſs the other) with the perfect horrour of the thought of a War. Tho' the King's Meſſage came to them before their own was diſpatched, yet, without the leaſt notice taken of it, and leſt the contents of their Petition might be known before the arrival of their own Meſſengers, the Earl of *Holland*, Sr *John Holland*, and Sr *Philip Stapleton*, being the Committee appointed for the ſame, made a ſpeedy and quick Journey for *Beverly*; and arrived, in the ſame minute that the King came thither from *Lincoln*: So that his Majeſty no ſooner heard of the raiſing an Army, and declaring a General againſt him, but he was encounter'd with the Meſſengers for Peace; who reported to all whom they met, and with whom they converſed, "that they had brought ſo
"abſolute a Submiſſion from the Parliament to the King, that there
"could be no doubt of a firm and happy Peace." And when the Earl of

Holland presented the Petition, he first made a short Speech to the King; telling him, "that the glorious Motto of his Blessed Father, King *James*, "was *Beati Pacifici*, which he hoped his Majesty would continue; that "they presented him with the Humble Duty of his two Houses of Par-"liament, who desired nothing from him but his consent, and acceptance "of Peace; they aiming at nothing but his Majesty's Honour, and Hap-"pines: And then read their Message aloud, in these Words:

The Parliaments Petition to the King at Beverly, July 15. 1642.

"*To the Kings most excellent Majesty; The humble Petition of the* "*Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.*

"May it please your Majesty:

"ALTHO' We, your Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects, the "Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, have been very un-"happy in many former Petitions, and Supplications to your Ma-"jesty; wherein we have represented our most dutiful Affections in "advising, and desiring those things, which we held most necessary "for the preservation of God's true Religion; your Majesty's Safety, "and Honour; and the Peace of the Kingdom: And, with much sor-"row, do perceive that your Majesty, incensed by many false Calum-"nies and Slanders, doth continue to raise Forces against Us, and "your other peaceable and Loyal Subjects; and to make great prepa-"rations for War, both in the Kingdom, and from beyond the Seas; "and, by armes and violence, to over rule the judgment and advice "of your Great Council; and by force to determine the Questions "there depending, concerning the Government and Liberty of the "Kingdom: Yet, such is our earnest desire of discharging our duty to "your Majesty and the Kingdom, to preserve the Peace thereof, and "to prevent the miseries of Civil War amongst your Subjects; that, "notwithstanding we hold our selves bound to use all the means and "power, which, by the Laws and constitutions of this Kingdom, we "are trusted with for defence, and protection thereof, and of the Sub-"jects from force and violence: We do, in this our Humble and Loyal "Petition, prostrate our selves at your Majesty's feet; beseeching your "Royal Majesty, that you will be pleased to forbear and remove all "preparations, and actions of War; particularly the Forces from about "*Hull*, from *New-Castle*, *Tinmouth*, *Lincoln*, and *Lincoln-shire*; and "all other places. And that your Majesty will recal the Commissions "of Array, which are Illegal; dismiss Troops, and extraordinary "Guards by you raised: That your Majesty will come nearer to your "Parliament, and hearken to their faithful Advice and humble Pe-"titions; which shall only tend to the defence, and advancement of "Religion; your own Royal Honour, and Safety; and the preserva-"tion of our Laws and Liberties. And we have been, and ever shall "be, careful to prevent, and punish all Tumults, and seditious Actions, "Speeches, and Writings, which may give your Majesty just cause "of distast, or apprehension of danger. From which publick Aimes "and Resolutions, no sinister or private respect shall ever make us to "decline. That your Majesty will leave Delinquents to the due "course of Justice; and that nothing done, or spoken in Parliament, "or by any Person, in pursuance of the Command and Direction of "both Houses of Parliament, be question'd any where but in Par-"liament.

"And We, for Our parts, ſhall be ready to lay down all thoſe Pre-
"rations, which we have been forced to make for our defence and
"for the Town of *Hull*, and the Ordinance concerning the Militia,
"as we have, in both theſe Particulars, only ſought the preſervation
"of the Peace of the Kingdom, and the defence of the Parliament
"from force and violence; ſo We ſhall moſt willingly leave the Town
"of *Hull* in the ſtate it was, before Sir *John Hotham* drew any Forces
"into it; delivering your Majeſty's Magazine into the Tower of *Lon-*
"*don*, and ſupplying whatſoever hath been diſpoſed by us for the Ser-
"vice of the Kingdom. We ſhall be ready to ſettle the Militia by a
"Bill, in ſuch a way as ſhall be honourable, and ſafe for your Majeſty;
"moſt agreeable to the Duty of Parliament, and effectual for the Good
"of the Kingdom; that the ſtrength thereof be not imployed againſt
"it ſelf, and that which ought to be for our Security, applied to our
"Deſtruction; and that the Parliament, and thoſe who profeſs, and
"deſire ſtill to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, both in this Realm,
"and in *Ireland*, may not be left naked, and indefenſible, to the
"miſchievous Deſigns, and cruel Attempts of thoſe, who are the pro-
"feſſed, and confederated Enemies thereof in your Majeſty's Domi-
"nions, and other neighbour Nations. To which if your Majeſty's
"Courſes and Counſels ſhall from henceforth concur, We doubt not
"but We ſhall quickly make it appear to the world, by the moſt emi-
"nent effects of Love and Duty, that your Majeſty's Perſonal Safety,
"your Royal Honour, and Greatneſs, are much dearer to us than our
"own Lives and Fortunes; which We do moſt heartily dedicate, and
"ſhall moſt willingly imploy for the ſupport and maintenance thereof.

As ſoon as this Petition was read by the Earl of *Holland*, the King told them "that the reproaches caſt upon him by it, were not an-
"ſwerable to the Expreſſions his Lordſhip had made; and that he was
"ſorry that they thought the expoſing Him, and his Honour to ſo much
"ſcandal, was the way to procure, or preſerve the Peace of the King-
"dom: That they ſhould ſpeedily receive his Anſwer; by which the
"world would eaſily diſcern, Who deſired Peace moſt. And accord-
ingly, the ſecond day, his Majeſty delivered them, in publick, his An-
ſwer to their Petition, which was likewiſe read by one of his Servants, in theſe Words:

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

"*His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons*
"*aſſembled in Parliament.*

"Tho' his Majeſty had no great reaſon to believe that the directions
"ſent to the Earl of *Warwick*, to go to the River *Humber*, with as
"many Ships as he ſhould think fit, for all poſſible aſſiſtance to Sir *John*
"*Hotham* (whilſt his Majeſty expected the giving up of the Town unto
"him) and to carry away ſuch Armes from thence as his diſcretion
"thought fit to ſpare out of his Majeſty's own Magazine: The chooſing
"a General by both Houſes of Parliament, for the defence of thoſe who
"have obeyed their Orders and Commands, be they never ſo extrava-
"gant, and illegal: Their Declaration that in that caſe, they would live
"and dye with the Earl of *Eſſex* their General (all which were Voted
"the ſame day with this Petition) And the committing the Lord Mayor
"of *London* to Priſon, for executing his Majeſty's Writs, and Lawful

"Commands; were but ill Prologues to a Petition, which might com-
"poſe the miſerable Diſtractions of the Kingdom; yet his Majeſty's paſ-
"ſionate deſire of the Peace of the Kingdom, together with the Preface
"of the Preſenters, That they had brought a Petition full of duty and
"ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty; and which deſired nothing of him, but his
"conſent to Peace (which his Majeſty conceived to be the Language of
"both Houſes too) begot a greedy hope, and expectation in him, that
"this Petition would have been ſuch an Introduction to Peace, that it
"would, at leaſt, have ſatisfied his Meſſage of the eleventh of this Month,
"by delivering up *Hull* unto his Majeſty. But, to his unſpeakable grief,
"his Majeſty hath too much cauſe to believe, that the End of ſome Per-
"ſons, by this Petition, is not in truth to give any real ſatisfaction to his
"Majeſty; but, by the ſpecious pretences of making offers to him, to
"miſlead and ſeduce his People, and lay ſome imputation upon him of
"denying what is fit to be granted; otherwiſe, it would not have thrown
"thoſe unjuſt reproaches, and ſcandals upon his Majeſty, for making a
"neceſſary and juſt defence for his own ſafety; and ſo peremptorily juſti-
"fied ſuch Actions againſt him, as, by no rule of Law or Juſtice can
"admit the leaſt colour of defence: And, after ſo many free and unli-
"mited Acts of Grace paſſed by his Majeſty without any condition, have
"propoſed ſuch things which, in juſtice, cannot be denied unto him, upon
"ſuch conditions as, in honour, he cannot grant. However, that all the
"world may ſee how willing his Majeſty would be to embrace any over-
"ture, that might beget a right underſtanding between Him, and his
"two Houſes of Parliament (with whom, he is ſure, he ſhall have no
"contention, when the private practices, and ſubtle inſinuations of ſome
"few Malignant Perſons ſhall be diſcovered; which his Majeſty will
"take care ſhall be ſpeedily done) he hath, with great care, weighed
"the Particulars of this Petition, and returns this Anſwer:

"THAT the Petitioners were never unhappy in their Petitions or
"Supplications to his Majeſty, while they deſired any thing which was
"neceſſary, or convenient for the preſervation of God's true Religion;
"his Majeſty's Safety, and Honour; and the Peace of the Kingdom:
"And therefore, when thoſe general envious Foundations are laid, his
"Majeſty could wiſh ſome particular Inſtances had been applied. Let
"Envy and Malice object one particular Propoſition for the preſervation
"of God's true Religion which his Majeſty hath refuſed to conſent to;
"what Himſelf hath often made, for the eaſe of tender Conſciences,
"and for the advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, is notorious by
"many of his Meſſages and Declarations. What regard hath been to
"his Honour and Safety, when he hath been driven from ſome of his
"Houſes, and kept from other of his Towns by Force: And what care
"there hath been of the Peace of the Kingdom, when endeavours have
"been uſed to put all his Subjects in Armes againſt him, is ſo evident,
"that, his Majeſty is confident, he cannot ſuffer by thoſe general Impu-
"tations. It is enough that the world knows what he hath granted, and
"what he hath denied.

"FOR his Majeſty's raiſing Forces, and making Preparations for War
"(whatſoever the Petitioners, by the evil Arts of the Enemies to his
"Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and by the calumnies, and ſlan-
"ders raiſed againſt his Majeſty by them, are induced to believe) all
"Men may know what is done that way, is but in order to his own de-
"fence. Let the Petitioners remember, that (which all the world

"knows) his Majesty was driven from his Palace of *White-Hall*, for "safety of his Life: That both Houses of Parliament, upon their own "Authority, raised a Guard to themselves (having gotten the Com- "mand of all the Traind-bands of *London* to that purpose) without the "least colour, or shadow of danger: That they usurped a power, by their "pretended Ordinance, against all Principles and Elements of Law, "over the whole Militia of the Kingdom, without, and against His Ma- "jesty's consent: That they took possession of his Town, Fort, and Ma- "gazine of *Hull*, and committed the same to Sr *John Hotham*, who "shut the Gates against his Majesty, and, by Force of Armes, denied "entrance thither to his own Person: That they justified this Act which "they had not directed; and took Sr *John Hotham* into their protection "for whatsoever he had done, or should do, against his Majesty. And "all this, whilst his Majesty had no other attendance than his own Me- "nial Servants. Upon this, the Duty, and Affection of this County, "prompted his Subjects here to provide a small Guard for his own Per- "son; which was no sooner done, but a Vote suddainly passed of his "Majesty's intention to levy War against his Parliament (which, God "knows, his heart abhorreth) and notwithstanding all his Majesty's Pro- "fessions, Declarations, and Protestations to the contrary, seconded by "the clear Testimony of so great a Number of Peers upon the place, "Propositions and Orders for Levies of Men, Horse, and Armes, were "sent throughout the Kingdom; Plate and Money brought in, and re- "ceived; Horse and Men raised towards an Army, Mustered, and under "Command; and all this contrary to the Law, and to his Majesties Pro- "clamation: And a Declaration published, that if he should use "Force for the recovery of *Hull*, or suppressing the pretended Ordi- "nance for the Militia, it should be held levying War against the Par- "liament: And all this done, before his Majesty granted any Commission "for the levying, or raising a Man. His Majesty's Ships were taken "from him, and committed to the custody of the Earl of *Warwick*; "who presumes, under that power, to usurp to himself the Soveraignty "of the Sea, to chase, fright, and imprison such of his Majesty's good "Subjects, as desire to obey his Lawful Commands; altho' he had notice "of the legal Revocation of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Commission "of Admiral, whereby all power derived from that Commission ceased.

"LET all the world now judge, who begun this War, and upon whose "account the miseries, which may follow, must be cast; what his Ma- "jesty could have done less than he hath done; and whether he were "not compelled to make provision, both for the defence of himself, and "recovery of what is so violently, and injuriously taken from him; "and whether these injuries, and indignities, are not just grounds for "his Majesty's fears and apprehensions of further mischief, and danger "to him. Whence the fears and jealousies of the Petitioners have pro- "ceeded, hath never been discovered; the dangers they have brought "upon his Subjects are too evident; what those are they have pre- "vented, no Man knows. And therefore his Majesty cannot but look "upon that Charge as the boldest, and the most scandalous, hath been "yet laid upon him; That this necessary provision, made for his own "safety and defence, is to over rule the Judgment, and Advice of his "Great Council; and by force to determine the Questions there de- "pending, concerning the Government and Liberty of the Kingdom. "If no other force had been raised to determine those Questions, than

"by his Majesty, this unhappy misunderstanding had not been. And
"his Majesty no longer desires the blessing and protection of Almighty
"God upon Himself and his Posterity, than He and They shall solemnly
"observe the due execution of the Laws, in the defence of Parliaments,
"and the just Freedom thereof.

"For the Forces about *Hull*, his Majesty will remove them, when
"he hath obtain'd the End for which they were brought thither. When
"*Hull* shall be again reduced to his subjection, he will no longer have
"an Army before it. And when he shall be assured, that the same Ne-
"cessity and pretence of Publick Good, which took *Hull* from him,
"may not put a Garrison into *New-Castle* to keep the same against him,
"he will remove His from thence, and from *Tinmouth*; till when, the
"example of *Hull* will not out of his memory.

"For the Commissions of Array, which are legal, and are so proved
"by a Declaration now in the Press, his Majesty wonders why they
"should at this time, be thought grievous, and fit to be recalled; if
"the fears of Invasion and Rebellion be so great, that, by an illegal pre-
"tended Ordinance, it is necessary to put his Subjects into a posture of
"defence, to Array, Train, and Muster them, he knows not why the
"same should not be done in a regular, known, lawful way. But if, in
"the execution of that Commission, any thing shall be unlawfully im-
"posed upon his good Subjects, his Majesty will take all just, and ne-
"cessary care for their redress.

"For his Majesty's coming nearer to his Parliament, his Majesty
"hath expressed himself so fully in his several Messages, Answers, and
"Declarations; and so particularly avowed a real fear of his safety,
"upon such instances as cannot be Answer'd, that he hath reason to take
"himself somewhat neglected, That, since upon so manifest reasons it
"is not safe for his Majesty to come to them, both his Houses of Par-
"liament will not come nearer to his Majesty; or to such a place where
"the freedom, and dignity of Parliament might be preserved. How-
"ever, his Majesty shall be very glad to hear of some such example in
"their punishing the Tumults (which he knows not how to expect,
"when they have declared, That they knew not of any Tumults; tho'
"the House of Peers desired, both for the Freedom and dignity of Par-
"liament, that the House of Commons would joyn with them in a De-
"claration against Tumults; which they refused, that is, neglected to
"do) and other seditious Actions, Speeches, and Writings, as may take
"that apprehension of danger from him; tho', when he remembers the
"particular complaints Himself hath made of businesses of that nature,
"and that, instead of inquiring out the Authors, neglect of examination
"hath been, when offer hath been made to both Houses to produce the
"Authors; as in that Treasonable Paper concerning the Militia; And
"when he sees every day Pamphlets published against his Crown, and
"against Monarchy it self; as the Observations upon his late Messages,
"Declarations, and Expresses; and some Declarations of their own,
"which give too great encouragement, in that Argument, to ill Affected
"Persons; his Majesty cannot, with confidence, entertain those Hopes
"which would be most welcome to him.

"For the leaving Delinquents to the due course of Justice, his Ma-
"jesty is most assured there hath been no shelter to any such. If the te-
"diousness and delay in prosecution, the vast charge in Officer's fees, the
"keeping Men under a General accusation, without Trial, a whole year

"and

"and more, and so allowing them no way for their defence and vindica-
"tion, hath frighten'd Men away from so chargeable and uncertain At-
"tendance, the Remedy is best provided, where the Disease grew. If
"the Law be the measure of Delinquency, none Such are within his Ma-
"jesty's Protection: But if by Delinquents such are understood, who are
"made so by Vote, without any Trespass upon any known, or established
"Law: If by Delinquents those nine Lords are understood, who are
"made Delinquents for obeying his Majesty's Summons to come to him,
"after their stay there was neither safe, nor honourable, by reason of the
"Tumults, and other Violences; and whose Impeachment, he is confi-
"dent, is the greatest breach of Priviledge, that, before this Parliament,
"was ever offer'd to the House of Peers: If by Delinquents such are un-
"derstood, who refuse to submit to the pretended Ordinance of the Mi-
"litia; to that of the Navy; or to any other, which his Majesty hath
"not consented to; such who for the Peace of the Kingdom, in an hum-
"ble manner, prepare Petitions to Him, or to both Houses, as his good
"Subjects of *London* and *Kent* did; whilst seditious ones, as that of *Essex*,
"and other places, are allowed, and Cherished: If by Delinquents such
"are understood, who are called so for publishing his Proclamations, as
"the Lord Mayor of *London*; or for reading his Messages and Declara-
"rations, as divers Ministers about *London* and elsewhere; when those
"against him are dispersed, with all care and industry, to poyson and cor-
"rupt the Loyalty and Affection of his People: If by Delinquents such
"are understood, who have, or shall lend his Majesty Money, in the Uni-
"versities, or in any other places: His Majesty declares to all the world
"That he will protect Such with his utmost power and strength; and
"directs, that, in these cases, they submit not to any Messengers, or War-
"rant; it being no less his Duty to Protect those who are Innocent, than
"to bring the Guilty to condign Punishment; of both which the Law is
"to be judge. And if both Houses do think fit to make a General, and
"to raise an Army for defence of those who obey their Orders, and Com-
"mands, his Majesty must not sit still, and suffer such who submit to his
"just power, and are sollicitous for the Laws of the Land, to perish, and
"be undone, because they are called Delinquents. And when They
"shall take upon them to dispense with the attendance of those, who are
"called by his Majesty's Writ, whilst they send them to Sea, to rob his
"Majesty of his Ships; or into the several Counties, to put his Subjects
"in Armes against him; his Majesty (who Only hath it) will not lose the
"power to dispense with them to attend his own Person; or to execute
"such Offices, as are necessary for the preservation of Himself, and the
"Kingdom; but must protect them, tho' they are called Delinquents.

"FOR the Manner of the proceeding against Delinquents, his Majesty
"will proceed against those, who have no Priviledge of Parliament, or
"in such cases where no Priviledge is to be allowed, as he shall be advised
"by his Learned Council, and according to the known, and unquestion-
"able Rules of the Law; it being unreasonable, that he should be com-
"pelled to proceed against those, who have violated the known and un-
"doubted Law, only before Them who have directed such violation.

"HAVING said thus much to the Particulars of the Petition, tho' his
"Majesty hath reason to complain, that, since the sending this Petition,
"they have beaten their Drums for Soldiers against him; Arm'd their
"own General with a power destructive to the Law, and Liberty of the
"Subjects; and chosen a General of their Horse. His Majesty, out of his

"Princely

"Princely love, tenderneſs, and compaſſion of his People, and deſire to "preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, that the whole force and ſtrength "of it may be united for the defence of it ſelf, and the relief of *Ireland* "(in whoſe behalf he conjures both his Houſes of Parliament, as they "will anſwer the contrary to Allmighty God, his Majeſty, to thoſe who "truſt them, and to that bleeding miſerable Kingdom, that they ſuffer "not any Moneys granted, and collected by Act of Parliament, to be di-"verted or imployed againſt his Majeſty; whilſt his Soldiers in that "Kingdom are ready to mutiny, or periſh for want of pay; and the bar-"barous Rebels prevail by that encouragement) is graciouſly pleaſed "once more, to propoſe and require,

"THAT His Town of *Hull* be immediately deliver'd up to him: Which "being done (tho' his Majeſty hath been provoked by unheard of Inſo-"lences of Sr *John Hotham*'s, ſince his burning and drowning the Coun-"try, in ſeiſing his Wine, and other proviſions for his Houſe, and ſcorn-"fully uſing his Servant, whom he ſent to require them; ſaying, it came "to him by Providence, and he will keep it; and ſo refuſing to deliver it, "with threats if He, or any other of his fellow Servants, ſhould again "repair to *Hull* about it; and in taking, and detaining Priſoners, divers "Gentlmen, and others, in their paſſage over the *Humber* into *Lincoln-*"*ſhire* about their neceſſary occaſions; and ſuch other indignities, as all "Gentlemen muſt reſent in his Majeſty's behalf) his Majeſty, to ſhew "his earneſt deſire of Peace, for which he will diſpenſe with his own "Honour, and how far he is from deſire of Revenge, will grant a free, "and general Pardon to all Perſons within that Town.

"THAT his Majeſty's Magazine, taken from *Hull*, be forthwith put "into ſuch hands, as He ſhall appoint.

"THAT his Navy be forthwith deliver'd into ſuch hands, as he hath "directed for the Government thereof: The detaining thereof after his "Majeſty's Directions, publiſhed and received, to the contrary; and im-"ploying his Ships againſt him in ſuch manner, as they are now uſed, "being notorious High-Treaſon in the Commanders of thoſe Ships.

"THAT all Armes, Levies, and Proviſions for a War, made by the "conſent of both Houſes (by whoſe Example his Majeſty hath been "forced to make ſome Preparations) be immediately laid down; and "the pretended Ordinance for the Militia, and all power of impoſing "Laws upon the Subject without his Majeſty's conſent, be diſavowed; "without which, the ſame Pretence will remain to produce the ſame "Miſchief. All which his Majeſty may as lawfully demand as to live, "and can with no more juſtice be denied him, than his Life may be "taken from him.

"THESE being done, and the Parliament adjourn'd to a ſafe and ſe-"cure place, his Majeſty promiſes, in the preſence of God, and binds "himſelf by all his Confidence and Aſſurance in the Affection of his Peo-"ple, that he will inſtantly, and moſt chearfully, lay down all the Force "he ſhall have raiſed, and diſcharge all his future and intended Levies; "that there may be a general face of Peace over the whole Kingdom; "and will repair to them: And deſires, that all Differences may be freely "debated in a Parliamentary way; whereby the Law may recover it's "due reverence, the Subject his juſt Liberty, and Parliaments themſelves "their full Vigour and Eſtimation; and ſo the whole Kingdom a bleſſed "Peace, Quiet, and Proſperity.

"IF theſe Propoſitions ſhall be rejected, his Majeſty doubts not of the

"Protection

"Protection and Assistance of Almighty God and the ready Concur-
"rence of his good Subjects, without which he hoped [illegible] left them of consider-
"ing their own long, if their King may be oppressed and spoiled, and
"must be remediless. And though his Towns, his Ships, his Arms, and all
"Money, be gotten, and taken from him, he hath a Good Cause left, and
"the Hearts of his People; which, with God's blessing, he doubts not
"will recover all the rest.

"LASTLY, if the preservation of the Protestant Religion, the defence
"of the Liberty and Laws of the Kingdom, the dignity and freedom of
"Parliament; and the recovery, and the relief of bleeding and miserable
"*Ireland*, be equally precious to the Petitioners, as they are to his Ma-
"jesty (who will have no quarrel but in defence of these) there will be
"a chearful and speedy consent to what his Majesty hath now proposed,
"and desired: And of this his Majesty expects a full and positive Answer,
"by *Wednesday* the 27th of this instant *July*; till when, he shall not make
"any Attempt of force upon *Hull*, hoping in the Affection, Duty, and
"Loyalty of the Petitioners: And, in the mean time, expects that no
"supply of Men be put into *Hull*, nor any of his Majesty's Goods taken
"from thence.

THE whole Court, upon the hearing that Petition from the two Houses read, expressed a marvellous Indignation at the intolerable Indignities offer'd to the King by it; and seem'd no better satisfied with the Messengers; who had professed, "that they brought an absolute sub-
"mission to his Majesty; when, in truth, what they brought, appeared to be a full Justification of whatsoever they had done before, and an implied Threat of doing worse, and fixing all the scandals upon his Majesty, which they had scatter'd abroad before: insomuch that all Men expected, and believed his Majesty to be engaged, for the vindication of his Princely dignity and honour, to return a much sharper Answer to them, than he had ever sent. So that, when this which is before set down (and which had before been consented to, and approved in the full Assembly of the Peers, and Counsellors) was read publickly, it was generally thought, that the King had not enough resented the Insolence, and Usurpation of the Parliament, or appear'd sensible enough of the Provocations. Yet the thought of a War, which wise Men saw actually levied upon the King already, was so much abhorred, and Men were so credulous of every Expedient which was pretended for Peace, that, by the next morning (the Answer being deliver'd in the evening) these active Messengers for the Parliament perswaded many "that the King's Answer was too
"sharp, and would provoke the Houses, who were naturally passionate,
"to proceed in the high ways they were in; whereas, if the King would
"abate that severity of Language, and would yet take off the Preamble
"of his Answer, they were confident, and the Earl of *Holland* privately
"offer'd to undertake, that satisfaction should be given to all that his
"Majesty proposed. And by this means some were so far wrought upon, as they earnestly importuned the King, "that he would take his Answer,
"which he had publickly delivered the night before, from the Messen-
"gers, and, instead thereof, return only the Matter of his own Propos-
"tions, in the most soft and gentle Language; without the Preamble,
"or any mention of the unjustifiable, and unreasonable demeanour of
"the Parliament towards him.

BUT his Majesty replied, "that he had for a long time, even after

"great provocations, and their first general Remonstrance to the People,
"treated with all imaginable complyance, and lenity of words with
"them; and discover'd their unjustifiable and extravagant proceedings
"with and against him, and the consequences that would inevitably
"attend their Progress in them, with such tender expressions, as if he be-
"lieved whatever was amiss to proceed from misinformation only, and
"unskilful mistakes: That this gentleness, and regard of his, was so far
"from operating upon them, that their Insolence, and Irregularities in-
"creased; and it might be from that reason, that their Messages and De-
"clarations were writ in so high a Dialect, and with that Soveraignty of
"Language, as if He were subject to Their jurisdiction; and did not
"know but it might have some influence upon his People to his disad-
"vantage, that is, raise terrour towards Them, and lessen their reverence
"towards his Majesty, when all Their Petitions and Propositions were
"more Imperative than His just, and necessary Refusals: Which con-
"descension his Majesty had brought himself to, in hope, that His exam-
"ple, and Their natural shame, would have reform'd that new Licence
"of words: That this last Address, under the name of a Petition (a few
"days after they had violently ravished his whole Fleet from him; and
"prepared the same day, that they had chosen a General, to whom they
"had sworn Allegiance, to lead an Army against him) contained a perem-
"tory Justification of whatsoever they had done; and as peremtory a
"Threatning of whatsoever they could do: and therefore, if he should
"Now retract his Answer, which had been solemnly consider'd in Coun-
"cil, before all the Peers, and which in truth implied rather a Princely
"resentment of the Indignities offer'd to him, than flow'd with any sharp
"or bitter Expressions, he should, by such yielding, give encouragement
"to New attempts; and could not but much discourage those, upon
"whose Affections and Loyalty he was principally to depend; who could
"not think it safe to raise themselves to an indignation on his behalf,
"when He expressed so tender, or so little sense of his own sufferings:
"besides, that he was then upon an avowed Hostile enterprise for the re-
"duction of *Hull*; towards which he was to use all possible means to
"draw a Force together, equal to that Design; and by such a Retraction
"as this proposed, and a seeming declension of his Spirit, and depending
"upon their good natures, who had done all this mischief, he should not
"only be inevitably disappointed of the resort of new strength, but, pro-
"bably, deserted by those few, whom he had brought together: That he
"could not reasonably, or excusably depend upon the undertaking of
"the Earl of *Holland*; who had so grossly deceived him in other under-
"takings, which were immediately in his own power to have perform'd:
"whereas neither he, nor either of the other two Gentlemen, who were
"joyn'd with him in this imployment, had so much interest with the
"Active and Prevailing Party, as to know more of their Intentions than
"was at present necessary to be discover'd for their Concurrence.

"He said, that he had never yet consented to any one Particular, since
"the beginning of this Parliament, by which he had received prejudice,
"at the doing whereof he had not the solemn undertakings and promises
"of those, who were much abler to justify their undertakings, than the
"Earl of *Holland*; and upon whom he only depended, that it should be
"no disservice to him, and would be an infallible means to compass all
"that his Majesty desired: But he had allways found those Promisers
"and Undertakers, tho' they could eminently carry on any Counsel, or

"Conclusion,

"Concluſion, that was againſt Law, Juſtice, or His Right, had never "power to reduce, or reſtrain thoſe agitations within any bounds of ſo- "briety, and moderation: And when they found, that many would not "be guided by them, that they might ſeem ſtill to Lead, themſelves as "furiouſly Followed the other; and reſorted again to his Majeſty with "ſome new Expedient, as deſtructive as the former. So that he was re- "ſolved to rely upon God Allmighty, and not ſo much to depend upon "what might poſſibly prevail upon the Affections of thoſe, from whom, "reaſonably, he could not expect any good, as upon ſuch plain and avow'd "courſes, as, let the ſucceſs be what it would, muſt, to all judging Men, "appear to be prudently, and honourably relied on: And therefore he "poſitively refuſed to make the leaſt alteration in his Anſwer: And ſo the Meſſengers departed, leaving the Court and Country worſe affected, than they found it; and branding ſome particular Perſons, whom they found leſs inclined to be ruled by their profeſſions and promiſes, "as the "Authors of a Civil War: And making them as odious as they could, where ever they came.

AND ſure, from that time, the Earl of *Holland* was more tranſported from his natural temper and gentleneſs of diſpoſition, into paſſion and animoſity againſt the King, and his Miniſters; and, having been nothing pleaſed with his own condition at *London*, finding the Earl of *Eſſex* (whom he did not ſecretly love, and did indeed contemn) to draw all Men's Eyes towards him, and to have the greateſt Intereſt in their hearts, he had ſeriouſly intended, under colour of this Meſſage to the King, to diſcover if there were any ſparks yet left in his Royal breaſt, which might be kindled into affection, or acceptation of his Service; and hoped, if he could get any credit, to redeem his former treſpaſſes: But when he not only found his Majeſty cold towards him, but eaſily enough diſcern'd, by his reception, that all former inclinations were dead, and more than ordinary prejudices grown up towards him in their places, and that his advices were rejected, he return'd with rancour equal to the moſt furious he went to; and heartily joyn'd and concurr'd towards the ſuppreſſing that Power, in the Adminiſtration whereof he was not like to bear any part.

HIS Majeſty having, by his Anſwer, obliged himſelf not to make any forcible Attempt upon *Hull* till the 27th of *July*, by which time he might reaſonably expect an Anſwer to his Propoſitions, in the mean time reſolved to make ſome ſhort progreſs into the neighbour Counties; and accordingly, the ſame day the Meſſengers departed, the King went to *Doncaſter*; the next day to *Nottingham*; and ſo to *Leiceſter*; where he heard, the Earl of *Stamford*, and ſome other Parliament Men, were executing the Ordinance of the Militia: But, before his Majeſty came thither, they removed themſelves to *Northampton*; a Town ſo true to them, as, if they had been purſued, would have ſhut their Gates againſt the King Himſelf, as *Hull* had done.

AT *Leiceſter* the King was received, with great expreſſions of Duty and Loyalty, by the appearance of the Traind-bands, and full Acclamations of the People; yet there were two Accidents that Happen'd there, which, if they be at all remember'd, will manifeſt, that if the King were Loved there as he ought to be, that the Parliament was more Fear'd than He. It happen'd to be at the time of the general Aſſizes, and Juſtice *Reeve* (a Man of a good reputation for Learning, and Integrity; and who, in good times, would have been a good Judge) ſate there as judge; and Mr *Henry Haſtings*, younger Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, was purpoſely

made high Sheriff, to contain the County within the limits of their duty by the power of that Office, as well as by the Intereſt, and Relation of his Family. The Earl of *Stamford*, and his Aſſiſtants, had departed the Town but few hours before his Majeſty's entrance; and had left their Magazine, which was indeed the Magazine of the County, in a little Store-Houſe at the end of the Town, guarded by ſome inferior Officers whom they had brought down to Train and Exerciſe the Militia, and other Zealous and devoted Men of the County, in all to about the Number of 25, who had barricadoed the door of the Houſe; and profeſſed "to "keep it againſt all demanders; having proviſions within it of all ſorts." The King was very unwilling (coming in ſo peaceable a manner, at ſo peaceable a time) to take any notice of it. On the other hand, it was an Act of too great inſolence to be ſuffer'd; and, upon the matter, to leave a Garriſon of the Rebels in poſſeſſion of the Town; and therefore he ſent word to the Judge, "that if He took not ſome legal way to remove ſuch "a Force ſo near his Majeſty, his Majeſty would do it in ſome Extraor-"dinary courſe: Which, upon the ſuddain, would have puzled him to have done; having neither Soldier, Cannon, nor Powder to effect it; the want of which as much troubled the Sheriff. In the end, the Gentlemen of the Country, who had not yet otherwiſe declared themſelves on either ſide, than by waiting on his Majeſty, finding that the King would not go from the Town, till that Nuiſance was removed; and that it might bring Inconveniences, Charge, and Miſchief to the County of a high nature; ſo prevailed, that, as his Majeſty was contented to take no notice of it, ſo they within the Houſe, in the night, upon aſſurance of Safety, and Liberty to go whither they would, removed and left the Houſe; and ſo that matter was quieted.

THE other Accident was, or was like to have proved, more Ridiculous: Some of the King's Servants, hearing that the Earl of *Stamford*, and the other Militia Men were newly gone out of the Town, had of Themſelves, coming thither before the King, galloped after them; intending to have apprehended them, and brought them before the King; and, tho' the other were too fleet for them, had, in the way, overtaken Dr *Baſtwick*, a Man well known, who had been a principal Officer with them at *Leiceſter*, and fled at the ſame time, but could not keep pace with his Commanders: Him they brought to the Town, where, by the Sheriff, he was committed to Priſon; having confeſſed enough Treaſon, and juſtifying it, as would have juſtly hanged any Subject. The King thought once to have had him indicted then, at the Aſſizes, upon the plain Statute of 25 *E.* III. But the Judge beſought his Majeſty not to put a matter of ſo great moment, upon which the power of the two Houſes of Parliament, and a Parliament ſitting, muſt be determin'd, before one ſingle Judge, whoſe reputation was not enough to bear ſo great a burthen; however, he declared his own opinion fully to his Majeſty, "that it was Trea-"ſon; which, he believed, all the other Judges muſt acknowledge; and "if convened together by his Majeſty to that purpoſe, he thought a joynt "Declaration, and Reſolution of all together might be of great uſe to the "King; whereas the publiſhing of His particular opinion could only de-"ſtroy himſelf, and nothing advance his Majeſty's Service; Beſides, he "had no reaſon to be ſo confident of the Country, as to conclude that a "Jury, then ſuddainly ſummon'd, would have the courage to find the Bill; "and then their Not doing it, if it were attempted, would prove a greater "countenance to the Ordinance, than the Votes of the two Houſes had

"yet

"yet given it. This laſt reaſon gave his Majeſty ſatisfaction, ſo that he was contented that the fellow ſhould be kept in Priſon, and the Tryal be deferred, till he could conveniently ſummon more Judges to be preſent.

HIS Majeſty was no ſooner perſwaded to be content that this proſecution might be ſuſpended, but the cloſe Agents for the Parliament's Service, who were not yet diſcover'd, but appear'd very intire to the King, ſo dextrouſly carried themſelves, that they prevailed with thoſe Gentlemen of the Country, whoſe Zeal to his Majeſty was moſt eminent and unqueſtionable, and even with the Judge himſelf, "to wiſh, that his Ma-
10 "jeſty would freely and graciouſly diſcharge the D^r of his Impriſonment; "or give the Judge leave to do ſo upon a *Habeas Corpus* (which he was adviſed to require) "And that it would be ſuch an Act of Mercy, and "ſingular Juſtice, that would not only work upon the People of That "County to his Majeſty's advantage, but muſt have a great influence "upon the whole Kingdom, and even upon the Parliament it ſelf. And with this ſtrange deſire the good Judge, and thoſe principal Gentlemen, confidently came to the King, the night before he intended to return Northward. His Majeſty told them, "he would think of it till the next "morning. And, in the mean time, concluding by what he heard, that
20 tho' he ſhould refuſe to diſcharge him, or to conſent that he ſhould be diſcharged, his reſtraint would not be long in that place after His departure, the People allready reſorting to him with great Licenſe, and the D^r, according to his Nature, talking ſeditiouſly and loudly, he directed "a Meſ-"ſenger of the Chamber very early, with ſuch Aſſiſtance as the Sheriff "ſhould give him, to carry him away to *Nottingham*; and, by the help "of that Sheriff, to the Goal at *York*: Which was executed accordingly with expedition, and ſecrecy; if either of which had been abſent, it is certain the Common People had reſcued him; which, of how trivial a
30 moment ſoever it ſhall be thought, I could not but mention as an Inſtance of the Spirit and Temper of that time, and the great Diſadvantage the King was upon, that ſo many very good Men thought fit, at a time, when very many hundreds of Perſons of Honour, and Quality, were impriſoned with all ſtrictneſs and ſeverity by the Parliament, upon the bare ſuſpition that they meant to go to the King, or that they wiſhed well to him, or for not ſubmitting to ſome illegal Order, or Command of Theirs, that the King ſhould diſcharge an infamous Perſon, taken in an Act of High-Treaſon, and who more frankly, and avowedly profeſſed ſedition, than he did the Science of which he pretended to be Doctor.

40 THE King, according to his appointment, return'd towards *Hull*, in expectation of an Anſwer from the Parliament; which came two days after the appointed day, but with no ſolemnity of Meſſengers, or other ceremony, than incloſed to one of the Secretaries to be preſented to the King, in which they told him,

"THAT they could not, for the preſent, with the diſcharge of the "Truſt repoſed in them for the ſafety of the King and Kingdom, yield to "thoſe Demands of his Majeſty: The reaſon why they took into their "cuſtody the Town of *Hull*, the Magazine, and Navy; paſſed the Ordi-"nance of the Militia; and made preparation of Armes; was for ſecurity "of Religion, the ſafety of his Majeſty's Perſon, of the Kingdom, and Par-
50 "liament; all which they did ſee in evident, and imminent danger; from "which when they ſhould be ſecured, and that the Forces of the King-"dom ſhould not be uſed to the deſtruction thereof, they ſhould then be "ready to withdraw the Garriſon out of *Hull*, to deliver the Magazine

The Parliaments Replication July 26. 1642.

"and Navy; and ſettle the Militia, by Bill, in ſuch a way as ſhould be ho-
"nourable and ſafe for his Majeſty; moſt agreeable to the duty of Parlia-
"ment; and effectual for the good of the Kingdom; as they had pro-
"feſſed in their late Petition. And for Adjourning the Parliament, they
"apprehended no reaſon for his Majeſty to require it; nor ſecurity for
"themſelves to conſent to it. And as for that reaſon which his Majeſty
"was pleaſed to expreſs, they doubted not but the Uſual place would be
"as ſafe for his Royal Perſon, as any other; conſidering the full Aſſurance
"they had of the Loyalty, and Fidelity of the City of *London* to his Ma-
"jeſty; and the care which his Parliament would ever have to prevent
"any danger, which his Majeſty might juſtly apprehend; beſides the
"manifold conveniences to be had there, beyond any other parts of the
"Kingdom. And as for the laying down of Armes; when the cauſes
"which moved them to provide for the defence of his Majeſty, the
"Kingdom, and Parliament, ſhould be taken away, they ſhould very
"willingly, and chearfully forbear any further Preparations, and lay
"down their Force allready raiſed.

WHICH Replication, as they called it, to his Majeſty's Anſwer, they order'd "to be Printed, and read in all Churches, and Chappels within "the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

AND ſo the War was now denounced, by their expreſs Words, againſt his Majeſty; as it had been long before in their Actions; and both Parties ſeem'd to give over all thoughts of further Treaties, and Overtures; and each prepared to make themſelves conſiderable by the ſtrength, and power of ſuch Forces, as they could draw together.

IN *London* they intended nothing but the forming of their Army, and ſuch other things of power, as were in order thereunto. To that purpoſe, the Bill for the payment of Tonnage and Poundage being expired, on the firſt day of *July*, and they having ſent another of the ſame nature to the King for his conſent, for ſix Months longer, his Majeſty, ſince he ſaw That, and all other Money properly belonging to him, violently taken from him, and imployed by them againſt him, refuſed to give his Royal Aſſent thereunto: Whereupon, without the leaſt hæſitation (albeit it had been enacted this very Parliament, "that whoſoever ſhould preſume "to pay, or receive that duty, after the expiration of the Act, before the "ſame was regranted to his Majeſty with the conſent of the Lords and "Commons, ſhould be in a Præmunire; which is the heavieſt puniſh-ment inflicted by Law, but the loſs of Life) they appointed, and or-der'd by the Power of the two Houſes (which they called an Ordinance of Parliament) "that the ſame duty ſhould be continued; and declared "that they would ſave all Perſons concern'd, from any Penalty or Pu-"niſhment whatſoever: By which they now became poſſeſſed of the Cuſtoms, in their own right.

TOWARDS ſuch, as any ways (tho' under the obligation of Oaths or Offices) oppoſed, or diſcountenanced what they went about, they proceeded with the moſt extravagant ſeverity, that had been ever heard of; of which I ſhall only mention two Inſtances; the Firſt, of the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sr *Richard Gurney*, a Citizen of great Wealth, Reputation and Integrity; whom the Lords had, upon the complaint of the Houſe of Commons, before their ſending the laſt Petition to the King (of which his Majeſty gave them a touch in his Anſwer) committed to the Tower of *London*; for cauſing the King's Proclamation againſt the Militia, by vertue of his Majeſty's Writ to him directed, and according to the

known

known Duty of this Place, to be publickly proclaim'd. And shortly after, that they might have a Man more compliant with their designs to govern the City, notwithstanding that he insisted upon his innocence, and made it appear that he was obliged by the Laws of the Land, the Customs of the City, and the Constitution of his Office, and his Oath, to do what soever he had done; He was by their Lordships, in the presence of the Commons, adjudged "to be put out of his Office of Lord Mayor of *Lon-*
"*don*; to be utterly incapable of bearing Office in City or Kingdom, and "of all Honour or Dignity; and to be imprison'd, during the pleasure of "the two Houses of Parliament. And, upon this sentence, Alderman *Pennington*, so often before mention'd, was, by the noise and clamour of the Common People, against the Customs and Rules of Election, made Mayor; and accordingly installed; and the true, old, worthy Mayor committed to the Tower of *London*; where, with notable courage and constancy, he continued almost to his Death.

THE other Instance, I think fit to mention, is that of Judge *Mallet*; who, as is before remember'd, was committed to the Tower the last Lent, for having seen a Petition prepared by the grand Jury of *Kent*, for the Countenance of the Book of Common Prayer, and against the imposition of the Militia by Ordinance without the Royal Assent. This Judge (being this Summer Circuit, again Judge of Assize for those Counties) sitting at *Maidstone* upon the great Assize, some members of the House of Commons, under the style and title of a Committee of Parliament, came to the Bench; and, producing some Votes, and Orders, and Declarations of one or both Houses, "required him, in the name of the Parliament, to "cause those Papers (being on the behalf of the Ordinance of the Militia, and against the Commission of Array) "to be read. He told them, "that "he sat there by vertue of his Majesty's Commissions; and that he was "authorized to do any thing comprised in those Commissions; but he "had no Authority to do any thing else; and therefore, there being no "mention, in either of his Commissions, of those Papers, or the Publishing "any thing of that nature, he could not, nor would not do it; and so (finding less respect and submission, than they expected, both to their Persons and their Business, from the Learned Judge, and that the whole County, at least the prime Gentlemen and the Grand Jury, which represented the County, contemn'd both much more) this Committee return'd to the House with great exclamations against Mr Justice *Mallet*, "as the "Fomenter and Protector of a Malignant Faction against the Parliament. And, upon this Charge, a Troop of Horse was sent to attend an Officer; who came with a Warrant from the Houses, or some Committee (whereas Justice *Mallet*, being an Assistant of the House of Peers, could not Regularly be summon'd by any other Authority) to *Kingston* in *Surrey*, where the Judge was keeping the general Assizes for that County; and, to the unspeakable Dishonour of the Publick Justice of the Kingdom, and the Scandal of all Ministers or Lovers of Justice, in that violent manner took the Judge from the Bench, and carried him Prisoner to *Westminster*; from whence, by the two Houses, he was committed to the Tower of *London*; where he remain'd for the space of above two years, without ever being charged with any particular Crime, till he was redeem'd by his Majesty by the exchange of another, whose liberty they desired.

BY these heightned Acts of Power and Terrour, they quickly demonstrated, how unsecure it would be for any Man, at least not to concur with them. And, having a General, Armies, Money, and Men enough at their

their devotion, they eaſily form'd an Army, publickly diſpoſing ſuch Troops and Regiments, as had been raiſed for *Ireland*, and, at one time, one hunder'd thouſand pounds of that Money, which, by Act of Parliament, had been paid for that purpoſe, towards the conſtituting that Army, which was to be led againſt their Lawful Soveraign. So that it was very evident, they would be in ſuch an Equipage within few Weeks, both with a Train of Artillery, Horſe and Foot, all taken, arm'd, furniſhed, and ſupplied out of his Majeſty's own Magazines and Stores, that they had not reaſon to fear any oppoſition. In the mean time, they declared, and publiſhed to the People, "that they raiſed that Army, only for the de- "fence of the Parliament, the King's Perſon, and the Religion, Liberty, "and Laws of the Kingdom, and of thoſe, who, for Their ſakes, and for "thoſe Ends, had obeyed their Orders: That the King, by the inſtigation "of evil Counſellors, had raiſed a great Army of Papiſts; by which he "intended to awe, and deſtroy the Parliament; to introduce Popery, and "Tyranny: Of which intention, they ſaid, his requiring *Hull*; his ſend- "ing out Commiſſions of Array; beſpeaking Armes and Ammunition "beyond the Seas (there having been ſome brought to him by the Ship "called the Providence) his declaring Sr *John Hotham* Traytor; and the "putting out the Earl of *Northumberland* from being Lord High-Admi- "ral of *England*; his removing the Earl of *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, "the Lord *Fielding*, and Sr *Henry Vane*, from their ſeveral places and "imployments; were ſufficient and ample evidences: And therefore, they "conjured all Men, to aſſiſt their General, the Earl of *Eſſex*. And, for their better and more ſecret tranſaction of all ſuch Counſels, as were neceſſary to be enter'd upon, or follow'd, they made a Committee, of ſome choice Members of either Houſe, to intend the great buſineſs of the Kingdom with reference to the Army; who had Authority, without ſo much as communicating the matter to the Houſe, to impriſon Perſons, ſeiſe upon their Eſtates; and many other Particulars, which the two Houſes, in full Parliament, had not the leaſt Regular, Legal, Juſtifiable Authority to do. And, for the better encouragement of Men to engage in the Service, the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons, formerly accuſed by his Majeſty of High-Treaſon, upon ſolemn debate, had ſeveral Regiments conferr'd on them; and, by their example, many other Members of both Houſes, ſome upon their lowneſs, and decaiedneſs of their Fortunes, others to get name and reputation to be in the number of Reformers (amongſt whom they doubted not all Places of Honour, or Offices of profit, woud be beſtowed) moſt upon the confidence, that all would be ended without a Blow, by the King's want of power to gather ſtrength, deſired and obtain'd Command of Horſe or Foot; their Quality making amends for their want of experience, and their other defects; which were repaired by many good Officers both Engliſh, and Scots; the late Troubles having brought many of that tribe to *London*, and the reputation of the Earl of *Eſſex* having drawn others, out of the Low-Countries, to engage in that Service. In the choice of which Officers, whilſt they accuſed the King of a purpoſe to bring a Forreign Force, and of entertaining Papiſts, they neither conſider'd Nation nor Religion; but entertain'd all Strangers, and Forreigners, of what Religion ſoever, who deſired to run their Fortune in the War.

ON the other ſide, Preparations were not made with equal expedition, and ſucceſs by the King, towards a War: For, tho' he well underſtood, and diſcern'd, that he had nothing elſe to truſt to, he was to encounter

ſtrange

ſtrange Difficulties to do that. He was ſo far from having Money to levy, or pay Soldiers, that he was, at this very time, compelled, for very real want, to let fall all the Tables kept by his Officers of State in Court, by which ſo many of all qualities ſubſiſted; and the Prince, and Duke of *York*, eat with his Majeſty; which Table only was kept. And whoever knows the Conſtitution of a Court, well knows what indiſpoſitions naturally flow from thoſe declenſions; and how ill thoſe Tempers bear any diminution of their own Intereſts; and, being once indiſpoſed themſelves, how eaſily they infect others. And that which made the preſent want of Money the more intolerable, there was no viſible hope from whence ſupply could come, in any reaſonable time: And that which was a greater want than Money, which Men rather fear'd than found, there were no Armes; for, notwithſtanding the fame of the great Store of Ammunition, brought in by that Ship, it conſiſted only in truth of Cannon, Powder, and Bullet, with eight hundred Muſquets, which was all the King's Magazine. So that the haſtning of Levies, which at that time was believed would not prove difficult, would be to little purpoſe, when they ſhould continue unarm'd. But that which troubled the King more than all theſe real incapacities of making War, was the temper and conſtitution of his own Party; which was compounded, for the moſt part, in Court, Council, and Country, of Men drawn to him by the impulſion of Conſcience, and abhorring the unjuſt and irregular proceedings of the Parliament; otherwiſe unexperienced in Action, and unacquainted with the Myſteries, and neceſſary Policy of Government; ſevere obſervers of the Law, and as ſcrupulous in all matters relating to it, as the other pretended to be. All his Majeſty's Ancient Counſellors, and Servants (except ſome few of laſting Honour, whom We ſhall have occaſion often to mention) that they might redeem former overſights, or for other unworthy deſigns, being either publickly againſt him in *London*, or privately diſcrediting his Intereſt and Actions, in his own Court. Theſe Men ſtill urged "the execu-"tion of the Law; that what extravagances ſoever the Parliament pra-"cticed, the King's obſervation of the Law would, in the end, ſuppreſs "them all. And, indeed, believed the raiſing a War to be ſo wicked a thing, that they thought it impoſſible the Parliament ſhould intend it, even when they knew what they were doing. However they concluded, "that he, that was forwardeſt in the preparing an Army, would be firſt "odious to the People; by the affections of whom, the other would be "eaſily ſuppreſt.

THIS was the general received Doctrine; and tho' it appear'd plainly to others (of equal affection to the Publick Peace) how fatal thoſe Concluſions, in that ſenſe in which they were urged, muſt prove to the whole Kingdom; and how ſoon the King muſt be irrecoverably loſt, if he proceeded not more vigorouſly in his defence; yet even thoſe Men durſt not, in any form'd and publick Debate, declare themſelves; or ſpeak that plain Engliſh the State of Affairs required; but ſatisfied themſelves with ſpeaking, what they thought neceſſary, to the King in Private; by which means the King wanted thoſe firm, and ſolid foundations of Counſel and Foreſight, that were moſt neceſſary for his condition: So that he could neither impart the true motives, and grounds of any important Action, nor diſcover the utmoſt of his Deſigns. And ſo he ſtill ſeem'd (notwithſtanding the greateſt, and avow'd preparations of the Enemy) to intend nothing of Hoſtility, but in order to the reducing of *Hull*; the benefit of which, he hoped, would engage the Train'd-bands of that great County (which was the ſole ſtrength he yet drew thither) till he could bring

other Forces thither, which might be fit for that, or any other Deſign.

BUT there was another Reaſon of his Majeſty's going to, and ſtaying at *Beverly*, than was underſtood; and, it may be, if it had been known, might have produced a better Effect; which I think neceſſary to inſert in this place. The Lord *Digby*, whom We have mention'd before, in the firſt diſorder, by which the King and Queen were driven from *London*, to have left *England*, and to be after unreaſonably accuſed by the Houſe of Commons of High-Treaſon, had remain'd from that time in *Holland*; and, hearing the King's condition at *York*, to be ſo much improved beyond what he left it at *Windſor*, had, with ſome Commands from the Queen, arrived there very privately, and ſtayed ſome days in a diſguiſe at *York*, revealing himſelf to very few Friends, and ſpeaking with the King in ſo ſecret a manner in the night, that no notice was taken of his being there; and, finding the King's Affairs not in ſo good a poſture as he expected, and conceiving it yet not fit for him to appear, reſolved to return again to the Queen, and to haſten that proviſion of Armes and Ammunition, without which it was not poſſible for the King to reſiſt any violence, that threaten'd him; and ſo, in the ſame Bark which brought him over, he went again to Sea for *Holland*, with *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, *Pollard*, and *Berkley*; who purpoſely removed themſelves from Court, upon the clamour of the Parliament, till the King was ready to uſe their Service. They were not many hours at Sea, when they met the Providence (which We mention'd before) with the Ammunition, which was only wanted; and, well knowing her, they agreed, "that *Wilmot*, *Pollard* and *Berkley*, "ſhould return with the Ammunition to the King; and *Digby*, and Coll. "*Aſhburnham*, ſhould purſue their former Intentions for *Holland*. But their Parties continued ſo long, that the Parliament Ships, who had watched and chaſed the Providence, came up to them; and, tho' the Ship eſcaped, and run on ſhore, as was before mention'd, yet the Fly-boat, in which the Lord *Digby* was, could not ſo well get away; but was taken by them, and carried in with ſo much the more triumph into *Hull*, that they had been diſappointed of their greater Prize. Coll. *Aſhburnham*, tho' he was in great umbrage with the Parliament, and one of thoſe Delinquents, whom they reproached the King with, was ſo well known to Sr *John Hotham*, with whom he ſtood in a good degree of familiarity, that he could not diſſemble or conceal himſelf; but the Lord *Digby*, being in ſo real a diſguiſe, that his neareſt friends would not eaſily have known him, pretended to be a *French*-man, whoſe Language he ſpoke excellently; and ſeem'd to be ſo Sea-ſick, that he kept himſelf in the hole of the Bark, till they came to *Hull*; and, in that time, diſpoſed of ſuch Papers, as were not fit to be peruſed; and, when he came on Shore, ſo well counterfeited ſickneſs, and want of health, that he eaſily procured himſelf to be ſent, under a Guard, to ſome obſcure corner for repoſe; whilſt Coll. *Aſhburnham*, who was the only Priſoner they thought worth the looking after, was carefully carried to the Governour; who received him with as much Civility, as he could reaſonably expect.

The Lord Digby's *tranſactions, with* Sr John Hotham, *in* Hull.

THE Lord *Digby*, being by himſelf, quickly conſider'd the deſperateneſs of his condition: "That it would not be poſſible to conceal himſelf "long, being ſo well known to many who were in the Providence, and "the Garriſon quickly knowing whatſoever was ſpoken of in the Coun-"try: That he was, how unjuſtly, or unreaſonably ſoever, the moſt odious "Man of the Kingdom to the Parliament, into whoſe hands if he ſhould "then come, his Life would be, at leaſt, in apparent hazard: And how to get himſelf out of that Labyrinth was very difficult, ſince Sr *John Hotham* was

was ſo far from any inclination of kindneſs towards him, as he had own'd to Coll. *Aſhburnham*, that he was in the Number of his moſt notorious Enemies. However, in this eminent extremity (as he is a Man of the greateſt preſence of mind, and the leaſt appalled upon danger, that I have known) he reſolved, not to give himſelf over; and found means to make one of his Guard, in broken Engliſh, which might well have become any French-man, underſtand, "that he deſired to ſpeak privately with the "Governour; and that he would diſcover ſome Secrets of the King's, and "Queen's to him, that would highly advance the Service of the Parlia-"ment. The Fellow made haſt to let the Governour know theſe good tidings; who, underſtanding French well, as ſpeedily ſent for the French-man; who was brought before him in the preſence of much company, and, without any diſorder, gave ſuch an account of himſelf, as they underſtood him to have ſeen much of the French Service (of which he ſpoke very fluently) and to have come over recommended to the King for ſome Command, if he ſhould have occaſion to uſe Soldiers; as, he ſaid, People abroad conceived him likely to have. After he had entertain'd the company with ſuch diſcourſe, there being preſent ſome Gentlemen, who came lately out of *France*, and ſo being the more curious to adminiſter queſtions, he applied himſelf to the Governour; and told him, "that if "he might be admitted to privacy with him, he would diſcover ſome-"what to him, which he would not repent to have known. The Gover-nour, who was a Man apt enough to fear his own ſafety, but more appre-henſive of the Jealouſies which would attend him (for his eldeſt Son, and ſome others, were more abſolutely confided in by the Parliament than himſelf, and were in truth, but Spies over him) would not venture him-ſelf in another Room; but drew him to a great Window at a convenient diſtance from the company, and wiſhed him "to ſay what he thought fit. The Lord *Digby*, finding he could not obtain more privacy, asked him, in Engliſh, "whether he knew him? the other, ſurpriſed, told him, *No*; "Then, ſaid he, I ſhall try whether I know Sr *John Hotham*; and whe-"ther he be, in truth, the ſame Man of Honour, I have allways taken him "to be: And, thereupon, told him who he was; and "that he hoped he "was too much a Gentleman to deliver him up a ſacrifice to Their rage and "fury, who, he well knew, were his implacable Enemies. The other, be-ing aſtoniſhed, and fearing that the By-ſtanders would diſcover him too (for, being now told who he was, he wonder'd he found it not out Himſelf) he deſired him" to ſay no more for the preſent; that he ſhould not be ſorry "for the truſt he repoſed in him, and ſhould find him the ſame Man he "had thought him: That he would find ſome time, aſſoon as conveniently "he might, to have more conference with him. In the mean time, that "he ſhould content himſelf with the ill accommodation he had; the "amendment whereof would beget ſuſpicion: And ſo he called the Guard, "inſtantly to carry him away, and to have a very ſtrict Eye upon him; and, turning to the Company, and being conſcious to himſelf of the trou-ble and diſorder in his Countenance, told them, "that the French-man "was a ſhrew'd Fellow, and underſtood more of the Queen's Counſels and "deſigns, than a Man would ſuſpect: That he had told him that which "the Parliament would be glad to know; to whom preſently he would "make a diſpatch, tho he had not yet ſo clear informations, as, he preſum'd "he ſhould have after two or three days: And ſo departed to his Chamber.

IT was a wonderful influence, that this Noble Perſon's Stars (which uſed to lead him into, and out of, the greateſt perplexities and dangers, throughout the whole courſe of his Life) had upon this whole affair.

Hotham was, by his nature and education, a rough and a rude Man; of great covetousness, of great pride, and great ambition; without any Bowels of good nature, or the least sense, or touch of generosity; his parts were not quick and sharp, but composed, and he judged well; he was a Man of craft, and more like to deceive, than to be couzen'd; Yet, after all this, this young Noble Man, known, and abhorr'd by him, for his admirable faculty of Dissimulation, had so far prevail'd, and imposed upon his spirit, that he resolved to Practice that Virtue, which the other had Imputed to him; and not to suffer him to fall into the hands of his Enemies. He sent for him, the next day, at an hour when he was more vacant from attendants, and observers; and, at first, told him his resolution; "that, since he had so frankly put himself into his hands, he would not "deceive his Trust; and wished him "to consider, in what way, and by "what colour, he should so set him at Liberty, that he might, without "any other danger, arrive at the place where he would be. For, he said, "he would not trust any Person living with the Secret, and least of all his "Son; whom he mention'd with all the bitterness imaginable, "as a Man "of an ill nature, and furiously addicted to the worst designs the Parlia-"ment had, or could have; and One that was more depended upon by "them than Himself, and sent thither only as a Spy upon him. From hence he enter'd upon the discourse "of the times, and mischief that was "like to befal the whole Kingdom, from the difference between the King "and the Parliament. Then lamented his own Fate, "that, being a Man "of very different Principles from those, who drove things to this extre-"mity, and of intire affection and duty to the King, he should now be "looked upon as the chief ground, and cause of the Civil War which was "to ensue, by his not opening the Ports, when the King would have en-"ter'd into the Town: Of which business, and of all the circumstances attending it, he spake at large; and avow'd, "that the information sent "him of the King's purpose presently to hang him, was the true cause of "his having proceeded in that manner.

The Lord *Digby*, who knew wellenough how to cultivate every period of such a discourse, and how to work upon those Passions which were most predominant in him, joyn'd with him in the sense of the Calamities, which were like to befal the Nation; which he bewailed Pathetically; and, "that it should be in the power of a handful of ill Men, corrupted in "their Affections to the King, and against Monarchy it self, to be able to "involve him, and many other of his clear intentions, in their dark "Counsels, and to engage them to prosecute ends which they abhorred, "and which must determine in the ruin of all the undertakers. For, he "told him, that the King, in a short time, would reduce all his Enemies: "That the hearts of the People were allready, in all places, aliened from "them; and that the Fleet was so much at the King's disposal, that, assoon "as they should receive his Orders, they would appear in any place he ap-"pointed: That all the Princes in *Christendom* were concern'd in the "quarrel, and would engage in it, assoon as they should be invited to it: "And that the Prince of *Orange* was resolved to come over in the head of "his Army, and would take *Hull* in three days. All which ought, reason-ably, to have been true in the Practick, tho' it had very little ground in the Speculation. And when he had, by degrees, amused and terrified him with this discourse, he enlarged upon "the Honour and Glory, that Man "would have, who could be so blessed, as to prevent this terrible Confu-"sion, that was in view: That King and People would joyn in rewarding "him with Honours, and Preferments of all kind, and that his Name

"would

"would be derived to Posterity, as the Preserver of his Country. He told him," He was that Man, that could do all this; that, by delivering up *Hull* "to the King, he might extinguish the War; and that immediately a "Peace would be established throughout the Kingdom: That the world "believed, that he had some credit both with the King, and Queen; that "he would imploy it all in his Service; and if he would give him this life "to begin upon, he should find, that he would be much more solicitous "for His greatness, and a full recompence for his merit, than he was now "for his own safety. All these Advertisements, and reflections, were the subject of more than one discourse; for Sr *John Hotham* could not bear the variety, and burthen of all those thoughts together; but within two days all things were adjusted between them. *Hotham* said, "it would not "become him, after such a refusal, to put the Town into the King's hands; "nor could he undertake (if he resolved) to effect it; the Town it self "being in no degree affected to his Majesty's Service; and the Train'd-"bands, of which the Garrison wholely consisted, were under Officers "upon whom he could not depend. But, he said, if the King would come "before the Town, tho' but with one Regiment, and plant his Cannon "against it, and make but one shot, he should think he had discharged his "Trust to the Parliament, as far as he ought to do; and that he would "immediately then deliver up the Town; which he made no doubt but "that he should be then able to do. And, on this errand, he was contented the Lord *Digby* should go to the King, and be conducted out of the Town beyond the limits of danger; the Governour having told those Officers he trusted most, "that he would send the French-man to *York*; who, he "was well assured, would return to him again. He gave him likewise a note to a Widow, who lived in that City, at whose house he might lodge, and by whose hands he might transmit any Letters to him.

WHEN he came to *York*, and after he had spoke with the King, it was resolved, he should appear in his own likeness, and wait upon the King in publick, that it might be believed, that he had transported himself from *Holland* in the Ship, that brought the Ammunition; which was hardly yet come to *York*, it being now about the time that Mr *Villiers*, and Sr *John Pennington* had been sent away, and before the news came of their ill success. This was the cause of the suddain March towards *Hull*, before there was a Soldier levied to make an Assault, or maintain a Siege; which was so much wonder'd at then, and so much censur'd afterwards. For assoon as his Majesty received this assurance, which he had so much reason to depend upon, by the treatment the Lord *Digby* had received, he declared, "he would, upon such a day, go to *Beverly*, a place within four miles of *Hull*; and appointed three or four Regiments of the Country, under the Command of such Gentlemen whose affection was unquestionable, to march thither, as a Guard to his Person; and likewise sent a little Train of Artillery, which might be ready for the Summons. When his Majesty was ready with this Equipage for his March, the Lord *Digby* return'd again in his old disguise to *Hull*, to make sure that all things there might correspond with the former obligation. Assoon as the King, and the whole Court (for none remain'd at *York*) came to *Beverly* (where they were all accommodated, which kept them from being quickly weary) and the Train'd-bands were likewise come thither, the General, the Earl of *Lindsey*, first took possession of his Office; a little troubled, and out of countenance, that he should appear the General without an Army; and be engaged in an Enterprize, which he could not imagine would succeed. His Majesty order'd him to send out some Officers, of which there was a good store,

Whereupon the King goes to Beverly with design upon Hull, but in vain.

ſtore, to take a view of the Town, and of ſuch advantage ground, within diſtance, upon which he might raiſe a Battery; as if he meant on a ſuddain to aſſault the place; which appear'd no unreaſonable deſign, if there were a good Party in the Town to depend upon. And yet the General had no opinion, that his Army of Train'd-bands would frankly expoſe themſelves to ſuch an Attack: Beſides a great number of Officers, and Perſons of Quality, who were all well Horſed, and had many Servants as well provided, the King had his Troop of Guards ſo conſtituted, as hath been ſaid before; and there were few Horſe in *Hull*, and thoſe without Officers, who underſtood that kind of Service. So that it was no hard matter to take a very full view of the Town, by riding to the very Ports, and about the Walls; nor, at firſt appearance, was there any ſhew of Hoſtility from the Town upon their neareſt approaches to it; but after they had made that viſit two or three days together, they obſerved that the Walls were better mann'd, and that there was every day an increaſe of labourers repairing the Works; and then they begun to Shoot, when any went within diſtance of the Works.

ALL this while Sr *John Hotham* had tryed ſome of his Officers, in whoſe particular affection he had moſt confidence, how far they were like to be govern'd by him; and found them of a temper not to be relied upon. His Son was grown jealous of ſome deſign, and was caballing with thoſe, who were moſt notorious for their diſaffection to the Government; and new Officers were ſent down, by the Parliament, to aſſiſt in the defence of the Town, which, they thought, might probably be attempted; and ſupplies of Men had been taken in from the Ships, and had been ſent thither from *Boſton*, a Town, upon the ſame Coaſt, of eminent diſloyalty. So that, when the Lord *Digby* return'd thither, he found a great damp upon the ſpirit of the Governour, and a ſadneſs of mind, that he had proceeded ſo far; of which his Lordſhip made all the haſt he could to advertiſe the King; but his Letters muſt firſt be ſent to *York* before they could come to *Beverly*; and, when they were received, they contain'd ſtill ſomewhat of hope, "that he ſhould be able to reſtore him to his former "courage, and confirm his reſolution: So that the King ſeem'd to defer any attempt, upon the hopes of the Earl of *Holland*'s Meſſage before mention'd, and, in the end, he was compelled to give over the deſign, all hope from the Governour growing deſperate; whether from his want of Courage, or want of Power to execute what he deſired, remains ſtill uncertain. When Sr *John Hotham* gave over further thoughts of it, he diſmiſſed both the Lord *Digby*, and Coll. *Aſhburnham*, whom he had likewiſe detain'd till then, as a Man of uſe in the execution of the deſign, with many profeſſions of Duty to the King; and as the concealing thoſe two Perſons, and afterwards releaſing them, immediately increaſed the jealouſy of the Parliament againſt him, ſo it was the Principal cauſe, afterwards, of the loſs of his Head.

THE King diſmiſſed the Train'd bands, and return'd with his Court to *York*, in ſo much leſs credit than when he came from thence, as the entering into a War without power, or preparation to proſecute it, was like to produce. The inconvenience was the greater, becauſe the principal Perſons of Quality, of Court or Country, and the Officers, had the leſs reverence for the King's conduct, by ſeeing ſuch an Action enter'd upon with ſo little reaſon, and proſecuted ſo perfunctorily: All which reproaches his Majeſty thought fitter to bear, than to diſcover the Motives of his Journey; which were then known to few, nor, to this day, have been publiſhed.

WHEN the King return'd to *York*, exceedingly troubled at the late

March

March he had made, and all Men expreſſing great impatience to be in Action, very many Perſons of Honour and Quality, having attended long at Court, believing they might be more uſeful to his Majeſty's Service in their own Countries, in reſtraining the diſaffected from any ſeditious attempts, and diſpoſing the People in general to be conſtant in their Loyalty, an Accident fell out, that made it abſolutely neceſſary for the King to declare the War, and to enter upon it, before he was in any degree ripe for Action; which was, that *Portſmouth* had declared for the King, and refuſed to ſubmit to the Parliament; which had thereupon ſent an Army, under the Command of Sr *William Waller*, to reduce it. The relating how this came to paſs, requires a large diſcourſe, and will adminiſter much variety, not without ſomewhat of pleaſure and wonder, from the temper and ſpirit of the Perſon who conducted that Action; if it can be ſaid to be conducted without any Conduct.

Coll. Goring, *at* Portſmouth, *declares for the King.*

WE have remember'd before, in the laſt year, the diſcourſe of the bringing up the Army to *London* to awe the Parliament, and the unſpeakable diſhonour, and damage the King ſuſtain'd by that diſcourſe, how groundleſs ſoever it was; all which was imputed to Coll. *Goring*, who, by that means, grew into great reputation with the Parliament, as a Man ſo irrecoverably loſt at Court, that he would joyn with them in the moſt deſperate deſigns; yet he carried himſelf with ſo great dexterity, that, within few Months, he wrought upon the King and Queen to believe, that he ſo much repented that fault, that he would redeem it by any Service; and to truſt him to that degree, that the Queen, once, reſolv'd, when the tumults drove their Majeſty's firſt from *London*, for her ſecurity, to put her ſelf into *Portſmouth*, which was under his Government; whilſt his Majeſty betook himſelf to the Northern parts; which deſign was no ſooner over (if not before) than he, again, intimated ſo much of it to the Lord *Kimbolton*, and that Party, that they took all the truſt, he had from Court, to proceed from the confidence, their Majeſty's had of his Father's intereſt in him; whoſe Affection, and Zeal to their Service was ever moſt indubitable; but aſſured themſelves, He was their own, even againſt his own Father. So that he carried the matter ſo, that, at the ſame time, he receiv'd 30000 *l.* from the Queen (which ſhe raiſed by the ſale of her Plate, and ſome Jewels) to fortify, and victual, and reinforce his Garriſon, againſt the time it ſhould be neceſſary to declare for the King; and a good ſupply from the Parliament, for the payment of the Garriſon, that it might be kept the better devoted to Them, and to Their Service. All which he perform'd with that admirable diſſimulation, and rare confidence, that, when the Houſe of Commons was inform'd by a Member, whoſe Zeal, and Affection to them was as much valued as any Man's, "that all his correſpondence "in the County was with the moſt Malignant Perſons; that of thoſe, "many frequently reſorted to, and continued with him in the Garriſon; "that he was fortifying, and raiſing of Batteries towards the Land: And "that, in his diſcourſe, eſpecially in the ſeaſons of his good fellowſhip, "he uſed to utter threats againſt the Parliament, and ſharp cenſures of "their Proceedings. And upon ſuch Informations (the Author whereof was well known to them, and of great reputation; and lived ſo near *Portſmouth*, that he could not be miſtaken, in the matter of fact) the Houſe ſent for him, moſt thinking he would refuſe to come.

COLL. *Goring* came, upon the Summons, with that undauntedneſs, that all clouds of diſtruſt immediately vaniſhed, inſomuch as no Man preſum'd to whiſper the leaſt jealouſy of him; which he obſerving, came to the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, and having ſate a

day

day or two patiently, as if he expected ſome Charge, in the end he ſtood up, with a countenance full of modeſty, and yet not without a mixture of anger (as he could help himſelf with all the inſinuations of doubt, or fear, or ſhame, or ſimplicity in his face, that might gain belief, to a greater degree than I ever ſaw any Man; and could ſeem the moſt confounded when he was beſt prepared, and the moſt out of countenance when he was beſt reſolved, and to want words, and the habit of ſpeaking, when they flow'd from no Man with greater power) and told them, "that he had been ſent "for by them, upon ſome information given againſt him, and that, tho' he "believed, the Charge being ſo ridiculous, they might have received, by "their own particular inquiry, ſatisfaction; yet the diſcourſes that had "been uſed, and his being ſent for in that manner, had begot ſome Preju- "dice to him in his reputation; which if he could not preſerve, he ſhould "be leſs able to do Them ſervice; and therefore deſired, that he might "have leave (tho' very unskilful, and unfit to ſpeak, in ſo wiſe and judicious "an Aſſembly) to preſent to them the ſtate and condition of that Place un- "der his Command; and then he doubted not but to give them full ſatiſ- "faction in thoſe Particulars, which, poſſibly, had made ſome impreſſion "in them to his diſadvantage: That he was far from taking it ill from "thoſe, who had given any information againſt him; for, what he had "done, and muſt do, might give ſome Umbrage to well affected Perſons, "who knew not the grounds and reaſons, that induced him ſo to do; but "that if any ſuch Perſon would, at any time, reſort to him, he would "clearly inform them of whatever Motives he had; and would be glad of "their Advice, and Aſſiſtance for the better doing thereof. Then he took notice of every particular that had been publickly ſaid againſt him, or privately whiſper'd, and gave ſuch plauſible Anſwers to the whole, intermingling ſharp taunts, and ſcorns, to what had been ſaid of him, with pretty application of himſelf, and flattery to the Men that ſpake it: Concluding, "that they well knew, in what eſteem he ſtood with others; ſo "that if, by his ill carriage, he ſhould forfeit the good opinion of that "Houſe, upon which he only depended, and to whoſe Service he intirely "devoted himſelf, he were madder than his Friends took him to be, and "muſt be as unpitied in any miſery, that could befall him, as his Enemies "would be glad to ſee him. With which, as innocently and unaffectedly uttered, as can be imagin'd, he got ſo general an Applauſe from the whole Houſe, that, not without ſome little Apology for troubling him, "they "deſir'd him again to repair to his Government, and to finiſh thoſe Works, "which were neceſſary for the ſafety of the place; and gratified him with conſenting to all the Propoſitions, he made in behalf of his Garriſon, and paid him a good ſum of Money for their Arrears; with which, and being privately aſſured (which was indeed reſolved on) that he ſhould be Lieutenant General of their Horſe in their new Army, when it ſhould be form'd, he departed again to *Portſmouth*; in the mean time, aſſuring his Majeſty by thoſe, who were truſted between them, "that he would be "ſpeedily in a Poſture to make any ſuch Declaration for his Service, as "he ſhould be required; which he was forced to do ſooner than he was provided for it, tho' not ſooner than he had reaſon to expect.

WHEN the Levies for the Parliament Army were in good forwardneſs, and that Lord had received his Commiſſion for Lieutenant General of the Horſe, he wrote to the Lord *Kimbolton*, who was his moſt boſome Friend, and a Man very powerful, deſiring, "that he might not be called "to give his attendance upon the Army, till it was ready to march; be- "cauſe there were ſo many things to be done, and perfected, for the ſafety

"of

"of that important Place, that he was desirous to be present Himself at "the work as long as was possible. In the mean time, he had given di- "rections to his Agent in *London*, to prepare all things for his equipage, "so that he would be ready to appear, at any Rendezvous, upon a days "warning. Tho the Earl of *Essex* did much desire his company, and as- sistance in the Council of War, and preparing the Articles, and forming the Discipline for the Army, he having been more lately versed in the Order and Rule of Marches, and the provisions necessary, or convenient there- unto, than any Man then in their Service, and of greater Command than any Man but the General; yet the Lord *Kimbolton* prevailed, that he might not be sent for, till things were riper for Action. And, when that Lord did afterwards write to him, "that it was time he should come "away, he sent such new, and reasonable excuses, that they were not un- satisfied with his delay; till he had multiplied those excuses so long, that they begun to suspect; and they no sooner inclined to suspicion but they met with abundant Argume[illegible] to cherish it. His behaviour and course of Life was very notorious to all the Neighbours, nor was he at all reserv'd in his mirth, and publick Discourses, to conceal his opinion of the Parlia- ment, and their Proceedings. So that, at last, the Lord *Kimbolton* writ plainly to him, "that he could no longer excuse his absence from the Ar- "my, where he was much wanted; and that, if he did not come to *London* "by such a short day, as he named, he found his Integrity would be doubt- "ed; and that many things were laid to his charge, of which he doubted "not his innocence; and therefore conjured him, immediately, to be at "*Westminster*; it being now to be no longer deferr'd or put off. He writ a jolly Letter to that Lord, "that, the truth was, his Council advised him, "that the Parliament did many things which were illegal; and that he "might incur much danger by obeying all their Orders; that he had re- "ceived the Command of that Garrison from the King; and that he durst "not be absent from it, without His leave: And concluded with some good Counsel to the Lord.

THIS Declaration of the Governour of a place, which had the reputa- tion of being the only place of strength in *England*, and situated upon the Sea, put them into many apprehensions; and they lost no time in endea- vouring to reduce it; but, upon the first understanding his resolution, Sr *William Waller* was sent, with a good part of the Army, so to block it up, that neither Men, nor Provision, might be able to get in; and some Ships were sent from the Fleet, to prevent any relief by Sea: And these ad- vertisements came to the King, assoon as he return'd to *York*.

IT gave no small reputation to his Majesty's Affairs, when there was so great a damp upon the spirits of Men, from the misadventures at *Be- verly*, that so notable a place as *Portsmouth* had declared for him, in the very beginning of the War; and that so good an Officer as *Goring*, was re- turn'd to his duty, and in the possession of the Town: And the King, who was not surprised with the matter, knowing well the resolution of the Colonel, made no doubt, but that he was very well supplied with all things, as he might well have been, to have given the Rebels work for three, or four Months, at the least. Whereupon, he forthwith published a Declara- tion, that had been long ready, in which he recapitulated all the Insolent, and Rebellious Actions the two Houses had committed against him; and declared them "to be guilty: and forbid all his Subjects to yield any obe- "dience to them. And at the same time, published his Proclamation; by which, he "required all Men, who could bear Armes, to repair to him at "*Nottingham*, by the 25th of *August* following; on which day, he would

"ſet up his Royal Standard there, which all good Subjects were obliged
"to attend. At the ſame time, he ſent the Marquis of *Hertford* to raiſe
Forces in the Weſt, or, at leaſt, to reſtrain thoſe parts (where His Intereſt,
and Reputation was greater than any Man's) within the limits of their
Duty to the King, and from being corrupted, or perverted by the Parlia-
ment; and with him went the Lord *Seymour*, his Brother; the Lord
Paulet, *Hopton*, *Stawel*, *Coventry*, *Berkely*, *Windham*, and ſome other
Gentlemen, of the prime Quality, and Intereſt in the Weſtern parts; who
were like to give as good examples in their Perſons, and to be follow'd by
as many Men, as any ſuch Number of Gentlemen in *England* could be.
And, from this Party, enliven'd by the power, and reputation of the Mar-
quis, the King was in hopes, that *Portſmouth* would be ſhortly relieved,
and made the head quarter to a good Army. When all this was done, he
did all that was poſſible to be done, without Money, to haſten his Levies
of Horſe and Foot, and to prepare a light train of Artillery; that he
might appear at *Nottingham*, at the day when the Standard was to be ſet
up, with ſuch a body of Men, as might be, at the leaſt, a competent
Guard to his Perſon.

MANY were then of opinion, "that it had been more for his Majeſty's
"benefit and Service, if the Standard had been appointed to be ſet up at
"*York*; and ſo that the King had ſtayed there, without moving further
"South, until he could have marched in the head of an Army, and not to
"depend upon gathering an Army up in his March. All the Northern
"Counties were, at preſent, moſt at his devotion; and ſo it would be moſt
"eaſy to raiſe Men there: *New-Caſtle* was the only Port in his obedience,
"and whither he had appointed his ſupplies of Armes, and Ammunition
"to be ſent; of which he had ſo preſent need, that all his Magazine,
"which was brought in the Providence, was allready diſtributed to thoſe
"few Gentlemen, who had received Commiſſions, and were moſt like
"ſpeedily to raiſe their Regiments; and it would be a very long, and
"might prove a very dangerous paſſage to get the ſupplies, which were
"daily expected, to be brought with ſecurity from *New-Caſtle*, when the
"King ſhould be advanced ſo many days Journey beyond *York*. All which
were very important conſiderations, and ought to have prevailed; but the
King's inclinations to be nearer *London*, and the expectation he had of
great effects from *Portſmouth*, and the Weſt, diſpoſed him to a willing-
neſs to prefer *Nottingham*; but that which determin'd the Point, was an
apparent, and manifeſt averſion in the *York-ſhire* Gentlemen, whoſe af-
fections were leaſt ſuſpected, that his Majeſty ſhould continue, and remain
at *York*; "which, they ſaid, the People apprehended, would inevitably
"make that Country the ſeat of the War: unskilfully imagining, that the
War would be no where, but where the King's Army was; and therefore
they facilitated all things, which might contribute to his remove from
thence; undertook, to provide Convoys for any Armes and Ammunition
from *New-Caſtle*; to haſten the Levies in their own Country; and to
borrow the Armes of ſome of the Train'd-bands; which was the beſt ex-
pedient, that could be found out, to arm the King's Troops, and had it's
reverſe in the murmurs it produced, and in leaving the beſt affected Men,
by being diſarm'd, at the mercy of their Enemies; who carefully kept
their Weapons, that they might be ready to fight againſt the King. This
cauſed the reſolution to be taken for *Nottingham*, without enough weigh-
ing the objections, which, upon the Entrance into great Actions, cannot
be too much deliberated, tho', in the Execution, they were beſt ſhut out.
And it quickly appeared in thoſe very Men, who prevailed moſt in that
Council;

Council; for, when the time drew on, in which his Majesty was to depart, and leave the Country, Then they remember'd, "that the Garrison of "*Hull* would be left as a thorn in their sides, where there were well "form'd, and active Troops, which might march over the Country with- "out control, and come into *York* it self without resistance: That there "were many disaffected Persons of Quality, and Interest in the Country, "who, assoon as the King should be gone, would appear amongst their "neighbours, and find a concurrence from them in their worst designs; "and that there were some places, some whole Corporations, so noto- "riously disaffected, especially in matters relating to the Church, that "they wanted only Conductors to carry them into Rebellion.

THESE, and the like reflections, made too late impressions upon them; and Now, too much, they magnified this Man's power, whom before they contemn'd; and doubted that Man's Affection, of which they were before secure; and made a thousand Propositions to the King this day, whereof they rejected the greatest part to morrow; and, as the day approached nearer for the King's departure, their apprehensions and irresolutions increased. In the end, they were united in two Requests to the King; that "he would commit the supreme Command of the Country, with re- "ference to all Military Affairs, to the Earl of *Cumberland*; and qualify "him, with an ample Commission, to that purpose. The other, "that his "Majesty would command Sr *Thomas Glemham* to remain with them, "to govern and command such Forces, as the Earl of *Cumberland* should "find necessary for their defence. And this Provision being made by the King, they obliged themselves to concur in making any preparations, and forming any Forces the Earl should require. His Majesty, as willingly, gratified them in both their desires. The Earl of *Cumberland* was a Man of great Honour and Integrity, who had all his Estate in that Country, and had lived most amongst them, with very much acceptation, and affection from the Gentlemen, and the Common People: but he was not, in any degree, active, or of a Martial temper; and rather a Man more like not to have any Enemies, than to oblige any to be firmly, and resolutely his Friends, or to pursue his Interest: The great Fortune of the Family was divided, and the greater part of it carried away by an Heir Female; and his Father had so wasted the remainder, that the Earl could not live with that lustre, nor draw so great a dependence upon him, as his Ancestors had done. In a word, he was a Man of Honour, and Popular enough in Peace, but not endued with those parts, which were necessary for Such a season. Sr *Thomas Glemham* was a Gentleman of a noble extraction, and a fair Fortune, tho' he had much impaired it; he had spent many years, in Armies, beyond the Seas; and he had been an Officer of very good esteem in the King's Armies, and of Courage, and Integrity unquestionable; but he was not of so stirring and active a nature, as to be able to infuse Fire enough into the Flegmatick constitutions of that People, who did rather wish to be Spectators of the War, than Parties in it; and believed, if they did not provoke the other Party, they might all live quietly together; untill Sr *John Hotham*, by his excursions, and depredations out of *Hull*, and their seditious Neighbours, by their Insurrections, awaken'd them out of that Pleasant Dream. And then the greatest part of the Gentry of that Populous Country, and very many of the Common People, did behave themselves with signal Fidelity, and Courage in the King's Service: Of all which Particulars, which deserve well to be remember'd, and transmitted to Posterity, there will be occasion to make mention, in the following Discourse.

YET I cannot leave *York* without the mention of one Particular; which, in truth, is a lively Inſtance of the Spirit and Temper of that time, and was a ſad Preſage of all the misfortunes which follow'd. There were very few Gentlemen, or Men of any Quality, in that large County, who were actively or factiouſly diſaffected to his Majeſty; and of thoſe the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Son, Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, were the chief; who were govern'd by two or three, of inferiour Quality, more converſant with the People; who were as well known as They. All theſe were in the County, at their Houſes, within few miles of *York*; and the King reſolved, at his going away, to have taken them all Priſoners, and to have put them in ſafe Cuſtody; by which, it was very probable, thoſe miſchiefs, that ſhortly after broke out, might have been prevented. But the Gentlemen of the County, who were met together to conſult for their own ſecurity, hearing of this Deſign, beſought his Majeſty "Not to do it; alledging, "that he "would, thereby, leave them in a worſe condition, by an Act ſo ungra- "cious, and unpopular; and that the diſaffected would be ſo far from be- "ing weaken'd, that their Party would be increaſed thereby; many really believing, that neither Father nor Son were tranſported with over-vehement inclinations to the Parliament; but would willingly ſit ſtill, without being Active on either ſide; which, no doubt, was a Policy, that many of thoſe, who wiſhed well, deſired and intended to be ſafe by. And ſo his Majeſty left *York*, taking with him only two or three of inferior rank (whereof one *Stapleton* was one) who were known to have been very active in ſtirring the People to Sedition; and yet, upon ſome ſpecious pretences, ſome very good Men were perſwaded, within few days, to procure the Liberty and Inlargement even of thoſe from his Majeſty. So tickliſh were thoſe times, and ſo wary were all Men to adviſe, the King ſhould do any thing, which, upon the ſtricteſt inquiſition, might ſeem to ſwerve from the ſtrict rule of the Law; beleiving, unreaſonably, that the ſofteſt and gentleſt Remedies might be moſt wholeſomely applied to thoſe rough, and violent Diſeaſes.

THE King came to *Nottingham* two or three days before the day, he had appointed to ſet up the Standard; having taken *Lincoln* in his way, and drawn ſome Armes from the Train'd-bands of that Country with him to *Nottingham*; from whence, the next day, he went to take a veiw of his Horſe; whereof there were ſeveral Troops well arm'd, and under good Officers, to the number of ſeven or eight hundred Men; with which, being inform'd, "that there were ſome Regiments of Foot marching to- "wards *Coventry*, by the Earl of *Eſſex* his Orders, he made haſt thither; making little doubt, but that he ſhould be able to get thither before them, and ſo to poſſeſs himſelf of that City; and he did get thither the day before they came; but found, not only the Gates ſhut againſt him, but ſome of his Servants ſhot, and wounded from the Walls: Nor could all his Meſſages, and Summons prevail with the Mayor and Magiſtrates, before there was any Garriſon there, to ſuffer the King to enter into the City. So great an Intereſt, and Reputation the Parliament had gotten over the Affections of that People, whoſe hearts were alienated from any reverence to the Government.

THE King could not remedy the Affront, but went that night to *Stonely*, the Houſe then of Sr *Thomas Lee*; where he was well received; and, the next day, his Body of Horſe, having a clear view, upon an open Campania, for five or ſix miles together, of the Enemies ſmall Body of Foot, which conſiſted not of above twelve Hundred Men with one Troop of Horſe, which Marched with them over that plain, retired before them,

them, without giving them one Charge; which was imputed to the ill conduct of *Wilmot*, who Commanded; and had a colder Courage, than many who were under him, and who were of opinion, that they might have eaſily defeated that Body of Foot: Which would have been a very ſeaſonable Victory; would have put *Coventry* unqueſtionably into the King's hands, and ſent him with a good Omen to the ſetting up of his Standard. Whereas, that unhappy Retreat, which looked like a Defeat, and the Rebellious behaviour of *Coventry*, made his Majeſty's return to *Notingham* very Melancholy; whither he return'd the very day the Standard was appointed to be ſet up.

The King's Standard ſet up at Nottingham, Aug. 25. 1642.

ACCORDING to the Proclamation, upon the twenty fifth day of *Auguſt*, the Standard was erected, about ſix of the Clock in the evening of a very ſtormy, and tempeſtuous day. The King himſelf, with a ſmall train, rode to the top of the *Caſtle*-Hill, *Varney* the Knight Marſhal, who was Standard Bearer, carrying the Standard, which was then erected, in that place, with little other Ceremony than the ſound of Drums, and Trumpets: Melancholy Men obſerved many ill Preſages about that time. There was not one Regiment of Foot yet brought thither, ſo that the Train'd-bands, which the Sheriff had drawn together, were all the ſtrength the King had for his Perſon, and the Guard of the Standard. There appeared no Conflux of Men in obedience to the Proclamation; the Armes, and Ammunition were not yet come from *York*, and a General Sadneſs cover'd the whole Town. The Standard was blown down, the ſame night it had been ſet up, by a very ſtrong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempeſt was allayed. This was the Melancholy State of the King's Affairs, when the Standard was ſet up.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

